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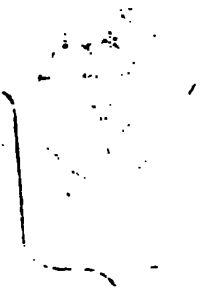

Barrow

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THE

THEOLOGICAL

WORKS

OF

ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOLUME VI.

CONTAINING

A TREATISE ON THE POPE'S SUPREMACY,

AND A

DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENEAGE,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL;

THOMAS BARROW,

THE AUTHOR'S FATHER,

HUMBLY DEDICATETH

THIS TREATISE.

THE

PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS excellent and elaborate Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy, which I here preſent thee withal, the learned Author of it upon his death-bed gave me a particular permiſſion to publiſh, with this modeſt character of it; That *he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.* He deſigned, indeed, to have tranſcribed it again, and to have filled up thoſe many ſpaces which were purpoſely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illuſtration of ſeveral things by more teſtimonies and inſtances, which probably he had in his thoughts: and it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this work, had it pleaſed God that he had lived to finiſh it to his mind, and to have given it his laſt hand.

However, as it is, it is not only a juſt, but an admirable Diſcourſe upon this ſubject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhauſted it: inſomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any conſideration properly belonging to it, hath eſcaped his large and comprehenſive mind. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence the controverſy for

ever, and to deter all wiſe men, of both ſides, from meddling any farther with it.

And I dare ſay, that whoever ſhall carefully peruſe this Treatiſe will find, that this point of the Pope's Supremacy (upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to ſay *the whole of Chriſtianity depends*) is not only an indefenſible, but an impudent cauſe, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have kept it ſo long from becoming ridiculous in the judgment of mankind, but its being ſo ſtrongly ſupported by a worldly intereſt. For there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thouſand invincible reaſons againſt it. There is neither from Scripture, nor reaſon, nor antiquity, any evidence of it; the paſt and the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, the hiſtories and records of all ages, are a perpetual demonſtration againſt it: and there is no other ground in the whole world for it, but that now of a long time it hath been by the Pope's janizaries boldly aſſerted, and ſtiffly contended for, without reaſon. So that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that the Grand Seignior is of right, and for many ages hath been acknowledged, ſovereign of the whole world, as that the Biſhop of Rome is of right, and in all ages from the beginning of Chriſtianity hath been owned to be, the Univerſal Monarch and Head of the Chriſtian Church.

To this Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy I have, for the affinity of the argument, added by way of appendix another diſcourſe of the ſame Author's, concerning *The Unity of the Church*; which he ſo

explains, as quite to take away the neceſſity of a viſible head over the whole Church for the preſervation of its unity, which is the only ſpecious, but yet a very remote pretence for the Pope's ſupremacy: for if a viſible monarch of the Church were granted neceſſary, many things more muſt be ſuppoſed, (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved,) to make the Biſhop of Rome the man.

The teſtimonies relating to both parts were very few of them tranſlated by the Author; which he certainly intended, having left ſpaces for it, and is ſince done with great care by two of his worthy and learned friends of his own College.

This is all the advertiſement I thought neceſſary.

J. TILLOTSON.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

INTRODUCTION.

§. I. THE Roman party doth much glory in unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other men have any means to attain: yet about divers matters of notable conſideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to deſcry.

They pretend it very needful that controverſies ſhould be decided, and that they have a ſpecial knack of doing it: yet do many controverſies of great weight and conſequence ſtick on their hands unreſolved, many points reſt in great doubt and debate among them.

The κύριαι δόξαι of the Roman ſect (concerning doctrine, practice, laws and cuſtoms of diſcipline, rites and cere monies) are of divers ſorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some eſtabliſhed by (pretended) general ſynods. 2. Some founded on decrees of popes. 3. Some entertained as upon tradition, cuſtom, common agreement. 4. Some which their eminent divines or ſchoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the Roman court, and its zealous dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their religion conſiſteth: for thoſe grounds divers times ſeem to claſh, and accordingly their divines (ſome building on theſe, ſome on others) diſagree.

This being ſo in many points of importance, is ſo part
cularly in this.

For inſtance, the head of their Church (as they call i
is, one would think, a ſubject about which they ſhou
thoroughly conſent, and which they, by this time, ſhou
have cleared from all diſputes; ſo that (ſo far as the
deciſive faculty goeth) we might be aſſured wherein t
authority conſiſteth, and how far it doth extend; ſeein
the reſolution of that point ſo nearly toucheth the hea
of religion, the faith and practice of all Chriſtians, t
good of the Church, and peace of the world; ſeeing th
no one queſtion (perhaps not all queſtions together) ha
created ſo many tragical diſturbances in Chriſtendom,
that concerning the bounds of papal authority[a].

This diſagreement of the Roman doctors about the n
ture and extent of papal authority is a ſhrewd prejudi
againſt it. If a man ſhould ſue for a piece of land, and h
advocates (the notableſt could be had, and well pai
could not find where it lieth, how it is butted and boun
ed, from whom it was conveyed to him, one would
very apt to ſuſpect his title. If God had inſtituted ſu
an office, it is highly probable we might ſatisfactori
know what the nature and uſe of it were: the patei
and charters for it would declare it.

Yet for reſolution in this great caſe we are left to ſee
they not having either the will, or the courage, or t
power, to determine it. This inſuperable problem ha
baffled all their infallible methods of deciding contr
verſies; their traditions blundering, their ſynods cla
ing, their divines wrangling endleſsly about what kind
thing the Pope is, and what power he rightly m
claim.

[b] *There is* (ſaith a great divine among them) *ſo mu
controverſy about the plenitude of eccleſiaſtical power, a*

[a] Agitur de ſumma rei Chriſtianæ. *Bell. Præf. de Rom. Pont.*
'Upon this one point the very ſum and ſubſtance of Chriſtianity depends
[b] Tanta eſt inter doctores controverſia de plenitudine eccleſiaſticæ
teſtatis, et ad quæ ſe extendat, ut pauca ſint in ea materia ſecura——.
main. de Aucl. Eccl. cap. 3.

to what things it may extend itſelf, that few things in that matter are ſecure——.

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the Pope's power in judging and deciding controverſies, or of his cauſe in this matter; that he cannot define a point ſo nearly concerning him, and which he ſo much deſireth an agreement in; that he cannot ſettle his own claim out of doubt; that all his authority cannot ſecure itſelf from conteſt.

So indeed it is, that no ſpells can allay ſome ſpirits; and where intereſts are irreconcileable, opinions will be ſo.

Some points are ſo tough and ſo touchy, that nobody dare meddle with them, fearing that their reſolution will fail of ſucceſs and ſubmiſſion. Hence even the anathematizing definers of Trent (the boldeſt undertakers to decide controverſies that ever were) did wave this point; the legates of the Pope being enjoined, [c] *to advertiſe, That they ſhould not for any cauſe whatever come to diſpute about the Pope's authority.*

It was indeed wiſely done of them to decline this queſtion, their authority not being ſtrong enough to bear the weight of a deciſion in favour of the Roman ſee, (againſt which they could do nothing,) according to its pretences; as appeareth by one clear inſtance. For whereas that council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any prince ſhould be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place, where he ſhould permit a duel to be fought; the prelates of France in the Convention of Orders, anno 1595, did declare againſt that decree, as infringing their King's authority [d].

It was therefore adviſedly done not to meddle with ſo tickliſh a point. But in the mean time their policy ſeemeth greater than their charity; which might have inclined

[c] ——di avertire, Che non ſi venga mai per qual cauſa ſi ſia alla diſputa dell autorita di Papa. *Concil. Trid.* lib. ii. p. 159.

[d] Hic articulus eſt contra authoritatem regis, qui non poteſt privari ſuo dominio temporali, reſpectu cujus nullum ſuperiorem recognoſcit. *Bochel.* l. v. tit. 20. c. 45.

This article is againſt the authority of the king, who cannot be deprived of his temporal dominion, wherein he acknowledges no ſuperior.

them not to leave the world in darkneſs and doubt, an unreſolved in a point of ſo main importance; (as indee they did in others of no ſmall conſequence, diſputed amon their divines with obſtinate heat, viz. the divine right biſhops, the neceſſity of reſidence, the immaculate co ception, &c.)

The opinions therefore among them concerning t Pope's authority, as they have been, ſo they are, and likelihood may continue, very different.

§. II. There are among them thoſe who aſcribe to t Pope an univerſal, abſolute, and boundleſs empire over perſons indifferently, and in all matters; conferred a ſettled on him by Divine immutable ſanction: ſo that men, of whatever degree, are obliged in conſcience believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and obey whatever he doth preſcribe. So that if princes the ſelves do refuſe obedience to his will, he may excomm nicate them, caſhier them, depoſe them, extirpate the If he chargeth us to hold no communion with our Prin to renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon, oppo and perſecute him, even to death, we may without ſcrup we muſt in duty obey. If he doth interdict whole n tions from the exerciſe of God's worſhip and ſervice, th muſt comply therein. So that, according to their concei he is in effect ſovereign lord of all the world; and perior, even in temporal or civil matters, unto all kin and princes.

It is notorious, that many canoniſts (if not moſt) a many divines of that party do maintain this doctrin affirming, that all the power of Chriſt (*the Lord of lor and King of kings*, to whom all power in heaven a earth doth appertain) is imparted to the Pope, as to vicegerent[e].

[e] Prima ſententia eſt, ſummum Pontificem jure divino habere pleniſſim poteſtatem in univerſum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus eccleſiaſticis qu civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitan Hoſtienſis, Silveſter, et alii non pauci. *Bell.* v. 1.

The firſt opinion is, that the Pope hath a moſt full power over the wh world, both in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs. This is the doctrine of A Triumphus, &c. and of many others.

This is the doctrine which almoſt 400 years ago Auguſtinus Triumphus, [f] in his *egregious work* concerning eccleſiaſtical power, did teach; attributing to the Pope *an incomprehenſible and infinite power; becauſe great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatneſs there is no end.*

This is the doctrine which the leading theologue of their ſect, their angelical doctor, doth affirm, both directly, ſaying, that [g] *in the Pope is the top of both powers;* and by plain conſequence, aſſerting, that *when any one is denounced excommunicate for apoſtaſy, his ſubjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him.*

This the ſame Thomas (or an author paſſing under his name, in his book touching *the Rule of Princes*) doth teach, affirming, that the Pope, [h] *as Supreme King of all the world, may impoſe taxes on all Chriſtians, and deſtroy towns and caſtles for the preſervation of Chriſtianity.*

This (as Cardinal Zabarell near 300 years ago telleth us) is the doctrine [i] *which, for a long time, thoſe who would pleaſe popes did perſuade them, that they could do all things,*

[f] Scripſit egregiam ſummam de poteſtate eccleſiæ. *Bell. de Script.* an. 1301. Error eſt, non credere Pontificem Rom. univerſalis eccleſiæ paſtorem, Petri ſucceſſorem, et Chriſti vicarium, ſupra temporalia et ſpiritualia univerſalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ poteſtatis ignorantia; quæ cum ſit infinita, eo quod *magnus eſt Dominus, et magna virtus ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non eſt finis,* omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perſcrutatione invenitur deficere. *Aug. Triumph. de Poteſt. Eccl. in præf. ad P. Joh. XXII.*

[g] Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit in Papa eſſe apicem utriuſque poteſtatis. *Bell.* v. 1. Quum quis per ſententiam denunciatur propter apoſtaſiam excommunicatus, ipſo facto ejus ſubditi a dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati ſunt. *Th.* ii. Secund. qu. 12. art. 2.

[h] S. Thomas (in lib. iii. *de Regim. Princ.* cap. 10, 19.) affirmat ſummum Pontificem jure divino habere ſpiritualem et temporalem poteſtatem, ut ſupremum totius mundi Regem, adeo ut etiam taleas omnibus Chriſtianis poſſit imponere, et civitates ac caſtra deſtruere pro conſervatione Chriſtianitatis. *Bell.* v. 5.

[i] Quæ jura ſunt notanda, quia male conſiderata ſunt per multos aſſentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, et uſque ad hodierna ſuaſerunt eis, quod omnia poſſent; et ſic quod facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et ſic plus quam Deus. *Zab. de Schiſm.*

whatever they pleaſed; yea, and things unlawful; and j could do more than God.

According to this doctrine then current at Rome, i the laſt Lateran great ſynod, under the Pope's noſe a in his ear, one biſhop ſtyled him, [k] *Prince of the Worl* another orator called him, [l] *King of Kings, and Monar of the Earth*; another great prelate ſaid of him, that [m] *had all power above all powers both of heaven and earth* And the fame rouſed up Pope Leo X. in theſe bra terms; [n] *Snatch up therefore the two-edged ſword of d vine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command, a charge, that an univerſal peace and alliance be made amon Chriſtians for at leaſt ten years; and to that bind kings the fetters of the Great King, and conſtrain nobles by t iron manacles of cenſures: for to thee is given all power heaven and in earth.*

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Rom confidence, doth ſo often aſſert and drive forward, ſayin that [o] *there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil princ pality is ſubject to the ſacerdotal:* and, that [p] *God ha made the political government ſubject to the dominion the ſpiritual Church.*

§. III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect doth n differ, which Bellarmine voucheth for the common op nion of Catholics, that [q] *by reaſon of the ſpiritual pow*

[k] Orbis Princeps. *Epiſc. Spal.* Seſſ. i. p. 24.

[l] Regum Rex, et Orbis terrarum Monarcha. *Del Rio*, Seſſ. viii. p. 87.

[m] —Virum, in quo erat poteſtas ſupra omnes poteſtates, tam cœli, qu terræ. *Epiſc. Patrac.* Seſſ. x. p. 132.

[n] Arripe ergo gladium Divinæ poteſtatis tibi creditum, bis acutum; et ju impera, manda, ut pax univerſalis et colligatio per decennium inter Ch tianos ad minus fiat; et reges ad id in compedibus magni regis liga, et i biles in manicis ferreis cenſurarum conſtringe: quoniam tibi data eſt om poteſtas in cœlo et in terra. *Ibid.* p. 133.

[o] Politicum principatum ſacerdotali eſſe ſubjectum nulla poteſt eſſe du tatio. *Ann.* 57. §. 28.

[p] Politicum imperium ſubjecit ſpiritualis eccleſiæ dominio. *Ibid.* §. 59

[q] Tertia ſententia media et Catholicorum communis, Pontificem ut Pon ficem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem poteſtatem, ſolum ſpiritualem, tamen ratione ſpiritualis habere ſaltem indirecte poteſtat quandam, eamque ſummam, in temporalibus. *Bell.* v. 1.

the Pope, at leaſt indirectly, hath a ſupreme power even in temporal matters.

This opinion, ſo common, doth not, I ſay, in effect and practical conſideration, anywiſe differ from the former; but only in words deviſed to ſhun envy, and veil the impudence of the other aſſertion: for the qualifications, *by reaſon of the ſpiritual power*, and, *at leaſt indirectly*, are but notional, inſignificant, and illuſive, in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a ſovereign power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; ſeeing that every matter is eaſily referrible to a ſpiritual account; ſeeing he is ſole judge upon what account he doth act; ſeeing experience ſheweth, that he will ſpiritualize all his intereſts, and upon any occaſion exerciſe that pretended authority; ſeeing it little mattereth, if he may ſtrike princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or ſlantingly.

§. IV. That ſuch an univerſal and abſolute power hath been claimed by divers popes, ſucceſſively for many ages, is apparent from their moſt ſolemn declarations and notorious practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and riſing upwards toward the ſource of this doctrine) we ſhall repreſent ſome.

The bull of Pope Sixtus V. againſt *the two ſons of wrath*, Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, beginneth thus; [r] *The authority given to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, by the immenſe power of the Eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes—It paſſes uncontrollable ſentence upon them all—And if it find any of them reſiſting God's ordinance, it takes more ſevere vengeance of them, caſting them down from their thrones, though never ſo puiſſant, and tumbling them down to the* An. 1585.

[r] Ab immenſa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejuſque ſucceſſoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum ſupereminet poteſtates—Inconcuſſa profert in omnes judicia——Et ſi quos ordinationi Dei reſiſtentes invenit, ſeveriore hos vindicta ulciſcitur, et, quamvis potentiores, de ſolio dejiciens, veluti ſuperbientis Luciferi miniſtros, ad infima terræ deturbatos proſternit——.

Dominiis, Regnis, &c. nos illos illorumque poſteros privamus in perpetuum——.

loweſt parts of the earth, as the miniſters of aſpiring Lucifer. And then he proceeds to thunder againſt the *We deprive them and their poſterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms;* and accordingly he depriveth th princes of their kingdoms and dominions, abſolveth th ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbidd them to pay any obedience to them. [s] *By the author of theſe preſents, we do abſolve and ſet free all perſons, well jointly as ſeverally, from any ſuch oath, and from duty whatſoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and o dience; and do charge and forbid all and every of the that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their adm nitions, laws, and commands.*

An. 1570. Pope Pius V. (one of the holieſt popes of the laſt ſtan who hardly hath eſcaped canonization until now[t]) beg neth his bull againſt our Queen Elizabeth in theſe word [u] *He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy Catho and apoſtolic Church, out of which there is no ſalvation, one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, Prince of the Apoſtl and to the Roman Pontiff, ſucceſſor of Peter, to be govern with a plenitude of power: this one he hath conſtitut prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he mig pluck up, deſtroy, diſſipate, ruinate, plant, and build.* And in the ſame bull he declares, that [v] *he thereby d*

[s] A juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus dominii, fidelitatis et obſeq debito, illos omnes tam univerſe quam ſingulatim auctoritate præſentiu abſolvimus et liberamus; præcipimuſque et interdicimus eis univerſis ſingulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedi *Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr. R. &c.*

[t] Pius V.—Quem mirum eſt in albo ſanctorum nondum relatum eſ *Briet. Chr.* anno 1572.

[u] Regnans in excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in cœlo et in terra poteſtas, una ſanctam, Catholicam et apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, extra quam nulla eſt ſalu uni ſoli in terris, videlicet Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petrique ſucceſſo Romano Pontifici, in poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: hu unum ſuper omnes gentes et omnia regna principem conſtituit, qui evella deſtruat, diſſipet, diſperdat, plantet et ædificet.—*P. Pius V. in Bull. contra Elix.* (*Camb. Hiſt.* anno 1570.)

[v] Ipſam prætenſo regni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignita privilegioque privamus; et iterum proceres, ſubditos, &c. *Ibid.*

prives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatſoever; and abſolves all the nobles, ſubjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever elſe have ſworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatſoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience.

Pope Clement VI. did pretend to depoſe the emperor Lewis IV. An. 1346.

Pope Clement V. in the great ſynod of Vienna, declared the emperor ſubject to him, or ſtanding obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty[x]. An. 1311.

Pope Boniface VIII. hath a decree extant in the canon law running thus; [y] *We declare, ſay, define, pronounce it to be of neceſſity to ſalvation, for every human creature to be ſubject to the Roman Pontiff.* The which ſubjection, according to his intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double ſword, and aſſerteth to himſelf juriſdiction over all temporal authorities: for, [z] *One ſword,* ſaith he, *muſt be under another, and the temporal authority muſt be ſubject to the ſpiritual power;—whence, if the earthly power doth go aſtray, it muſt be judged by the ſpiritual power.* The which aphoriſms he proveth by Scriptures admirably expounded to that purpoſe. An. 1294.

This definition might paſs for a rant of that boiſterous Pope, ([a] *a man above meaſure ambitious and arrogant,*) vented in his paſſion againſt King Philip of France, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expreſsly confirmed by one of their general councils; for, [b] *We* (ſaith Pope Leo X. in

[x] Apoſtolica auctoritate de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis exiſtere et cenſeri debere. *Clem.* lib. ii. tit. 9. Vide Cone. Vienn. p. 909.

[y] Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis. *Extrav.* com. lib. i. tit. 8. cap. 1.

[z] Oportet gladium eſſe ſub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem ſpirituali ſubjici poteſtati. *Ibid.*

Ergo ſi deviat terrena poteſtas, judicabitur a poteſtate ſpirituali. *Ibid.*

[a] Vir ſuper modum ambitioſus et arrogans. (*Binius in Vita Bonif. VIII.*)

[b] Conſtitutionem ipſam, ſacro præſenti concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus. *Concil. Lateran.* Seſſ. xi. p. 153.

his bull read and paſſed in the Lateran Council) *do ren and approve that holy conſtitution, with approbation of t preſent holy council.* Accordingly Melch. Canus ſai[d] [b]that *the Lateran Council did renew and approve that e travagant* (indeed extravagant) *conſtitution:* and Baroni ſaith of it, that [c]*all do aſſent to it, ſo that none diſſente who doth not by diſcord fall from the Church.*

The truth is, Pope Boniface did not invent that prop ſition, but borrowed it from the ſchool; for Thom Aquinas, in his work againſt the Greeks, pretendeth ſhew, that [d]*it is of neceſſity to ſalvation to be ſubject to t Roman Pontiff.* The which ſcholaſtical aphoriſm Po Boniface turned into law, and applied to his purpoſe exerciſing domination over princes; offering, in virtue it, to deprive King Philip of his kingdom.

The appendix to Mart. Pol. ſaith of Pope Boniface VI *Regem ſe Regum, Mundi Monarcham, unicum in ſpi tualibus et temporalibus Dominum promulgavit;* that *openly declared himſelf to be King of Kings, Monarch the World, and ſole Lord and Governor both in ſpiritu and temporals.*

An. 1245. Before him, Pope Innocent IV. did hold and exempli the ſame notion; declaring the emperor Frederick II. *l vaſſal, and denouncing, in his general council of Lyons, ſentence of deprivation againſt him in theſe terms:* [e]*W having about the foregoing and many other his wick miſcarriages had before a careful deliberation with o brethren and the holy council, ſeeing that we, although u worthy, do hold the place of Jeſus Chriſt on earth, and th it was ſaid unto us in the perſon of St. Peter the Apoſti Whatever thou ſhalt bind on earth—the ſaid prince (w hath rendered himſelf unworthy of empire and kingdom*

[b] Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit Concilium Lateranenſe ſ Leone X. *Canus* loc. vi. 4.

[c] Hæc Bonifacius, cui aſſentiuntur omnes, ut nullus diſcrepet, niſi q diffidio ab Eccleſia excidit. *Baron.* ann. 1053. §. 14.

[d] Oſtenditur etiam quod ſubeſſe Romano Pontifici ſit de neceſſitate ſaluti (*Thom. in Opuſc. contra Græcos.*)

[e] Nos itaque ſuper præmiſſis, &c. *P. Innoc. IV. in Conc. Lugd.*

Matt. Paris (anno 1253.) ſaith, he deemed kings *Mancipia Papæ.*

and of all honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is caſt away by God, that he ſhould not reign or command, being bound by his ſins and caſt away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do ſhew, denounce, and accordingly, by ſentence, deprive; abſolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from ſuch oath for ever; by apoſtolical authority firmly prohibiting, that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing, that whoever ſhall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, ſhall immediately lie under the band of excommunication.

Before him, Pope Innocent the Third, (that [f] *true wonder of the world, and changer of the age,*) did affirm, [g] *the pontifical authority ſo much to exceed the royal power, as the ſun doth the moon;* and applieth to the former that of the Prophet Jeremiah; *Ecce, conſtitui te ſuper gentes et regna;—See, I have ſet thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw down,* &c. Jer. i. 10.

Of this power that Pope made experiment, by depoſing the emperor Otho IV; [h] *whom,* ſaith Nauclerus, *as rebellious to the apoſtolical ſee, he firſt did ſtrike with an anathema; then him perſevering in his obſtinacy did in a council of prelates, held at Rome, pronounce depoſed from empire.*

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this Pope, [i] (the which, according to the men of Trent, did repreſent or conſtitute the Church,) wherein it was ordained, that if a *temporal lord, being required and admoniſhed by the Church, ſhould neglect to purge his*

[f] Vere ſtupor mundi, et immutator ſeculi. *Matt. Par.* anno 1217.

[g] Ut quanta eſt inter ſolem et lunam tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoſcatur. *P. Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg.* lib. i. tit. 33. cap. 6.

[h] Imperatorem—ut rebellem ſedi apoſtolicæ et inobedientem anathemate primum, deinde in pertinacia perſeverantem, in concilio præſulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab imperio depoſitum percuſſit et pronunciavit. *Naucl.* anno 1212.

[i] Neque enim per Lateranenſe Concilium Eccleſia ſtatuit, &c. *Syn. Trid.* Seſſ. xiv. cap. 5.

Si vero dominus temporalis requiſitus et monitus. *Conc. Later.* cap. 3. *in Decret. Greg.* lib. v. tit. 7. cap. 13.

territory from heretical filth, he ſhould by the metropolita and the other comprovincial biſhops be nooſed in the band o excommunication; and that if he ſhould ſlight to make ſa tisfaction within a year, it ſhould be ſignified to the Pope that he might from that time denounce the ſubjects abſolve from their fealty to him, and expoſe the territory to b ſeized on by Catholics, &c.

An. 1099. Before that, Pope Paſchal II. deprived Henry IV. an excited enemies *to perſecute him;* [i] telling them, that they could not *offer a more acceptable ſacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God's Church.*

An. 1088. Before him, Pope Urban II. (called Turban by ſome in his age) did preach this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that [k] *ſubjects are by no authority conſtrained to pay the fidelity which they have ſworn to a Chriſtian prince, who oppoſeth God and his ſaints, or violateth their precepts.* An inſtance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the Canons of Tours; [l] *which,* ſaith he, *if any emperor, king, prince,* &c. *ſhall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power.*

But the great apoſtle (if not author) of this confounding doctrine was Pope Gregory VII. (a man of a bold ſpirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that ſee to bear ſway, and drive on daring projects; poſſeſſed with reſolution to uſe the advantages of his place and time in puſhing forward the papal intereſt to the utmoſt,) who did *lift up his voice like a trumpet,* kindling wars and ſeditions thereby over Chriſtendom. His dictates and practices are well known, being iterated in his own Epiſtles,

[i] Nam in hac non tantum parte, ſed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum, hæreticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus perſequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo ſacrificium, quam ſi eum impugnes, qui ſe contra Deum erexit, qui Eccleſiæ regnum auferre conatur. *P. Paſch. Ep.* vii. *ad Rob. Fland. Com.*

[k] Fidelitatem enim quam Chriſtiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejuſque ſanctis adverſanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate perſolvere. *Cauſ.* xv. qu. 7. cap. 5.

[l] Si quis imperator, rex, princeps — contra hanc conſtitutionem venire tentaverit—poteſtatis honoriſque ſui dignitate careat—. *P. Urb. II. Ep.* 12.

and in the Roman councils under him, extant[m]: yet it may be worth the while to hear him ſwagger in his own language.

[n] *For the dignity and defence of God's holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I depoſe from imperial and royal adminiſtration, King Henry, ſon of Henry ſometime emperor, who too boldly and raſhly hath laid hands on thy Church; and I abſolve all Chriſtians ſubject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right, that he ſhould be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavour to diminiſh the majeſty of the Church.*

[o] *Go to therefore, moſt holy princes of the Apoſtles, and what I ſaid, by interpoſing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length underſtand, if ye can bind and looſe in heaven, that ye alſo can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatſoever mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning theſe inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their ſervants? Let kings now, and all ſecular princes, learn by this man's example, what ye can do in heaven, and in what eſteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to ſlight the commands of holy Church: but put forth ſuddenly this judgment, that all men may underſtand, that not caſually, but by your means, this ſon of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom.*

So did that Pope, not unadviſedly in heat or paſſion,

[m] Vide ejus dictata apud Bin. poſt. Ep. lib. 2. Ep. lv. Ep. iv. 2. viii. 21. et paſſim. Ep. i. 58. ii. 5, 12, 13, 18, 32. iii. 10. iv. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

[n] Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum Regem, Henrici quondam imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium et temerarie in Eccleſiam tuam manus injecit, imperatoria adminiſtratione regiaque dejicio; et Chriſtianos omnes imperio ſubjectos juramento illo abſolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præſtare conſueverunt: dignum enim eſt, ut is honore careat, qui majeſtatem Eccleſiæ imminuere cauſatur. *Plat. in Greg. VII.* et tom. 7. *Conc. Rom.* iii. *apud Bin.* p. 484.

[o] Agite igitur, Apoſtolorum ſanctiſſimi principes, et quod dixi—. *Plat. in Greg. VII. Conc. Rom.* vii. *apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 491.

but out of ſettled judgment, upon cool deliberation, expreſs himſelf in his ſynods at Rome.

This Pope is indeed by many held the inventor and broacher of this ſtrange doctrine; and even thoſe, who about his age did oppoſe it, did expreſs themſelves of the mind; calling it [p] *the novel tradition, ſchiſm, hereſy of Hildebrand.*

[q] *Pope Hildebrand* (ſaith the Church of Liege, in the anſwer to the Epiſtle to Pope Paſchal) *is author of the new ſchiſm, and firſt did raiſe the prieſt's lance againſt the royal diadem.—Who firſt did girt himſelf, and by his example other popes, with the ſword of war againſt the emperors.*

[r] *This only novelty,* ſaith Sigebert, *not to ſay hereſy had not yet ſprang up in the world, that the prieſts of his* Job xxxiv. 18, 30. *who ſaith to the king, Apoſtate, and who maketh hypocrite to reign for the ſins of the people, ſhould teach the people that they owe no ſubjection to bad kings; and although they have ſworn allegiance to the king, they yet owe him nought and that they who take part againſt the king may not be ſaid to be perjured; yea, that he who ſhall obey the king may be held excommunicate; he that ſhall oppoſe the king may be abſolved from the crime of injuſtice and perjury.*

Indeed certain it is, that this man did in moſt downright ſtrains hold the doctrine, and moſt ſmartly apply it to practice; yet did he diſclaim the invention or introduction of it; profeſſing that he followed the notions and examples of his predeceſſors, divers of which he alleged

[p] Quod ex novella traditione Hildebrandus. *Eccl. Leod. apud Bin.* tom vii. p. 521.

[q] Hildebrandus P. author eſt hujus novelli ſchiſmatis, et primus levavit ſacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni. *Ibid.* p. 522. Qui primus ſe, et ſuo exemplo alios pontifices, contra imp. accinxit gladio belli. *Ibid.* p. 523.

[r] Hæc ſola novitas, ne dicam hæreſis, nondum in mundo emerſerat, ut ſacerdotes illius qui dicit regi, apoſtata, et qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quod malis regibus nullam debeant ſubjectionem, et licet ei ſacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra regem ſenſerint; imo, qui regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra regem fecerit, a noxa injuſtitiæ et perjurii abſolvatur. *Sigeb. Chron.* anno 1086.

in defence of his proceedings. [s] *We,* ſaith he, *holding the ſtatutes of our holy predeceſſors, do by apoſtolical authority abſolve thoſe from their oath who are obliged by fealty or ſacrament to excommunicate perſons, and by all means prohibit that they obſerve fealty to them.*

And ſo it is, that (although for many ſucceſſions before Pope Hildebrand the popes were not in condition or capacity to take ſo much upon them; there having been a row of perſons intruded into that ſee, void of virtue, and of ſmall authority, moſt of them very beaſts, who depended upon the favour of princes for their admittance, confirmation, or ſupport in the place; yet) we may find ſome popes before him, who had a great ſpice of thoſe imperious conceits, and upon occaſion made very bold with princes, aſſuming power over them, and darting menaces againſt them. For,

Pope Leo IX. telleth us, that Conſtantine M. [t] *did think it very unbecoming, that they ſhould be ſubject to an earthly empire whom the Divine Majeſty had ſet over an heavenly:* and ſurely he was of his author's mind, whom he alleged; although indeed this pope may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak this, and other ſayings to that purpoſe, by ſuggeſtion of Hildebrand, by whom he was much governed.

[u] Pope Stephanus VI. told the emperor Baſilius, that *he ought to be ſubject with all veneration to the Roman Church.*

[x] Pope John VIII. (or IX.) did pretend obedience due to him from princes; and in default thereof threatened to excommunicate them. An. 873.

[s] Nos, ſanctorum prædeceſſorum ſtatuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut ſacramento conſtricti ſunt, apoſtolica auctoritate a ſacramento abſolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem obſervent omnibus modis prohibemus. *Greg. VII. Ep.* viii. 21. *Cauſ.* xv. qu. 7. cap. 4.

[t] Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio ſubdi, quos Divina Majeſtas præfecit cœleſti. *P. Leo IX. Ep.* i. cap. 12.

[u] Plat. in Vita Leon. IX. Quis te ſeduxit, ut Pontificem œcumenicum ſcommatibus laceſſeres, et S. Romanam Eccleſiam maledictis inceſſeres, cui cum omni veneratione ſubditus eſſe debes? *Steph. VI. Ep.* i. *Baron.* ann. 885. §. 11.

[x] — cuncti venire per inobedientiam neglexiſtis. *Joh. VIII. Ep.* 119. deincepe excommunicamus omnes, &c. *Ibid.*

An. 858. Pope Nicolas I. caſt many imperious ſayings and threats at king Lotharius: theſe among others. [y] *We do therefore by apoſtolical authority, under obteſtation of the divine judgment, enjoin to thee, that in Triers and Colen thou ſhouldeſt not ſuffer any Biſhop to be choſen, before a report be made to our apoſtleſhip.* (Was not this *ſatis pro imperio?*) And again, [z] *That being compelled thou mayeſt be able to repent, know, that very ſoon thou ſhalt be ſtruck with the eccleſiaſtical ſword; ſo that thou mayeſt be afraid any more to commit ſuch things in God's holy Church.*

And this he ſuggeſteth for right doctrine, that ſubjection is not due to bad princes; perverting the Apoſtle's words to that purpoſe; [a] *Be ſubject to the king as excelling, that is,* ſaith he, *in virtues, not in vices:* whereas the Apoſtle meaneth eminency in power.

Pope Gregory VII. doth alſo allege Pope Zachary, [b] *who,* ſaith he, *did depoſe the king of the Franks, and did abſolve all the French from the oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not ſo much for his iniquities, as becauſe he was unfit for ſuch a power.*

This indeed was a notable act of jurisdiction, if Pope Gregory's word may be taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain, that Pope Zachary did only concur with the rebellious depoſers of king Chilperick in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

An. 772. It was pretty briſkly ſaid of Pope Adrian I. [c] *We do by*

[y] Idcirco apoſtolica authoritate, ſub Divini judicii obteſtatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirenſi urbe et in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum ſuper hoc noſtro apoſtolatui fiat. *Grat. Diſt.* lxiii. cap. 4.

[z] Ut ſaltem compulſus reſipiſcere valeas, noveris, te citiſſime mucrone eccleſiaſtico feriendum; ita ut ulterius talia in S. Dei Eccleſia perpetrare formides. *P. Nic. I. Ep.* 64.

[a] Regi quaſi præcellenti, virtutibus ſcilicet, non vitiis, ſubditi eſtote. *P. Nic. I. Epiſt.* 4. *Append.* p. 626.

[b] Alius item Rom. Pontifex, Zacharias ſcilicet, regem Francorum, non tam pro ſuis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quod tantæ poteſtati erat inutilis, depoſuit—omneſque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis quod illi——. *Decret.* ii. *part. Cauſ.* xv. q. 6.

[c] Generali decreto conſtituimus, ut exſecrandum anathema ſit, et veluti prævaricator Catholicæ fidei ſemper apud Deum reus exiſtat, quicunque re-

general decree conſtitute, that whatever king, or biſhop, or potentate, ſhall hereafter believe, or permit, that the cenſure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any caſe, he ſhall be an execrable anathema, and ſhall be guilty before God, as a betrayer of the Catholic faith.

[d] *Conſtitutions againſt the canons and decrees of the biſhops of Rome, or againſt good manners, are of no moment.*

Before that, Pope Gregory II. becauſe the eaſtern emperor did croſs the worſhip of images, did withdraw ſubjection from him, and did thruſt his authority out of Italy. [e] *He,* ſaith Baronius, *did effectually cauſe both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor.* An. 730.

This was an act in truth of rebellion againſt the emperor, in pretence of juriſdiction over him; for how otherwiſe could he juſtify or colour the fact? [f] *So,* as Baronius reflecteth, *he did leave to poſterity a worthy example,* (forſooth,) *that heretical princes ſhould not be ſuffered to reign in the Church of Chriſt, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error.*

And no wonder he then was ſo bold, ſeeing the Pope had obtained ſo much reſpect in thoſe parts of the world, that (as he told the emperor Leo Iſaurus) [g] *all the kingdoms of the weſt did hold St. Peter as an earthly God:* of which he might be able to ſeduce ſome to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

This is the higheſt ſource, as I take it, to which this extravagant doctrine can be driven. For that ſingle paſſage of Pope Felix III. though much ancienter, will not

gum, ſeu epiſcoporum, vel potentum, delnceps Romanorum pontificum cenſuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiſerit violandam. *P. Had. I. Capit. apud Grat. Cauſ.* xxv. qu. 1. cap. 11.

[d] Conſtitutiones contra canones et decreta præſulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti. *Diſtinct.* x. cap. 4.

[e] Tum Romanos tum Italos ad ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecit. *Baron.* anno 730. §. 4.

[f] Sic dignum poſteris reliquit exemplum, ne in Eccleſia Chriſti regnare finerentur hæretici principes, ſi ſæpe moniti, in errore perſiſtere obſtinato animo invenirentur. *Baron.* ibid.

[g] Ὅτι αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τὴν δύσιν ὡς θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι. *Greg. II. Epiſt.* i. *Bin.* tom. v. p. 508.

amount to it. [h] *It is certain, that, in cauſes relating t God, it is the ſafeſt courſe for you, that, according to hi inſtitution, ye endeavour to ſubmit the will of the king t the prieſts,* &c.

For while the emperor did retain any conſiderable au thority in Italy, the popes were better adviſed than t vent ſuch notions; and while they themſelves did retai any meaſure of pious or prudent modeſty, they were no diſpoſed to it. And we may obſerve divers popes nea that time in word and practice thwarting that practice For inſtance,

Pope Gelaſius, a vehement ſtickler for papal authority doth ſay to the emperor Anaſtaſius, [i] *I, as being a Roma born, do love, worſhip, reverence thee as the Roman princ* And he ſaith, that [k] *the prelates of religion (knowing th empire conferred on him by Divine Providence) did obe his laws.* And otherwhere he diſcourſeth, that [l] *Chri had diſtinguiſhed by their proper acts and dignities th offices of eccleſiaſtical and civil power,* that one ſhould no meddle with the other; ſo diſclaiming temporal powe due to himſelf, being content to ſcrew up his ſpiritua authority.

After him, as is well known, Pope Gregory I. (as be came a pious and good man) did avow the emperor fo [m] *his lord, by God's gift ſuperior to all men, to whom h was ſubject, whom he in duty was bound to obey;* and ſup poſed it a high preſumption for any one to [n] *ſet himſel*

[h] Certum eſt, rebus veſtris hoc eſſe ſalutare, ut, cum de cauſis Dei agitu juxta ipſius conſtitutionem, regiam voluntatem ſacerdotibus Chriſti ſtudeat ſubdere, non præferre—&c. *P. Felix III.* (anno 483.) *Diſt.* x. cap. 3.

[i] Te, ſicut Romanus natus, Romanum principem amo, colo, ſuſpicio. *I Gelaſ. I. Epiſt.* 8. (*ad Anaſt. Imp.*)

[k] —— cognoſcentes imperium tibi ſuperna diſpoſitione collatum, legibu tuis ipſi quoque parent religionis antiſtites. *Ibid.*

[l] Chriſtus, diſpenſatione magnifica temperans, ſic actionibus propriis dig nitatibuſque diſtinctis officia poteſtatis utriuſque diſcrevit, &c.

[m] Ad hoc poteſtas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data eſt ſupe omnes homines.

Ego indignus famulus veſter——
Ego quidem juſſioni ſubjectus. *P. Greg. I. Ep.* ii. 26.

[n] Qui honori quoque imperii veſtri ſe per privatum vocabulum ſuperponi *Ep.* iv. 32.

above the honour of the empire, by aſſuming the title of univerſal biſhop.

After him, Pope Agatho, in the acts of the Sixth General Council, doth call the emperor Conſtantine Pogonatus *his lord*; doth avow [o] *himſelf, together with all preſidents of the churches, ſervants to the emperor*; doth ſay, that his ſee and his ſynod were ſubject to him, and did owe obedience to him. An. 680.

Preſently after him, Pope Leo II. who confirmed that general ſynod, doth call the emperor [p] *the prototype ſon of the Church*; and acknowledgeth the body of prieſts to be ſervants [q] (*meaneſt ſervants*) *of his royal nobleneſs.*

After him, Pope Conſtantine, (the immediate predeceſſor of Pope Gregory II.) when the emperor did command him to come to Conſtantinople, [r] *the moſt holy man*, ſaith Anaſtaſius in his Life, *did obey the imperial commands.* An. 709.

Yea, Pope Gregory II. himſelf, before his defection, (when perhaps the circumſtances of time did not animate him thereto,) did, in his epiſtle to Leo Iſaurus, acknowledge him as emperor to be [s] *the head of Chriſtians*, and himſelf conſequently ſubject to him.

This Gregory therefore may be reputed the father of that doctrine, which, being foſtered by his ſucceſſors, was by Pope Gregory VII. brought up to its robuſt pitch and ſtature.

I know, Pope Gregory VII. to countenance him, doth allege Pope Innocent I. excommunicating the emperor Arcadius for his proceedings againſt St. Chryſoſtom: and Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 2. Baron. an. 407. §. 23.

[o] Διεστόται καὶ τίκνα. *Act. Syn.* vi. p. 53. ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως. p. 304. ἡμετέρα δουλεία. p. 32. τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους. p. 94. δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς δρόνος. p. 64. ἵνικεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ἀφειλόμεν. p. 33, 34.

[p] πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τίκνον. *Act. Syn. VI.* p. 303.

[q] ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἰσχάτοις ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατίβαινε. *Ibid.* p. 304.

[r] Miſit imp. ad Conſtantinum P. ſacram, per quam juſſit eum ad regiam aſcendere urbem; qui ſanctiſſ. vir juſſis imperialibus obtemperans. *Anaſt. in Vit. P. Conſt.*

[s] ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. *P. Greg. II. ad Leon. Iſ. Ep.* i. (p. 502.)

Georg. Alex. Vit. Chryſ. cap. 68. Anon. Vit. Chryſ. cap. 39. Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

the writers of St. Chryſoſtom's Life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein. But ſeeing the hiſtorians who lived in St. Chryſoſtom's own time, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any ſuch thing; ſeeing that, being the firſt act in the kind, muſt have been very notable, and have made a great noiſe; ſeeing that ſtory doth not ſuit with the tenor of proceedings, reported by thoſe moſt credible hiſtorians, in that caſe; ſeeing that fact doth nowiſe ſort to the condition and way of thoſe times; that report cannot be true, and it muſt be numbered among the many fabulous narrations, deviſed by ſome wanton Greeks, to ſet out the life of that excellent perſonage.

The ſame Pope doth alſo allege St. Gregory M. denouncing excommunication and *deprivation of honour, to all kings, biſhops, judges,* &c. who ſhould violate the privilege granted to the monaſtery of St. Medard[t]. But this (as are many ſuch privileges) is a rank forgery, unworthily impoſed on Pope Gregory, (that prudent, meek, and holy man,) much to his wrong and diſgrace: which I will not be at trouble to confute, having ſhewed St. Gregory to have been of another judgment and temper, than to behave himſelf thus towards princes; and ſeeing that taſk is abundantly diſcharged by that very learned man, Monſieur Launoy.

Epiſt. pars vii.

Indeed, (upon this occaſion to digreſs a little farther,) it doth not ſeem to have been the opinion of the ancient popes, that they might excommunicate their ſovereign princes: for if they might, why did they forbear to exerciſe that power, when there was greateſt reaſon, and great temptation for it?

Why did not Pope Julius or Pope Liberius excommunicate Conſtantius the great favourer of the Arians, againſt whom Athanaſius, St. Hilary, and Lucifer Calar. do ſo earneſtly inveigh, calling him heretic, antichriſt, and what

[t] Siquis autem regum, antiſtitum, judicum, vel quarumcumque ſecularium perſonarum, hujus apoſtolicæ auctoritatis, et noſtræ præceptionis decreta violaverit——cujuſcunque dignitatis vel ſublimitatis ſit, honore ſuo privetur. *Greg. M. poſt Epiſt.* xxxviii. lib. 2.

not? How did Julian himſelf eſcape the cenſure of Pope Liberius? Why did not Pope Damaſus thunder againſt Valens, that fierce perſecutor of Catholics? Why did not Damaſus cenſure the empreſs Juſtina, the patroneſs of Arianiſm? Why did not Pope Siricius cenſure Theodoſius I. for that bloody fact, for which St. Ambroſe denied him the communion? How was it that Pope Leo I. (that ſtout and high Pope) had not the heart to correct Theodoſius Junior in this way, who was the ſupporter of his adverſary Dioſcorus, and the obſtinate protector of the ſecond Epheſine council, which that Pope ſo much deteſted? Why did not that Pope rather compel that emperor to reaſon by cenſures, than ſupplicate him by tears? How did ſo many popes connive at Theodoric, and other princes profeſſing Arianiſm at their door? Wherefore did not Pope Simplicius or Pope Felix thus puniſh the emperor Zeno, the ſupplanter of the ſynod of Chalcedon, for which they had ſo much zeal? Why did neither Pope Felix, nor Pope Gelaſius, nor Pope Symmachus, nor Pope Hormiſdas, excommunicate the emperor Anaſtaſius, (yea, did not ſo much, Pope Gelaſius ſaith, as [u] *touch his name,*) for countenancing the oriental biſhops in their ſchiſm, and refractory non-compliance with the papal authority? Thoſe popes did indeed claſh with that emperor, but they expreſsly deny, that they did condemn him with others whom he did favour. [x] *We,* ſaith Pope Symmachus, *did not excommunicate thee, O emperor, but Acacius. — If you mingle yourſelf, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourſelf.* And, *If the emperor pleaſeth to join himſelf with thoſe condemned,* ſaith Pope Gelaſius, *it cannot be imputed to us.*

Wherefore Baronius doth ill, in affirming Pope Symmachus to have anathematized Anaſtaſius: whereas that Pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, Baron. an. 503. §. 17.

[u] Quid ſibi vult autem, quod dixerit imperator a nobis ſe in religione damnatum, cum ſuper hac parte deceſſor meus non ſolum minime nomen ejus attigerit?——*P. Gelaſ. I. Epiſt.* 4.

[x] Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, ſed Acacium.—Si te miſces, non a nobis, ſed a te ipſo excommunicatus es. *P. Symmachus I. Ep.* 7. Si iſti placet ſe miſcere damnatis, nobis non poteſt imputari. *P. Gelaſ. I. Ep.* 4.

yea, denied it even in thoſe words which are cited prove it, being rightly read[y]: for they are corruptly wri ten in Baronius and Binius; *ego* (which hath no ſenſe, one contradictory to his former aſſertion) being put f *nego*, which is good ſenſe, and agreeable to what he a the other popes do affirm in relation to that matter.

Why do we not read that any Pope formally did e communicate, though divers did zealouſly contradict a oppoſe, the princes who did reject images?

In fine, a noble Biſhop above 500 years ago did ſay, *read and read again the records of the Roman kings a emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them before t was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by t Roman Pontiff.*[z]

Surely therefore the ancient popes did either not kn their power, or were very negligent of their duty.

Such have been the doctrine and behaviour of popes reference to their power.

§. V. This doctrine of the pope's univerſal power ov all perſons in all matters may reaſonably be ſuppoſed t ſentiment of all popes continually for a long time, ev for more than 500 years unto this preſent day. For,

1. If this doctrine be falſe, it implieth no ſlight err but one of a very high nature and moſt dangerous con quence; which involveth great arrogance and iniquit which tendeth to work enormous wrongs and grievo miſchiefs: whence, if any pope ſhould conceive it fal he were bound openly to diſclaim, to condemn, to refu it; leſt the authority of his predeceſſors, and his conni ance, ſhould induce others into it, or ſettle them in it; it is (in regard to Pope Honorius) charged upon Po

[y] Dicis quod, mecum conſpirante ſenatu, excommunicaverim te. I quidem ego, (nego,) ſed rationabiliter factum a deceſſoribus meis ſine dul ſubſequor. *P. Sym. Ep.* 7.

You ſay, that I excommunicated you by the joint conſent of the ſena This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reaſon done my predeceſſors.

[z] Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum geſta, et nuſqu invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatu vel regno privatum. *Otho Friſing. Chron.* lib. vi. cap. 35.

Leo II. [a] *who did not, as it became the apoſtolical authority, extinguiſh the flame of heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting cheriſh it.* In ſuch a caſe a pope muſt not be ſilent: for, [b] *No ſmall danger*, ſaith Pope Gelaſius, *lieth upon popes in being ſilent about what agreeth to the ſervice of God:* and, [c] *If*, ſaith Pope Paſchal, *a pope by his ſilence doth ſuffer the Church to be polluted with the gall of bitterneſs and root of impiety, he ſhould nowiſe be excuſable before the Eternal Judge:* and, [d] *Error*, ſaith Pope Felix III. *which is not reſiſted*, (by thoſe in eminent office,) *is approved; and truth which is not defended, is oppreſſed:* and, [e] *He is not free from ſuſpicion of a cloſe ſociety in miſchief, who ceaſeth to obviate it:* and, [f] *We*, ſaith Pope Gregory I. *do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected.* But all popes ſince the time ſpecified have either openly declared for this doctrine, or have been ſilent, and ſo have avowed it by tacit conſent.

2. Any pope diſapproving that tenent were bound to renounce communion with thoſe that hold and profeſs it; or at leaſt to check and diſcountenance it. But on the contrary they have ſuffered it to be maintained in their preſence and audience; and have hugged that ſort of men with eſpecial favour, as their moſt affectionate and ſure friends: they have ſuſpected, diſcountenanced, and frowned on thoſe who have ſhewed diſlike of it.

[a] —— cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apoſtolicam authoritatem, incipientem extinxit, ſed negligendo confovit. *P. Leo II. Ep.* 2.

[b] Non leve diſcrimen incumbit pontificibus ſiluiſſe pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit. *P. Gelaſ. I. Ep.* 8. (*ad Anaſtaſ. Imp.*)

[c] Si vero noſtro ſilentio pateremur Eccleſiam felle amaritudinis et impietatis radice pollui, qua ratione poſſemus apud æternum Judicem excuſari? *P. Paſchal. II. Ep.* 3. (*ad Anſelm. Cant.*)

[d] Error cui non reſiſtitur, approbatur; et veritas quæ minime defenſatur, opprimitur. *P. Felix III. Ep.* 1. (*ad Acacium.*)

[e] Non caret ſcrupulo ſocietatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori definit obviare. *Id. ibid.*

[f] Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda ſunt tacemus, valde delinquimus. *P. Greg. I. Ep.* ii. 37.

Thoſe men indeed who vouch this doctrine, may reaſonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the popes, on purpoſe to gratify and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it [g].

3. The chief authors and moſt zealous abettors of theſe notions (popes, ſynods, doctors of the ſchool) have continually paſſed for moſt authentic maſters of divinity, and have retained greateſt authority in the Church governed and guided by the Pope.

4. The decrees containing them do ſtand in their canon law, and in their collections of ſynods, without any caution or mark of diſlike; which is a ſufficient indication of their conſtant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common ſtyle of the papal edicts or bulls doth import their ſenſe; which is imperious, in regard to all perſons without exception: *Let no man* (ſay they) *preſume to infringe this our will and command*, &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even thoſe who have paſſed for the moſt wiſe and moderate among them) have been ready to practiſe according to thoſe principles, when occaſion did invite, and circumſtances of things did permit; interdicting princes, abſolving ſubjects from their allegiance, raiſing or encouraging inſurrections; as appeareth by their tranſactions not long ſince againſt our princes, and thoſe of France; which ſhews the very ſee imbued with thoſe notions.

7. They do oblige all biſhops moſt ſolemnly to avow this doctrine, and to engage themſelves to practiſe according to it. For in the oath preſcribed to all biſhops they are required to avow, that [h] *they will obſerve the apoſtolical commands with all their power, and cauſe them to be obſerved by others*; that [i] *they will aid and defend the Roman*

[g] Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι, Rom. i. 32. They not only do the ſame, but have pleaſure in them that do them.

[h] Mandata apoſtolica totis viribus obſervabo, et ab aliis obſervari faciam.

[i] Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem.

papacy and the royalties of St. Peter againſt every man; that [k] *they will to their power perſecute and impugn heretics, ſchiſmatics, and rebels to the Pope or his ſucceſſors,* without any exception; which was, I ſuppoſe, chiefly meant againſt their own Prince, (if occaſion ſhould be;) together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the Pope's univerſal domination.

Theſe horrible oaths of biſhops to the Pope do ſeem to have iſſued from the ſame ſhop with the high Hildebrandine dictates: for the oath in the Decretals is aſcribed to Pope Gregory, (I ſuppoſe Gregory VII.) And in the ſixth Roman ſynod under Gregory VII. there is an oath of like tenor exacted from the biſhop of Aquileia; perhaps occaſionally, which in purſuance of that example might be extended to all. Greg. Decret. lib. tit. 24. ca 4. Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 489.

And that before that time ſuch oaths were not impoſed doth appear from hence; that when Pope Paſchal II. did require them from ſome great biſhops, (the biſhop of Palermo, and the archbiſhop of Poland,) they did wonder and boggle at it, as an uncouth novelty; nor doth the Pope, in favour of his demand, allege any ancient precedent, but only propoſeth ſome odd reaſons for it. [l] *You have ſignified unto me, moſt dear brother, that the king and his nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an oath with ſuch a condition ſhould be everywhere offered you by my commiſſioners, and that you ſhould take that oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you.* Decret. Greg. lib. tit. 6. cap.

§. VI. All Romaniſts, in conſiſtence with their principles, do ſeem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the Pope's univerſal power. For, ſeeing many of their ſtanding maſters and judges of controverſies have ſo expreſsly from their chair declared and defined it; all the row for

[k] Hæreticos, ſchiſmaticos et rebelles eidem Domino noſtro vel ſucceſſoribus prædictis pro poſſe perſequar et impugnabo.

[l] Significaſti, frater chariſſime, regem et regni majores admiratione permotos, quod paſſim tibi ab apocriſiariis noſtris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, ſi ſacramentum, quod a nobis ſcriptum detulerant, jurares. *P. Paſch. II. Ep.* 6.

many ages conſenting to it and countenancing it; not one of them having ſignified any diſſent or diſlike of it: and conſidering that, if in any thing they may require or deſerve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more ſkilful and credible, than about the nature of their own office? [m]*What*, ſaith Bellarmine wiſely, *may they be conceived to know better than the authority of their own ſee?* Seeing it hath been approved by their moſt great and famous councils, which they hold univerſal, and which their adored ſynod of Trent doth allege for ſuch, (the Laterane under Pope Innocent III. that of Lyons under Pope Innocent IV. the other Laterane under Pope Leo X.) ſeeing it hath been current among their divines of greateſt vogue and authority, the great maſters of their ſchool; ſeeing by ſo large a conſent and concurrence, during ſo long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other points of great importance) to be confirmed by tradition or preſcription; why ſhould it not be admitted for a doctrine of the holy Roman Church, *the mother and miſtreſs of all churches?* How can they who diſavow this notion be true ſons of that mother, or faithful ſcholars of that miſtreſs? How can they acknowledge any authority in their Church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to aſſent?

How can they admit the Pope for authentic judge of controverſies, or maſter of Chriſtian doctrine, or in any point credible, who hath in ſo great a matter erred ſo foully, and ſeduced the Chriſtian world; whom they deſert in a point of ſo great conſideration, and influence on practice; whom they, by virtue of their diſſent from him in this opinion, may often be obliged to oppoſe in his proceedings?

How can they deny, that bad doctrines might creep in, and obtain ſway in the Church, by the intereſt of the Pope and his clients?

How can they charge novelty or heterodoxy on thoſe who refuſe ſome dictates of popes, of papal councils, of

[m] Ipſis præcipue debet eſſe nota ſuæ ſedis authoritas. *Bell.* iv. 3.

ſcholaſtic divines, which ſtand upon no better grounds than thoſe on which this doctrine ſtandeth?

Why hath no ſynod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Chriſtendom, clearly diſclaimed this opinion; but all have let it ſlip, or have ſeemed by ſilence to approve it?

Yea, how can the concord and unity of that Church well conſiſt with a diſſent from this doctrine? For,

No man apprehending it falſe, ſeemeth capable with good conſcience to hold communion with thoſe who profeſs it: for, upon ſuppoſition of its falſehood, the Pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the higheſt violation of divine commands, and moſt enormous ſins; of uſurpation, tyranny, impoſture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and all the villanies complicated in the practical influence of this doctrine.

It ſeemeth clear as the ſun, that if this doctrine be an error, it is one of the moſt pernicious hereſies that ever was vented; involving the higheſt impiety, and producing the greateſt miſchief. For, if he that ſhould teach adultery, inceſt, ſimony, theft, murder, or the like crimes, to be lawful, would be a heretic; how much more would he be ſuch, that ſhould recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide, (things inducing wars, confuſions, ſlaughters, deſolations, all ſorts of injuſtice and miſchief,) as duties?

How then can any man ſafely hold communion with ſuch perſons? May we not ſay with Pope Symmachus, that [n] *to communicate with ſuch, is to conſent with them?* with Pope Gelaſius, that *it is worſe than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?* and, that *he who communicateth with ſuch an hereſy is worthily judged to be removed from our ſociety?*

§. VII. Yet ſo looſe and ſlippery are the principles of the party which is jumbled in adherence to the Pope, that

[n] An communicare non eſt conſentire cum talibus? *P. Sym. I. Ep.* 7. Quaſi non ſit deterius, et non ignoraſſe veritatem, et tamen communicaſſe cum veritatis inimicis. *P. Gelaſ. I. Ep.* 1. Cuicunque hæreſi communicans merito judicatur a noſtra ſocietate removendus. *Id. ibid.* Vide Ep. xiii. p. 642.

divers will not allow us to take this tenent of infinite power to be a doctrine of their Church; for divers in that communion do not aſſent to it.

For there is a ſort of heretics (as Bellarmine and Baronius call them) ſculking everywhere in the boſom of their Church, all about Chriſtendom, and in ſome places ſtalking with open face, who reſtrain [o] *the Pope's authority ſo far, as not to allow him any power over ſovereign princes in temporal affairs; much leſs any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities.*

[p] *They are all branded for heretics, who take from the Church of Rome, and the ſee of St. Peter, one of the two ſwords, and allow only the ſpiritual.* This hereſy Baronius hath nominated the *hereſy of the politics.*

This hereſy a great nation, otherwiſe ſticking to the Roman communion, doth ſtiffly maintain, not enduring the papal ſovereignty over princes in temporals to be preached in it.

There were many perſons, yea, ſynods, who did oppoſe Pope Hildebrand in the birth of his doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious novelty, and branding it with the name of hereſy; as we before ſhewed.

Otto Friſing. Sigebert. Abbas Ubſp. Occam, Marſilius Patav. &c.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation (yea, in Italy itſelf) divers hiſtorians, divines, and lawyers, who have in elaborate tracts maintained the royal ſovereignty againſt the pontifical.

This ſort of heretics are now ſo much increaſed, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded. Which, by the way, ſheweth, that the Roman party is no leſs than others ſubject to change its ſentiments; opinions among them gaining and loſing vogue, according to circumſtances of time and contingencies of things.

§. VIII. Neither are the adherents to the Roman

[o] Altera non tam ſententia quam hæreſis duo docet, primo, pontificem ut pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem poteſtatem, nec poſſe ullo modo imperare principibus ſecularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare——. *Bell. V.* 1.

[p] Hæreſis errore notantur omnes qui ab Eccleſia Rom. cathedra Petri e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec niſi ſpiritualem concedunt. *Baron.* anno 1053. §. 14. Hæreſis Politicorum, *Baron.* an. 1073. §. 13.

Church more agreed concerning the extent of the Pope's authority even in ſpiritual matters.

For, although the popes themſelves plainly do claim an abſolute ſupremacy in them over the Church; although the ſtream of divines who do flouriſh in favour with them doth run that way; although, according to their principles, (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed,) that might ſeem to be the doctrine of their Church: yet is there among them a numerous party, which doth not allow him ſuch a ſupremacy, putting great reſtraints to his authority; (as we ſhall preſently ſhew.) And as the other party doth charge this with hereſy, ſo doth this return back the ſame imputation on that.

§. IX. That their doctrine is in this matter ſo various and uncertain, is no great wonder; ſeeing intereſt is concerned in the queſtion, and principles are defective toward the reſolution of it.

1. Contrary intereſts will not ſuffer the point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely diſputed on either hand.

On one hand, the Pope will not allow his prerogatives to be diſcuſſed; according to that maxim of the great Pope Innocent III. [q] *When there is a queſtion touching the privileges of the apoſtolic ſee, we will not that others judge about them.* Whence (as we before touched) the Pope did peremptorily command his legates at Trent, in no caſe to permit any diſpute about his authority.

On the other hand, the French will not permit the ſupremacy of their king in temporals, or the privileges of their Church in ſpirituals, to be conteſted in their kingdom. Nor, we may ſuppoſe, would any prince admit a deciſion prejudicial to his authority and welfare, ſubjecting and enſlaving him to the will of the Roman court. Nor (we may hope) would any Church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppreſſion of all its rights and

[q] Cum ſuper privilegiis ſedis apoſtolicæ cauſa vertatur, nolumus de ipſis per alios judicari. *Greg. Decr.* lib. ii. tit. 1. cap. 12.

liberties by a peremptory eſtabliſhment of papal omnipotency.

2. Nor is it eaſy for their diſſenſions to be reconciled upon theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their ſchools and maſters of their doctrine do in the caſe diſagree, but their ſynods do notoriouſly claſh.

§. X. Yea, even popes themſelves have ſhifted their pretences, and varied in ſtyle, according to the different circumſtances of time, and their variety of humours, deſigns, intereſts.

In time of proſperity and upon advantage, when they might ſafely do it, any pope almoſt would talk high, and aſſume much to himſelf: but when they were low, or ſtood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldeſt popes would ſpeak ſubmiſsly or moderately. As, for inſtance, Pope Leo I. after the ſecond Epheſine ſynod, when he had to do with Theodoſius II. did humbly ſupplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the ſynod of Chalcedon, having got the emperor favourable, and moſt of the biſhops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may obſerve, that even Pope Gregory VII. who did ſwagger ſo boiſterouſly againſt the emperor Henry, was yet calm and mild in his conteſts with our William the Conqueror; who had a ſpirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And popes of high ſpirit and bold face, (ſuch as Leo I. Gelaſius I. Nic. I. Gregory II. Gregory VII. Innocent III. Boniface VIII. Julius II. Paul IV. Sextus V. Paulus V. &c.) as they did ever aſpire to ſcrew papal authority to the higheſt peg; ſo would they ſtrain their language in commendation of their ſee as high as their times would bear. But other popes of meeker and modeſter diſpoſition (ſuch as Julius I. Anaſtaſius II. Gregory I. Leo II. Adrian VI. &c.) were content to let things ſtand as they found them, or to ſpeak in the ordinary ſtyle of their times; yet ſo, that few have let their authority to go backward or decline.

We may obſerve, that the pretences and language of popes have varied according to ſeveral periods, uſually growing higher as their ſtate grew looſer from danger of oppoſition or control.

In the firſt times, while the emperors were Pagans, their pretences were ſuited to their condition, and could not ſoar high; they were not then ſo mad as to pretend to any temporal power, and a pittance of ſpiritual eminency did content them.

When the empire was divided, they could ſometimes be more haughty and peremptory; as being in the weſt, ſhrouded under the wing of the emperors there, (who commonly did affect to improve their authority, in competition to that of other biſhops,) and at diſtance from the reach of the eaſtern emperor. P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511, 513.

The cauſe of Athanaſius having produced the Sardican canons, concerning the reviſion of ſome cauſes by the popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their authority, and raiſe their ſtyle; eſpecially in the weſt, where they had great advantages of augmenting their power.

When the weſtern empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the empire which came under protection of the eaſtern emperors rendering them able to do ſervice or diſſervice to thoſe emperors, they, according to the ſtate of times, and the need of them, did talk more big, or more tamely.

Pope Boniface III. having by compliance with the uſurper Phocas obtained a declaration from him concerning the headſhip of the Roman Church, did make a conſiderable ſtep forward toward the height of papal greatneſs.

After that Pope Gregory II. had withdrawn Italy from the oriental empire, and Rome had grown in a manner looſe and independent from other ſecular powers; in the confuſions of the weſt, the Pope interpoſing to arbitrate between princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occaſion ſerved, for mutual aid and countenance, did grow in power, and anſwerably did advance his pretences.

The ſpurious Decretal Epiſtles of the ancient pop (which aſſerted to the Pope high degrees of authorit being foiſted into men's hands, and inſenſibly creepi into repute, did inſpire the Pope with confidence to inva all the ancient conſtitutions, privileges, and liberties churches; and having got ſuch intereſt everywhere, might ſay what he pleaſed, no clergyman daring to che or croſs him. Having drawn to himſelf the final decifi of all cauſes, having got a finger in diſpoſal of all prefe ments; having by diſpenſations, exemptions, and gran of privileges, tied to him ſo many dependents, what migh not he ſay or do?

Pope Gregory VII. being a man of untameable ſpiri and taking advantage from the diſtractions and corru tions of his times, did venture to pull a feather with th emperor; and with ſucceſs having mated him, did ſet u a peremptory claim to ſovereignty over all perſons in a cauſes.

In his footſteps his ſucceſſors have trodden, being ev ready upon occaſion to plead ſuch a title, and to practi according to it. No pope would forego any power whic had been claimed by his predeceſſors. And popes woul ever be ſure to have dancers after their pipe, numberle abettors of their pretences.

No wonder then that perſons deferring much regard t the authority of popes, and accommodating their concei to the dictates of them, (or of perſons depending on them, ſhould in their opinions vary about the nature and exte of papal authority; it having never been fixed within ce tain bounds, or having in ſeveral ages continued the ſam thing.

§. XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to diſcu the pretended authority of the Pope, and to ſhew that h by no divine inſtitution, and by no immutable right, hat any ſuch power as he doth claim; by reaſon of this per plexed variety of opinions I do find it difficult to ſtate th queſtion, or to know at what diſtinct mark I ſhould leve my diſcourſe.

§. XII. But ſeeing his pretence to any authority i

temporals, or to the civil ſword, is ſo palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a ſerious diſpute, having nothing but impudence and ſophiſtry to countenance it; ſeeing ſo many in the Roman communion do reject it, and have ſubſtantially confuted it; ſeeing now moſt are aſhamed of it, and very few (even among thoſe ſects which have been its chief patrons) will own it; ſeeing Bellarmine himſelf doth acknowledge it a novelty, deviſed about 500 years ago in St. Bernard's time[r]; ſeeing the popes themſelves, whatever they think, dare now ſcarce ſpeak out, and forbear upon ſufficient provocation to practiſe according to it; I ſhall ſpare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my diſcourſe to the Pope's authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs; the pretence whereto I am perſuaded to be no leſs groundleſs, and no leſs noxious than the other to Chriſtendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as ſuperſtructed on it, muſt alſo neceſſarily fall.

§. XIII. And here the doctrine which I ſhall conteſt againſt is that in which the cordial partiſans of that ſee do ſeem to conſent, which is moſt common and current, moſt applauded and countenanced in their theological ſchools; which the popes themſelves have ſolemnly defined, and declared for ſtanding law, or rule of juriſdiction; which their moſt authentic ſynods (whereby their religion is declared, and diſtinguiſhed from others) have aſſerted or ſuppoſed; which the tenor of their diſcipline and practice doth hold forth; which their clergy by moſt ſolemn profeſſions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the clients and confidents of Rome do zealouſly ſtand for, (more than for any other point of doctrine;) and which no man can diſclaim without being deemed an enemy or a prevaricator toward the apoſtolic ſee.

§. XIV. Which doctrine is this, That (in the words of the Florentine ſynod's definition) *the apoſtolical chair and the Roman high prieſt doth hold a primacy over the univerſal* Ἔτι ὁρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, &c. *Concil. Flor. defin.* p. 854.

[r] Primi qui temporalem poteſtatem ſummo Pontifici ex Chriſti inſtitutione tribuunt, videntur eſſe Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c. *Bell.* v. 5.

The firſt that yield the Pope temporal power by Chriſt's inſtitution, ſeem to be Hugo, &c.

Church; and that the Roman high prieſt is the ſucceſſor o St. Peter, the prince of the Apoſtles, and the true lieut nant of Chriſt, and the head of the Church; and that he the father and doctor of all Chriſtians; and that unto hi in St. Peter, *full power is committed to feed, and direc and govern the Catholic Church under Chriſt; according is contained in the Acts of General Councils, and in t Holy Canons.*

That (in the words of Pope Leo X. approved by t Laterane ſynod) [s] *Chriſt, before his departure from t world, did in ſolidity of the rock inſtitute Peter and h ſucceſſors to be his lieutenants, to whom it is ſo neceſſary obey, that who doth not obey muſt die the death.*

That to the Pope, as ſovereign monarch, by divi ſanction of the whole Church, do appertain royal pr rogatives, (*regalia Petri*, the royalties of Peter, they a called in the oath preſcribed to biſhops.) Such as the which follow:

To be ſuperior to the whole Church, and to its repr ſentative, a general ſynod of biſhops. To convocate g neral ſynods at his pleaſure; all biſhops being obliged attend upon ſummons from him. To preſide in ſyno ſo as to ſuggeſt matter, promote, obſtruct, overrule debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their deter nations, giving like to them by his aſſent, or ſubtracti it by his diſſent. To define points of doctrine, or to d cide controverſies authoritatively; ſo that none may pr ſume to conteſt, or diſſent from his dictates. To ena eſtabliſh, abrogate, ſuſpend, diſpenſe with eccleſiaſti laws and canons. To relax or evacuate eccleſiaſtical ce ſures by indulgence, pardon, &c. To void promiſ
Bell. iv. 22. vows, oaths, obligations to laws by his diſpenſation. be the fountain of all paſtoral juriſdiction and digni To conſtitute, confirm, judge, cenſure, ſuſpend, depo remove, reſtore, reconcile biſhops. To confer eccleſiaſti

[s] Chriſtus—migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in ſoliditate Petræ Petr ejuſque ſucceſſores vicarios ſuos inſtituit, quibus ex libri regum teſtimo ita obedire neceſſe eſt, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur. *P. Leo X Conc. Later.* Seſſ. xi. p. 151.

dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of proviſion, reſervation, &c. To exempt colleges, monaſteries, &c. from juriſdiction of their biſhops and ordinary ſuperiors. To judge all perſons in all ſpiritual cauſes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory ſentence. To receive appeals from all eccleſiaſtical judicatories; and to reverſe their judgments, if he findeth cauſe. To be himſelf unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, aboliſh epiſcopal ſees. To exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the clergy. To found religious orders; or to raiſe a ſpiritual militia for propagation and defence of the Church. To ſummon and commiſſionate ſoldiers by croiſade, &c. to fight againſt infidels, or perſecute infidels.

Some of theſe are expreſſed, others in general terms couched in thoſe words of Pope Eugenius, telling the Greeks what they muſt conſent unto. [t] *The Pope*, ſaid he, *will have the prerogatives of his Church; and he will have appeals to him; and to feed all the Church of Chriſt, as ſhepherd of the ſheep. Beſide theſe things, that he may have authority and power to convoke general ſynods, when need ſhall be; and that all the patriarchs do yield to his will.*

That the Pope doth claim, aſſume, and exerciſe a ſovereignty over the Church endowed with ſuch prerogatives, is ſufficiently viſible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their canon law, and ſhall be diſtinctly proved by competent allegations, when we ſhall examine the branches of this pretended authority.

In the mean time it ſufficeth to obſerve, that in effect all clergymen do avow ſo much, who *bona fide* and without prevarication do ſubmit to take the oaths and engagements preſcribed to them of courſe by papal appointment. For this ſurely, according to the Pope's

[t] Θέλει τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον, καὶ πομαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥσπερ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων· πρὸς τούτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτεῖν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν, ὅτι δεήσει· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπείκειν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. *Conc. Flor.* p. 846.

meaning, (by which their obligation is to be meaſured is deſigned in the profeſſion ordained by Pope Pius I wherein every beneficed clergyman is enjoined to ſa [u] *And I do promiſe and ſwear true obedience to the Rom Pontiff, the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Jeſ Chriſt.* Which profeſſion was appointed in purſuance a ſanction made by the Trent Council, that all ſuch pe ſons [x] *ſhould vow and ſwear to abide in obedience to t Roman Church;* and conſequently, how hard ſoever yoke ſhould be, they would not ſhake it off: which i ferreth moſt abſolute ſovereignty of that Church, or the Pope, who ruleth the roaſt in it.

But what that *true obedience* doth import, or how the papal authority in the Pope's own ſenſe, and accor ing to the public ſpirit of that Church, doth ſtretch, more explicitly ſignified in the oath which all biſhops their conſecration, and all metropolitans at their inſt ment, are required to take; the which, as it is extant the Roman Pontifical [y], ſet out by order of Pope C ment VIII. doth run in theſe terms.

[z] I N. elect *of the Church of N.* from henceforward w be faithful *and obedient* to St. Peter *the Apoſtle,* and the holy Roman Church, and to our lord, *the lord* Pope N. and to his ſucceſſors, canonically coming in. will neither adviſe, *conſent,* or do any thing that th may loſe life or member, or that their perſons may ſeized, *or hands anywiſe laid upon them, or any injur offered to them, under any pretence whatſoever.* The cou ſel which they ſhall intruſt me withal, by themſelv

[u] Romanoque Pontifici, B. Petri ſucceſſori, ac Jeſu Chriſti vicario, ver obedientiam ſpondeo ac juro. *Bull. Pii IV. ſuper forma juram.*

[x] Proviſi de beneficiis — in Romanæ Eccleſiæ obedientia ſe permanſu ſpondeant ac jurent. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. xxiv. cap. 12.

[y] Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. anno 1626. p. 59, 86.

[z] Ego N. electus *Eccleſiæ N.* ab hac hora in antea fidelis *et obediens* ero Petro *Apoſtolo,* ſanctæque Romanæ Eccleſiæ, et Domino noſtro, *Domin* Papæ N. ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in conſilio, *conſenſu,* vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; ſeu capiantur n captione; *aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ i rantur, quovis quæſito colore.* Conſilium vero quod mihi crediturî ſunt,

their meſſengers, or letters, I will not *knowingly* reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, *and the royalties of St. Peter,* ſaving my order, againſt all men. The legate of the apoſtolic ſee, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his neceſſities. *The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our lord the Pope, and his foreſaid ſucceſſors, I will endeavour to preſerve, defend, increaſe, and advance. I will not be in any counſel, action, or treaty, in which ſhall be plotted againſt our ſaid lord, and the ſaid Roman Church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their perſons, right, honour, ſtate, or power; and if I ſhall know any ſuch thing to be treated or agitated by any whatſoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as ſoon as I can will ſignify it to our ſaid lord, or to ſome other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the apoſtolic decrees, ordinances, or diſpoſals, reſervations, proviſions, and mandates, I will obſerve with all my might, and cauſe to be obſerved by others. Heretics, ſchiſmatics, and rebels to our ſaid lord, or his foreſaid ſucceſſors, I will to my power perſecute and oppoſe.* I will come to a council when I am called, unleſs I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myſelf in perſon viſit the threſhold of the Apoſtles every three years; *and give*

ſe, *aut nuncios ſuos,* ſeu literas, ad eorum damnum, *me ſciente,* nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum *et regalia Sancti Petri* adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retinendum, ſalvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in ſuis neceſſitatibus adjuvabo. *Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, domini noſtri Papæ et ſucceſſorum prædictorum, conſervare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in conſilio, vel facto, ſeu tractatu in quibus contra ipſum dominum noſtrum, vel eandem Romanam Eccleſiam aliqua ſiniſtra vel præjudicialia perſonarum, juris, honoris, ſtatus et poteſtatis eorum machinentur. Et ſi talia a quibuſcunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro poſſe, et quanto citius potero ſignificabo eidem domino noſtro, vel alteri per quem poſſit ad ipſius notitiam pervenire. Regulas ſanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, ſeu diſpoſitiones, reſervationes, proviſiones et mandata apoſtolica totis viribus obſervabo, et faciam ab aliis obſervari. Hæreticos, ſchiſmaticos, et rebelles eidem domino noſtro vel ſucceſſoribus prædictis pro poſſe perſequar et impugnabo.* Vocatus ad ſynodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis trienniis perſonaliter per me ipſum viſitabo, *et*

an account to our lord and his foreſaid ſucceſſors of all m paſtoral office, and of all things anywiſe belonging to th ſtate of my Church, to the diſcipline of my clergy an people, and laſtly to the ſalvation of ſouls committed to m truſt; and will in like manner humbly receive and dili gently execute the apoſtolic commands. And if I be de tained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all th things aforeſaid by a certain meſſenger *hereto ſpeciall impowered, a member of my chapter, or ſome other in eccle ſiaſtical dignity, or elſe having a parſonage; or in defau of theſe, by a prieſt of the dioceſe; or in default of one the clergy,* [*of the dioceſe,*] *by ſome other ſecular or regula prieſt of approved integrity and religion, fully inſtructed i all things above-mentioned. And ſuch impediment I wi make out by lawful proofs to be tranſmitted by the foreſai meſſenger to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roma Church in the congregation of the ſacred council. The po ſeſſions belonging to my table I will neither ſell, nor gi away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywi alienate, no, not even with the conſent of the chapter of m Church, without conſulting the Roman Pontiff. And if ſhall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penaltie contained in a certain conſtitution put forth about th matter.* So help me God and theſe holy Goſpels of Go

domino noſtro ac ſucceſſoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo paſtorali offic ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Eccleſiæ ſtatum, ad cleri, et populi diſciplinam, an marum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ ſunt, ſalutem quovis modo pertinentibus, viciſſim mandata apoſtolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentiſſime exequa Quod ſi legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo per certu nuncium *ad hoc ſpeciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli, aut alium dignitate eccleſiaſtica conſtitutum, ſeu alias perſonatum habentem; aut, his mihi de cientibus, per diœceſanum ſacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium preſbyterum ſecularem vel regularem ſpectatæ probitatis et religionis de ſupradict omnibus plene inſtructum. De hujuſmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitima probationes ad ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ cardinalem proponentem in congregation ſacri concilii per ſupradictum nuncium tranſmittendas. Poſſeſſiones vero ad mea ſam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo in feudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum conſenſu capituli Eccleſiæ meæ, incon ſulto Romano Pontifice. Et ſi ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam ſuper hoc edita conſtitutione contentas eo ipſo incurrere volo.* Sic me Deus adjuve et hæc ſancta Dei evangelia.

Such is the oath preſcribed to biſhops, the which is worth the moſt ſerious attention of all men, who would underſtand how miſerably ſlaviſh the condition of the clergy is in that Church, and how inconſiſtent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their Prince.

And in peruſing it we may note, that the clauſes in a different character are in the more ancient oath extant in the Gregorian Decretals: by which it appeareth how the Pope doth more and more enlarge his power, and ſtraiten the bands of ſubjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new oath hath changed thoſe words, *regulas ſanctorum Patrum* into *regalia Sancti Petri*, i. e. *the rules of the holy Fathers* into *the royalties of St. Peter.* Greg. Dec lib. ii. tit. 24. cap. 4.

§. XV. I know there are within the Roman communion great ſtore of divines, who do contract the papal ſovereignty within a much narrower compaſs, refuſing to him many of thoſe prerogatives, yea, ſcarce allowing to him any of them.

There are thoſe who affirm the Pope, in doctrine and diſcipline, ſubject to the Church, or to a general ſynod repreſenting it. Which opinion thwarteth a propoſition, in Bellarmine's opinion, *even almoſt an article of faith:* but to be even with him, they do hold his propoſition to be quite heretical: [z] *The Pope is ſimply and abſolutely above the univerſal Church;—this propoſition is almoſt an article of faith*, ſaith Bellarmine: the cardinal of Lorrain on the contrary, [a] *But I*, ſaith he, *cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the Church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman Pontiff is ſubject to a council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics.*

There are thoſe who affirm the Pope, if he undertake points of faith without aſſiſtance of a general ſynod, may

[z] Summus Pontifex ſimpliciter et abſolute eſt ſupra Eccleſiam univerſam; ——hæc propoſitio eſt ferè de fide. *Bell. de Conc.* ii. 17.

[a] Ego vero negare non poſſum quin Gallus ſim, et Pariſienſis Eccleſiæ alumnus, in qua Rom. Pontificem ſubeſſe concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. *Card. Loth. apud Laun. Ep.* i. 1.

Quæ ſententia videtur omnino erronea et hæreſi proxima. *Bell.* iv. 2.

teach hereſy; (which opinion, as Bellarmine thought, doth *cloſely border on hereſy:*) and thoſe who conceive that popes may be and have been heretics; whence Chriſtians ſometimes are not obliged to admit their doctrine, or obſerve their pleaſure.

There are thoſe who maintain the Pope, no leſs than other biſhops, ſubject to the canons, or bound to obſerve the conſtitutions of the Church; that he may not infringe them, or overrule againſt them, or diſpenſe with them: and that to him attempting to do ſo obedience is not due.

There are thoſe who maintain, that the Pope cannot ſubvert or violate the rights and liberties of particular churches, ſettled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the Church univerſal.

There are thoſe who aſſert to general councils a power of reforming the Church, without or againſt the Pope's conſent.

Bell. de Conc. ii. 14.

There are thoſe who, as Bellarmine telleth us, do allow the Pope to be no more in the eccleſiaſtical republic, than as the Duke of Venice in his ſenate, or as the general of an order in his congregation; and that he therefore hath but a very limited and ſubordinate power.

There are conſequently thoſe who conceive the Pope notoriouſly erring, or miſdemeaning himſelf, to the prejudice of the Chriſtian ſtate, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be diſcarded by a general ſynod.

Such notions have manifeſtly prevailed in a good part of the Roman communion, and are maintained by moſt divines in the French Church; and they may be ſuppoſed everywhere common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquiſition doth not reign.

There have been ſeaſons wherein they have ſo prevailed, as to have been defined for Catholic truths in great ſynods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For,

An. 1409. Conc. Piſ. Seſſ. 16, 17.

In the firſt great ſynod of Piſa it was declared, that councils may *reform the Church ſufficiently both in head and members:* and accordingly that ſynod did aſſume to

judge two popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) contending for the papacy, (whereof one was the true Pope,) and depoſing them both, did ſubſtitute Alexander V. [b] *who for one year,* (as Antoninus reporteth,) *according to the common opinion, did hold the ſeat of Peter.*

The ſynod of Conſtance declared, that *the ſynod lawfully aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt, making a general council repreſenting the Catholic Church militant, hath immediately power from Chriſt; to which every one, of whatever ſtate or dignity he be, although it be papal, is bound to obey in thoſe things which belong to faith, and the extirpation of (the ſaid) ſchiſm, and the general reformation of the Church of God in head and members.* Primo declarat quod ipſa ſynodus, &c. Seſſ. 4, 5.

The which doctrine they notably put in practice, exerciſing juriſdiction over popes, and for errors, miſdemeanors, or contumacies, diſcarding three, (of whom it is hard if one were not true Pope,) and chooſing another, who afterward did paſs for a right pope, and himſelf did confirm the acts of that council. (So that this ſemi-hereſy hath at leaſt the authority of one pope to countenance it.) [c] *Our moſt holy lord the Pope ſaid in anſwer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably obſerve all and every of thoſe things that were conciliarly determined, concluded, and decreed, by the preſent council, in matters of faith.*

The ſynod of Baſil declared the ſame point, [d] *that councils are ſuperior to popes, to be a truth of Catholic faith, which whoever doth ſtiffly oppoſe is to be accounted a heretic:* [e] *Nor* (ſay they) *did any ſkilful man ever doubt the pope to be ſubject to the judgment of general ſynods in*

[b] Qui anno uno ſedem Petri tenuit, ſecundum communem opinionem. *Anton. de Concil. Piſ.* cap. v. §. 3.

[c] Sanctiſſ. Dominus noſter Papa dixit, reſpondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et ſingula determinata, concluſa et decreta in materiis fidei per præſens concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter obſervare volebat. *Conc. Conſt.* Seſſ. xlv. p. 1119.

[d] Veritas de poteſtate concilii ſupra papam——eſt veritas fidei Catholicæ ——cui pertinaciter repugnans eſt cenſendus hæreticus. *Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. xxxiii. (p. 95.)

[e] Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, ſummum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio earundem generalium ſynodorum eſſe ſubjectum. *Concil. Baſ.* Seſſ. xlv. p. 117.

of them: he that claimeth ſo mighty power, ſhould be at
Heb. v. 4. to make out a good title to it; for, *No man may take th* (more than pontifical) *honour to himſelf, but he that called by God, as was Aaron.* [h] *They are worthily to blamed, who tumultuouſly and diſorderly fall upon curbi or reſtraining thoſe who by no law are ſubject to them.*

We cannot well be juſtified from a ſtupid eaſineſs, admitting ſuch a lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do n ſee exhibited to us manifeſt and certain patents aſſurin its commiſſion to us. We ſhould love the Church bette than to yield up its liberty to the will of a pretende upon ſlight or no ground. Their boldly claiming ſuch power, their having ſometime uſurped ſuch a power, w not excuſe them or us.[i] Nor will precarious aſſumption or ſubtle diſtinctions, or blind traditions, or looſe conje tures ſerve for probations in ſuch a caſe.

§. XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk wherefore for ſatisfaction to them, not finding any bett plea, they hook in St. Peter; affirming that on him b our Lord there was inſtated a primacy over his brethre all the apoſtles and the diſciples of our Lord, importin all the authority which they claim; and that from hi this primacy was devolved by ſucceſſion to the biſhops c Rome, by right indefectible for all future ages.

Which plea of theirs doth involve theſe main ſuppo ſitions,

I. *That St. Peter had a primacy over the Apoſtles.*

II. *That St. Peter's primacy with its rights and prero gatives was not perſonal, but derivable to his ſucceſſors.*

III. *That St. Peter was biſhop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue biſhop of Rome, afte his tranſlation, and was ſo at his deceaſe.*

V. *That the biſhops of Rome (according to God's inſti tution, and by original right derived thence) ſhould hav*

[h] Jure culpandi ſunt, qui turbide atque inordinate in eos coercendos inſi liunt, qui nulla ſibi lege ſubjecti ſunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 17.

[i] Nemo ſibi et profeſſor et teſtis eſt. *Tertul.* v. 1. *adv. Marc.*
None can be both a claimer and a witneſs for himſelf.

be an impoſtor and ſeducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he hath not.

How can they honeſtly condemn thoſe who (upon ſuch grounds) do ſhake off ſuch yokes, refuſing to comply with the Pope, till he correct his errors, till he deſiſt from thoſe uſurpations and impoſtures, till he reſtore to the Church its rights and liberties?

How are the doctrines of thoſe men conſiſtent or congruous to their practice? For they call the Pope monarch of the Church, and univerſal paſtor of Chriſtians, by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his laws, and reject doctrines which he teacheth, particularly thoſe which moſt nearly touch him, concerning his own office and authority. They profeſs themſelves his loyal ſubjects, yet pretend liberties which they will maintain againſt him. They hold that all are bound to entertain communion with him, yet confeſs that he may be heretical, and ſeduce into error. They give him the name and ſhadow of a ſupremacy, but ſo that they can void the ſubſtance and reality thereof [g].

In fine, where ſhould we ſeek for the doctrine of the Roman Church, but at Rome, or from Rome itſelf? where theſe doctrines are heterodoxies.

§. XVII. We ſhall not therefore have a diſtinct regard to the opinion of theſe Semi-Romaniſts; nor conſider them otherwiſe, than to confirm that part of truth which they hold, and to confute that part of error which they embrace; allowing, at leaſt in word and ſemblance, more power to the Pope, than we can admit as due to him. Our diſcourſe ſhall be levelled at him as ſuch as he pretendeth himſelf to be, or as aſſuming to himſelf the forementioned powers and prerogatives.

§. XVIII. Of ſuch vaſt pretences we have reaſon to require ſufficient grounds. He that demandeth aſſent to ſuch important aſſertions, ought to produce clear proofs

[g] Manifeſtum autem ſchiſmatis argumentum eſt, cum quis ſe communioni ſubtrahit apoſtolicæ ſedis. *Baluſ. not. ad Agobard.* p. 112.

It is a manifeſt argument of ſchiſm, when any man withdraws himſelf from communion with the apoſtolick ſee.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

MATT. x. 2.

Now the names of the twelve Apoſtles were theſe; the firſt, Simon, who is called Peter. πρῶτος Σίμων.

AMONG the modern controverſies there is ſcarce any of greater conſequence, than that about univerſal ſupremacy, which the Biſhop of Rome claimeth over the Chriſtian Church; the aſſertion whereof on his ſide dependeth upon divers ſuppoſitions; namely theſe.

I. *That St. Peter by our Lord's appointment had a primacy, implying a ſovereignty of authority and juriſdiction over the Apoſtles.*

II. *That the rights and prerogatives of this ſovereignty were not perſonal, but derivable, and tranſmitted to ſucceſſors.*

III. *That St. Peter was Biſhop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue Biſhop of Rome after his tranſlation, and was ſo at his deceaſe.*

V. *That hence of right to the biſhops of Rome, as St. Peter's ſucceſſors, an univerſal juriſdiction over the whole Church of Chriſt doth appertain.*

VI. *That in fact the ſaid biſhops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exerciſed this power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible; ſuch as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the diſcuſſion and reſolution of the firſt point, I ſhall treat upon the primacy of St. Peter; endeavouring to ſhew what primacy he was capable of, or might enjoy; what he could not pretend to, nor did poſſeſs.

SUPPOSITION I.

The firſt Suppoſition of thoſe who claim Univerſal Juriſdiction to the Pope over the Church, is, *That St. Peter had a Primacy over the Apoſtles.*

IN order to the reſolution of this point, we may conſider, that there are ſeveral kinds of primacy, which may belong to a perſon in reſpect of others: for there are,

1. *A primacy of worth, or perſonal excellency.*
2. *A primacy of reputation and eſteem.*
3. *A primacy of order, or bare dignity and precedence.*
4. *A primacy of power or juriſdiction.*

To each of theſe what title St. Peter might have, let us in order examine.

I. As for the firſt of theſe, (*a primacy of worth, or merit,* as ſome of the ancients call it,) we may well grant it to St. Peter, admitting that probably he did exceed the reſt of his brethren in perſonal endowments and capacities, (both natural and moral,) qualifying him for the diſcharge of the apoſtolical office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickneſs of apprehenſion, in boldneſs of ſpirit, in readineſs of ſpeech, in charity to our Lord, and zeal for his ſervice, in reſolution, activity, and induſtry he was tranſcendent, may ſeem to appear by the tenor of the evangelical and apoſtolical hiſtories; in the which we may obſerve him upon all occaſions ready to ſpeak firſt, and to make himſelf *the mouth,* as the Fathers ſpeak, of the Apoſtles, in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onſet; being πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, *always hot* and eager, always *prompt* and vigorous, as St. Chryſoſtom often affirmeth

concerning him: [a] these things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiss to set down some instances.

When our Lord observing the different apprehensions men had concerning him, asked the Apostles, *But whom say ye that I am?* up starteth he, προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνεται, *he skippeth forth, and preventeth the rest,* crying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* [b] The other Apostles were not ignorant of the point; for they at their conversion did take Jesus for the Messias, which (even according to the common notion of the Jews) did imply his being the Son of God; Nathanael (that is, St. Bartholomew, as is supposed) had in terms confessed it; the whole company, upon seeing our Lord walk on the sea, had avowed it; St. Peter before that in the name of them all had said, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν, *We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* They therefore had the same faith, but he, from a special alacrity of spirit, and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it; [c] *He was more hot,* saith St. Gregory Nazianzen, *than the rest at acknowledging Christ.*

Matt. xvi. 15, 16.

John i. 42 46. Matt. xxvi 63. John i. 50 Matt. xiv. 33.

John vi. 69

When our Saviour walked on the sea, who but he had the faith and the courage to venture on the waters towards him?

Matt. xiv. 28.

When our Lord was apprehended by the soldiers, presently up was his spirit, and out went his sword in defence of him.

John xviii. 10.

When our Lord predicted, that upon his coming into trouble all the disciples would be offended, and desert

[a] Ἐπιρίστροφος γὰρ ἀεί πως ἦν ἄνθρωπος, κεκεντρωμένος οὐ μετρίως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν προθυμίαν. *Cyrill. in Joh.* xxi. 15. He was a very active and stirring man, exceedingly spurred on with much promptness and alacrity in doing and speaking.

Πανταχοῦ εὑρίσκεται ἀπὸ πόθου ὁρμῶν. *Chrys. in Joh. Or.* xii. (13, 24.)

Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πάσιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνει θερμότητα. *Chrys.* tom. v. *Or.* 59.

[b] Licet cæteri Apostoli sciant, Petrus tamen respondet pro cæteris. *Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9.

[c] Θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν Χριστοῦ. *Greg. Naz. Or.* 34.

Matt. xxvi. 33, 35. John xiii. 37. him, he was ready to ſay, *Though all men ſhall be offended becauſe of thee, yet will I never be offended;* and, *Though I ſhould die with thee, yet will I not deny thee:* ſuch was his natural courage and confidence.

Matt. xvi. 22. When our Lord was diſcourſing about his paſſion, he ſuddenly muſt be adviſing in the caſe, and urging him *to ſpare himſelf;* upon which St. Chryſoſtom biddeth us to *conſider,* [d] *not that his anſwer was unadviſed, but that it came from a genuine and fervent affection.*

Μὴ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει. Mark ix. 6. And at the transfiguration, he fell to propoſing about making an abode there, *not knowing what he ſaid;* ſo briſk was he in imagination and ſpeech.

Luke ix. 33. Luke xxiv. xii. 34. John xx. 3. Upon the good woman's report that our Lord was riſen from the dead, he firſt ran to the ſepulchre, and ſo (as St. Paul implieth) did obtain the firſt ſight of our Lord after the reſurrection[e]; ſuch was his zeal and activity upon all occaſions.

Acts i. 15. At the conſultation about ſupplying the place of Judas, he *roſe up,* propoſed, and preſſed the matter.

Acts xv. 7. At the convention of the Apoſtles and elders about reſolving *the debate* concerning obſervance of Moſaical inſtitutions, he firſt roſe up, and declared his ſenſe.

In the promulgation of the Goſpel, and defence thereof before the Jewiſh rulers, he did aſſume the conduct, and conſtantly took upon him to be the ſpeaker; the reſt ſtanding by him, implying aſſent, and ready to avow his word; *Peter,* ſaith St. Luke, *ſtanding with the reſt, lift up his voice, and ſaid unto them;* ſo *did they utter a common voice,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *and he was the mouth of all.*

Κοινὴν προσεβάλλοντο φωνὴν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ στόμα.

[f] That in affection to our Lord, and zeal for his ſervice,

[d] Μὴ τοῦτο ἐξιστάσωμεν, ὅτι ἀπερίσκεπτος ἡ ἀπόκρισις· ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίου πάθους ἦν ἡ ζέσις. Tom. v. Or. 59.

[e] Καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα. 1 Cor. xv. 5. And that he appeared to Cephas, after that to the twelve.

[f] Aug. in Joh. Tract. 123. Ὁ μανικὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Chryſ.* tom. v. *Or.* 24. An extreme lover of Chriſt.

Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amoriſque quam maximi fuiſſe Petrum in Dominum. *Hier. in Mat.* xvi. 22.

We have often ſaid that Peter was tranſported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord.

St. Peter had ſome advantage over the reſt, that queſtion, *Simon Peter, doſt thou love me more than theſe?* may ſeem to imply: (although the words πλεῖον τούτων may bear other interpretations, whereby the ſeeming invidiouſneſs of the queſtion, according to that ſenſe, will be removed.) However, that he had a ſingular zeal for promoting our Lord's ſervice, and propagation of the Goſpel, therein outſhining the reſt, ſeemeth manifeſt in the hiſtory, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently did ſhew to him.

Upon theſe premiſes we may well admit that St. Peter had a primacy of worth; or that in perſonal accompliſhments he was moſt eminent among the twelve Apoſtles; (although afterward there did ſpring up one, who hardly in any of theſe reſpects would yield to him; who could confidently ſay, *that he did not come behind the very chief Apoſtles;* and of whom St. Ambroſe ſaith, [g] *Neither was Paul inferior to Peter——being well to be compared even to the firſt, and ſecond to none:* and St. Chryſoſtom, [h] *For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul?*) This is the primacy which Euſebius attributeth to him, when he calleth him [i] *the excellent and great Apoſtle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the reſt.*

1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xi. 23, 5. xii. 11.

II. As to *a primacy of repute;* which St. Paul meaneth, when he ſpeaketh of the οἱ δοκοῦντες, *thoſe which had a ſpecial reputation,* of thoſe *who ſeemed to be pillars,* of the ὑπὲρ λίαν Ἀπόστολοι, the *ſupereminent Apoſtles;* this advantage cannot be refuſed him; being a neceſſary conſequent of thoſe eminent qualities reſplendent in him, and

Gal. ii. 2, 6. ii. 9. 2 Cor. xi. 5. xii. 11.

Ipſe enim Petrus in Apoſtolorum ordine primus, in Chriſti amore promptiſſimus, ſæpe unus reſpondet pro omnibus. *Aug. Serm.* xiii. *de verb. Dom. in Matt.* i.

For Peter himſelf being firſt in the order of the Apoſtles, and moſt prompt and forward in the love of Chriſt, anſwered oftentimes alone for all the reſt.

[g] Nec Paulus inferior Petro——cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli ſecundus. *Ambr. de Sp. S.* ii. 12.

[h] Τί γὰρ Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον. *Chryſ.* tom. v. *Or.* 167.

[i] Τὸν κορυφαῖον καὶ μέγαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀριστῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προάγοντα. *Euſeb. Hiſt.* ii. 4.

of the illustrious performances achieved by him, beyon the rest.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renow which he hath had propagated from the beginning to al posterity.

Ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πέτρος. *Ath. Disp. cont. Arium,* p. 121.

This at least those elogies of the Fathers (styling hi the chief, prince, head of the Apostles) do signify.

This also may be collected from his being so constantl ranked in the first place, before the rest of his brethren.

III. As to *a primacy of order, or bare dignity,* import ing that commonly, in all meetings and proceedings, th other Apostles did yield him the precedence, the προηγορία or privilege of speaking first, (whether in propoundin matters for debate, or in delivering his advice,) in th conduct and moderation of affairs; that this was stated o him, may be questioned; for that this were a kind o womanish privilege; and that it doth not seem to bef the gravity of such persons, or their condition and cir cumstances, to stand upon ceremonies of respect; for tha also our Lord's rules do seem to exclude all semblance o ambition, all kinds of inequality and distance between hi Apostles; for that this practice doth not seem constantl and thoroughly to agree to his being endowed with thi advantage; especially seeing all that practice which fa voureth it may fairly be assigned to other causes; fo that also the Fathers' authority (if that be objected, as main argument of such a primacy) in points of this nature not bordering on essentials of faith, is of no great strength they in such cases speaking out of their own ingeny an conjecture; and commonly indulging their imagination no less freely than other men.

But yet this primacy may be granted, as probable upo divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be usefu to preserve order, and to promote expedition; or to pre vent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in th management of things; yea, to maintain concord, and t exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost, whic is natural to men.

For seeing all could not go, speak, or act first, all coul

not guide affairs, it was expedient that one ſhould be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue; [k] *See* (ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, noting on Acts ii. 14. where St. Peter ſpeaketh for the reſt) *the concord of the Apoſtles; they yield unto him the ſpeech, for they could not all ſpeak:* and, [l] *One,* ſaith St. Jerome, *is choſen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occaſion of ſchiſm might be removed.*

St. Cyprian hath a reaſon for it ſomewhat more ſubtle and myſtical, ſuppoſing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren, (who otherwiſe in power and authority were equal to him,) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Auſtin) do commonly harp on the ſame notion: I can diſcern little ſolidity in this conceit, and as little harm. Cyp. Ep. 73. de Unit. Eccl. &c. In typo unitatis—— *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 17.

However, ſuppoſing this primacy, (at leaſt in reſpect to the Fathers, who generally ſeem to countenance it,) divers probable reaſons may be aſſigned, why it ſhould eſpecially be conferred on St. Peter [m].

1. It is probable, that St. Peter was firſt in ſtanding among the Apoſtles; I mean not that he was the firſt diſciple, or firſt converted to faith in Chriſt; but firſt called to the apoſtolical office; [n] or firſt nominated by our Lord, when out of all his diſciples *he choſe twelve, and called them Apoſtles; Simon, whom he called Peter, and* Luke vi. 14. Matt. iv. 18. Mark i. 16. Luke v. 3.

[k] Σπόσαι τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτοὶ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ τῆς δημηγορίας, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πάντας φθέγγεσθαι. *Chryſ. in Act.* ii. 14.

[l] Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite conſtituto ſchiſmatis tolleretur occaſio. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. cap. 14.

[m] Petrus—natura unus homo erat, gratia unus Chriſtianus, abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus Apoſtolus. *Aug. in Joh. Tract.* 123.

Peter was by nature one man, by grace one Chriſtian, by a more abundant grace one and the ſame prime Apoſtle.

Ipſe enim Petrus in Apoſtolorum ordine primus, in Chriſti amore promptiſſimus, ſæpe unus reſpondet pro omnibus. *Aug. de verbis Dom. ſup. Matt.* i. *Serm.* 13.

For Peter himſelf being the firſt in the order of the Apoſtles, the moſt forward in the love of Chriſt, he alone oftimes anſwers for all the reſt.

[n] [Πρωτεύσαι δὲ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέου, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι. *Theoph. in Matt.* x.]

Andrew his brother. He was one of the firſt believers at large; he was perhaps the firſt, that diſtinctly believed our Lord's divinity; he was probably the very firſt Apoſtle; [o] as the fitteſt perſon in our Lord's eye for that employment. [p] *He,* ſaith St. Hilary, *did firſt believe, and is the prince* (or firſt man) *of the apoſtleſhip.* [q] *He,* ſaith St. Cyprian, *was the firſt whom the Lord choſe.* [r] *He,* ſaith St. Baſil, *was by judgment preferred before all the diſciples.* He by other ancients is called [s] *the firſt-fruits of the Apoſtles.* And according to this ſenſe St. Jerome, I ſuppoſe, doth call him and his brother Andrew, *principes Apoſtolorum,* that is, (according to frequent uſage of the word *princeps* in Latin,) *the firſt of the Apoſtles.*

Hier. in Jovin. 1.

So that as in divers churches, (perhaps when time was in all,) anciently, priority in ordination did ground a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with ſome exception; ſo might St. Peter, upon this account of being firſt ordained Apoſtle, obtain ſuch a primacy.

2. St. Peter alſo might be the firſt in age; which among perſons otherwiſe equal is a fair ground of preference; for he was a married man; and that before he was called, as is intimated in St. Luke; and may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he *had left all,* and devoted himſelf to follow our Lord. Upon which account of age St. Jerome did ſuppoſe that he was preferred before the beloved diſciple; [t] *Why,* ſaith he, *was not St. John elected, being a bachelor? it was deferred to age, becauſe Peter was elder, that a youth, and almoſt a boy, might not be preferred before men of good age.*

Luke iv. 38. v. 7. Matt. xix. 27.

[o] Γινώσκων τις ἐν πρώτοις ἄξιος τάττεσθαι, ἐξελίξατο Πίτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι —— *Epiph. Hær.* 51.

[p] Primus credidit, et apoſtolatus eſt princeps. *Hil. in Matt. Can.* 7.

[q] Quem primum Dominus elegit. *Cypr. Ep.* 71.

[r] Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν πρεσβεύτης. *Baſ. de Judicio Dei,* tom. ii. p. 268.

[s] Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Modeſt. apud Phot. Cod.* 275. *Clem. ad Jac.*

[t] Sed cur non Joannes electus eſt virgo? ætati delatum eſt, quia Petrus ſenior erat; ne adhuc adoleſcens et pene puer progreſſæ ætatis hominibus præferretur. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

I know that Epiphanius[u] affirmeth St. Andrew to have been the elder brother; but it doth not appear whether he ſaith it from conjecture, or upon any other ground. And his authority, although we ſhould ſuppoſe it bottomed on tradition, is not great; tradition itſelf in ſuch matters being very ſlippery, and often one tradition croſſing another.

3. The moſt eminent qualifications of St. Peter (ſuch as we before deſcribed) might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honeſt confidence, puſhing him forward on all occaſions to aſſume the former place, and thence by cuſtom to poſſeſs it; for *qui ſibi fidit, dux regit examen*——it being in all action, as in walking, where he that naturally is moſt vigorous and active doth go before the reſt. Hor. Ep. 1. 19.

They might induce others to a voluntary conceſſion thereof[x]; for to thoſe who indiſputably do excel in good qualities or abilities, honeſt and meek perſons eaſily will yield precedence, eſpecially on occaſions of public concernment; wherein it is expedient, that the beſt qualified perſons ſhould be firſt ſeen.

They probably might alſo move our Lord himſelf to ſettle, or at leaſt to inſinuate this order; aſſigning the firſt place to him, whom he knew moſt willing to ſerve him, and moſt able to lead on the reſt in his ſervice.

It is indeed obſervable, that upon all occaſions our Lord ſignified a particular reſpect to him, before the reſt of his colleagues; for to him more frequently than to any of them he directed his diſcourſe; unto him, by a kind of anticipation, he granted or promiſed thoſe gifts and privileges which he meant to confer on them all; him he did aſſume as ſpectator and witneſs of his glorious transfiguration; him he picked out as companion and attendant on him in his grievous agony; his feet he firſt waſhed; Matt. xvi. 16. xvii. 1. xxvi. 37. John xiii. 6.

[u] Μικροτέρου ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου τῇ ἡλικίας. *Epiph. hær.* 51.
Peter being the younger in age.

[x] Αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖσιν αὐτῷ, &c. *Chryſ. in Act.* ii. 14.
They yield unto him, &c.

1 Cor. xv. 5. John xxi. to him he did firſt diſcover himſelf after his reſurrection, (as St. Paul implieth,) and with him then he did entertain moſt diſcourſe, in eſpecial manner recommending to him the paſtoral care of his Church: by which manner of proceeding our Lord may ſeem to have conſtituted St. Peter the firſt in order among the Apoſtles, or ſufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admoniſhing them by his example to render unto him a ſpecial deference.

4. The Fathers commonly do attribute his priority to the merit of his faith and confeſſion, wherein he did outſtrip his brethren. [y] *He obtained ſupereminent glory by the confeſſion of his bleſſed faith,* ſaith St. Hilary. [z] *Becauſe he alone of all the reſt profeſſeth his love,* (John xxi.) *therefore he is preferred above all,* ſaith St. Ambroſe.

Hil. in Mat. Can. xiv. p. 566.

Matt. x. 2. Mark iii. 17. Luke vi. 14. Acts i. 13. John xxi. 2.

5. Conſtantly in all the catalogues of the Apoſtles St. Peter's name is ſet in the front; and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is uſually mentioned firſt, which ſeemeth not done without careful deſign, or ſpecial reaſon.

Upon ſuch grounds it may be reaſonable to allow St. Peter a primacy of order; ſuch a one as the ringleader hath in a dance, as the primipilar centurion had in the legion, or the prince of the ſenate had there, in the Roman ſtate; at leaſt, as among earls, baronets, &c. and others coordinate in degree, yet one hath a precedence of the reſt.

IV. As to a primacy, importing ſuperiority in power, command, or juriſdiction; this by the Roman party is aſſerted to St. Peter, but we have great reaſon to deny it, upon the following conſiderations.

1. For ſuch a power (being of ſo great importance) it was needful that a commiſſion from God, its founder, ſhould be granted in downright and perſpicuous terms; that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon, might

[y] Supereminentem beatæ fidei ſuæ confeſſione gloriam promeruit. *Hil. de Trin.* lib. vi. p. 121.

[z] Ideo quia ſolus profitetur amorem ſuum (John xxi.) ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur. *Ambr. in Luc.* cap. ult.

have any doubt of it, or excuſe for boggling at it; [a] it was neceſſary, not only for the Apoſtles, to bind and warrant their obedience, but alſo for us, becauſe it is made the ſole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us; which we cannot heartily diſcharge without being aſſured of our obligation thereto, by clear revelation, or promulgation of God's will in the holy Scripture; for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true rule, which St. Auſtin in one caſe thus expreſſeth, [b] *I do believe that alſo on this ſide there would be moſt clear authority of the Divine oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it without damage of his ſalvation;* and Lactantius thus, [c] *Thoſe things can have no foundation, or firmneſs, which are not ſuſtained by any oracle of God's word.*

But apparently no ſuch commiſſion is extant in Scripture; the allegations for it being, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, nowiſe clear, nor probably expreſſive of any ſuch authority granted by God; but on the contrary divers clearer teſtimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If ſo illuſtrious an office was inſtituted by our Saviour, it is ſtrange that nowhere in the evangelical or apoſtolical hiſtory (wherein divers acts and paſſages of ſmaller moment are recorded) there ſhould be any expreſs mention of that inſtitution; there being not only much reaſon for ſuch a report, but many pat occaſions for it: the time when St. Peter was veſted with that authority; the manner and circumſtances of his inſtalment therein; the nature, rules, and limits of ſuch an office, had ſurely well deſerved to have been noted, among other occur-

[a] It was a reaſonable demand, which was made to our Saviour, *Tell us by what authority thou doeſt theſe things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?* (Luke xx. 2.) and the reaſonableneſs of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no ſin to diſbelieve or reject him, (John v. 31, 36. x. 25, 37. xv. 22, 24.)

[b] Credo etiam hinc divinorum eloquiorum clariſſima authoritas eſſet, ſi homo ſine diſpendio promiſſæ ſalutis ignorare non poſſet. *Aug. de Pec. Mer. et Rem.* ii. 36.

[c] Nullum fundamentum aut firmitatem poſſunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis. *Lact.* vii. 2.

rences relating to our faith and diſcipline, by the he Evangeliſts; no one of them, in all probability, co have forborne punctually to relate a matter of ſo gr conſequence, as the ſettlement of a monarch in Go Church, and a ſovereign of the apoſtolical college; (fr whom ſo eminent authority was to be derived to all poſ rity, for compliance wherewith the whole Church ever muſt be accountable;) particularly it is not credi that St. Luke ſhould quite ſlip over ſo notable a paſſag

Luke i. 1. who *had*, as he telleth us, *attained a perfect underſtandi of all things, and had undertaken to write in order things that were ſurely believed among Chriſtians* in time; of which things, this, if any, was one of the m conſiderable.

3. The time of his receiving inſtitution to ſuch authori can hardly be aſſigned. For was it when he was co

Matt. x. 1. ſtituted by our Lord an Apoſtle? Then indeed probab he began to obtain all the primacy and preeminence ever had; but no ſuch power doth appear then confer on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at leaſt, if was, it was ſo covertly and indiſcernibly, that both himſelf and all the Apoſtles muſt be ignorant thereo who a little before our Lord's paſſion did more than on earneſtly conteſt about ſuperiority. And it is obſervabl that whereas our Lord before his paſſion did carefull teach and preſs on the Apoſtles the chief duties whic they were to obſerve in their behaviour toward eac

Mark ix. 50. John xiii. 34. xv. 12. xvii. 21. xiii. 14. other; the maintenance of peace, of charity, of unity, humility toward one another; yet of paying due reſpe and obedience to this ſuperior he ſaid nothing to them.

The collation of that power could not well be at an time before the celebration of our Lord's Supper, becauſ before that time St. Peter was ſcarce an eccleſiaſtica perſon; at leaſt he was no prieſt, as the convention o Trent under a curſe doth require us to believe[d]; for i

[d] Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Chriſtum non inſtituiſſe Apoſtolos ſacerdotes —— anathema ſit. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. xxii. Can. 2.

were ſtrange, that an unconſecrated perſon, or one who was not ſo much as a prieſt, ſhould be endowed with ſo much ſpiritual power.

After his reſurrection, our Lord did give divers common inſtructions, orders, and commiſſions to his Apoſtles, but it doth not appear that he did make any peculiar grant to St. Peter; for as to the pretence of ſuch an one drawn out of the appendix to St. John's Goſpel, or grounded on the words *Paſce oves*, we ſhall afterward declare that to be invalid.

'Εντολάς μενος τοῖς Αποστόλοις——. Acts i. 2. John xx. 21. Mat. xxviii. 19. Luke xxiv. 49. Mark xvi. 15.

4. If St. Peter had been inſtituted ſovereign of the apoſtolical ſenate, his office and ſtate had been in nature and kind very diſtinct from the common office of the other Apoſtles; as the office of a king from the office of any ſubject; as an ordinary, ſtanding, perpetual, ſucceſſive office, from one that is only extraordinary, tranſitory, temporary, perſonal, and incommunicable; (to ſpeak according to diſtinctions now in uſe, and applied to this caſe;) whence probably, as it was expedient to be, it would have been ſignified by ſome diſtinct name, or title, characterizing it, and diſtinguiſhing it from others; as that of Arch-apoſtle, Arch-paſtor, High Prieſt, Sovereign Pontiff, Pope, his Holineſs, the Vicar of Chriſt, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there was ſuch an officer, what the nature of his office was, what ſpecialty of reſpect and obedience was due to him: but no ſuch name or title (upon any occaſion) was aſſumed by him, or was by the reſt attributed to him, or in hiſtory is recorded concerning him; the name of an Apoſtle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to him.

5. There was indeed no office above that of an Apoſtle known to the Apoſtles, or to the primitive Church; this, ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, was [c]*the greateſt authority*, and *the*

If any one ſhall ſay that in thoſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Chriſt did not ordain his Apoſtles prieſts——let him be accurſed.

[c] Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη· κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 114.

Εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν Ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ἀνώτερον. *Ibid.*

Τῶν δὲ Ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 33.

top of authorities; there was, ſaith he, none *before* t *Apoſtle, none ſuperior, none equal to him:* this he aſſerte of all the Apoſtles, this he particularly applieth to S Paul; this he demonſtrateth from St. Paul himſelf, wh purpoſely enumerating the chief officers inſtituted by G in his Church, doth place Apoſtles in the higheſt rank

Eph. iv. 11. *Our Lord,* ſaith St. Paul, *gave ſome apoſtles, ſome prophet ſome evangeliſts, ſome paſtors and teachers;* and God ha

1 Cor. xii. 28. ſet ſome in *his Church, firſt apoſtles, ſecondarily prophet thirdly teachers;* πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους; why not firſt a pope, u univerſal paſtor, an œcumenical judge, a vicar of Chri a head of the Catholic Church? Could St. Paul be ignorant, could he be ſo negligent or ſo envious, as paſs by, without any diſtinction, the ſupreme officer, ſuch a one then had been? As put caſe, that one ſhou undertake to recite the officers in any ſtate, or republi would he not do ſtrangely, if he ſhould pretermit the kin the duke, the conſul, the major thereof? Would not a one, confiding in the ſkill, diligence, and integrity of ſuc a relator, be induced from ſuch an omiſſion to belie there was no ſuch officer there? St. Chryſoſtom therefo did hence very rationally infer, that the apoſtolical offic was the ſupreme in the Chriſtian ſtate, having no oth ſuperior to it.

St. Peter therefore was no more than an Apoſtle; an as ſuch he could have no command over thoſe who wer in the ſame higheſt rank coordinate to him, and who a Apoſtles could not be ſubject to any.

6. Our Lord himſelf, at ſeveral times, declared againſt this kind of primacy, inſtituting equality among his Apo ſtles, prohibiting them to affect, to ſeek, to aſſume, o admit a ſuperiority of power one above another.

Luke xxii. 14, 24. Τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

There was (ſaith St. Luke, *among the twelve,* at th participation of the holy ſupper) *a ſtrife among them, wh*

Αὐτῷ τῷ Παύλου ἀκούσαμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίσ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. ubi ſupra.

We have heard Paul himſelf reckoning up powers or authorities, and plac ing the apoſtolical in the higheſt place.

of them ſhould be accounted the greateſt, or who had the beſt pretence to ſuperiority: this ſtrife our Lord preſently did check and quaſh; but how? not by telling them, that he already had decided the caſe in appointing them a ſuperior, but rather by aſſuring them, that he did intend none ſuch to be; that he would have no monarchy, no exerciſe of any dominion or authority by one among them over the reſt; but that notwithſtanding any advantages one might have before the other, (as [f]greater in gifts, or as preceding in any reſpect,) they ſhould be one as another, all humbly condeſcending to one another, each being ready to yield help and ſervice to one another; *The kings*, ſaid he, *of the Gentiles exerciſe lordſhip over them; and they that exerciſe authority over them are called benefactors: but ye ſhall not be ſo; but he that is greater among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is leader, as he that doth miniſter*; that is, whatever privilege any of you obtaineth, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and ſubſerviency, as occaſion ſhall require; let him not pretend to be a ſuperior, but rather behave himſelf as an inferior: thus our Lord did ſmother the debate, by removing from among them whatever greatneſs any of them did affect or pretend to; forbidding that any of them ſhould κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν, exerciſe any dominion or authority over the reſt, as worldly princes did over their ſubjects.

So doth St. Clemens interpret μείζων, alluding to this place.

Luke xxii. 25, 26.

μείζων.

ἡγέμενος.

Again, upon another occaſion, (as the circumſtances of the place do imply,) when two of the Apoſtles (of ſpecial worth and conſideration with our Lord, St. James and St. John, the ſons of Zebedee) did affect a preeminence over the reſt, requeſting of our Lord, *Grant unto us that*

Mark x. 37 Matt. xx. 25.

[f] Ἥτω τις πιστὸς, ἥτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἥτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἥτω ἐργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πᾶσιν, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. *Clem. ad Corinth.* i. p. 63. *apud Clem. Alex. Strom.* vi. p. 466.

Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wiſe in diſcovering reaſons, let him be ſtrenuous in works, by ſo much the more ought he to be humble minded, by how much the more he ſeems to be greater than others; and to ſeek the common benefit of all, and not of himſelf.

we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy i *hand, in thy glory,* (or *in thy kingdom,* as St. Matth hath it; that is, in that new state, which they concei our Lord was ready to introduce;) which request d not seem to import any great matter of authority; i probably did they desire so much, as our adversaries give to St. Peter; yet our Lord doth not only reject th suit, but generally declareth, that none of them w capable of such a preferment in his kingdom; whi therein differed from worldly dominion, because in it th was no room for such an ambition; especially in that st of things wherein the Apostles were to be placed; whi was a state of undergoing persecutions, not of enjoyi dignity, or exercising command; all the preferment whi they reasonably could aspire to being to be dispensed the future state, (whereof they were not aware,) accordi to God's preparation, in correspondence to the patien and industry any of them should exert in God's servic (upon which account St. Chrysostom saith,) [g] *it was clear case, that St. Paul should obtain the preference.*

It was indeed (as our Lord intimateth) incongruous i those, who had forsaken all things for Christ, who h embraced a condition of disgrace, who were designed, l self-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealt and honour, by undergoing persecution, and undertakin conformity to our Lord, (*being baptized with the baptis with which he was baptized,*) to propagate the faith of crucified Master, to seek or take on them authoritati dignity; [h] for among them there could not well be an need of commanding or being commanded; it was mo fit, that all of them should conspire to help and serve on another, in promoting the common design and service c their Lord, with mutual condescension and compliance

[g] Εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας. *Chrys.* tom. Or. 33.

[h] Τότε ἡ ἐπιστασία ἦν οὐ τιμή. ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων, &c. *Chrys.* i *Act.* i. 6.

Then the government was not an honour, but a provident care of the go verned, &c.

which was the beſt way of recommending themſelves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him anſwerable reward. Such was the drift of our Lord's diſcourſe; whereunto (as in the other caſe) he did annex the prohibition of exerciſing dominion; *Ye know*, ſaith he, *that the princes of nations exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe authority upon them: but it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter; and whoſoever will be firſt among you, let him be your ſervant;* Ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ, whoever among you hath a mind to ſpecial grandeur and preeminence, let him underſtand, that there is no other to be attained, beſide that which reſulteth from the humble performance of charitable offices to his brethren: the which whoever ſhall beſt diſcharge, he alone will become greateſt and higheſt in the eye of God. Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27.

Again, at another time, the Apoſtles dreaming of a ſecular kingdom to be erected by our Lord, *diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould be the greateſt;* and for ſatisfaction preſumed to inquire of our Lord about it; when, as they ſurely were very ignorant of St. Peter's being their head, ſo there was a fair occaſion as could be of our Lord's inſtructing them in that point, and enjoining their duty towards him; but he did not ſo, but rather taught him, together with the reſt, not to pretend to any ſuch thing, as preferment above the reſt; *He ſitting down, called the twelve, and ſaid unto them, If any one deſire to be firſt, the ſame ſhall be laſt of all, and ſervant of all.* How could he (conſidering the occaſion and circumſtances of that ſpeech) in plainer terms eſtabliſh equality, or diſcountenance any claim to ſuperiority among them? Had St. Peter then advanced ſuch a plea, as they now affirm of right belonging to him, would he not thereby have depreſſed and debaſed himſelf to the loweſt degree? Mark ix. 34. Luke ix. 46. Matt. xviii. 1. Mark ix. 35.

To impreſs this rule, our Lord[1] then *calling a little*

[1] Καὶ τοῖς περὶ πρωτείων φιλονικοῦσι γνωρίμοις μετὰ ἁπλότητος τὴν ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾷ, λέγων ὡς τὰ παιδία αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι δεῖν. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* v. (p. 409.)

And to thoſe familiar friends ſtriving for the preeminence, he commends

child, did ſet him in the midſt of them, telling them, that *except they were converted,* (from ſuch ambitious pretences) *and became like little children,* (wholly void of ſuch conceits,) *they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven* that is, could not in effect be ſo much as ordinary good Chriſtians; adjoining, that *whoſoever ſhould humble himſelf as did that little child,* (not affecting, or aſſuming more than ſuch an innocent did,) *ſhould be greateſt in the kingdom of heaven;* in real worth, and in the favour of God, tranſcending the reſt; ſo that St. Peter claiming ſuperiority to himſelf, would have forfeited any title to eminency among Chriſtians.

Again, as to the power which is now aſcribed to St. Peter by the party of his pretended ſucceſſors, we may argue from another place; where our Saviour prohibiting his diſciples to reſemble the Jewiſh Scribes and Phariſees in their ambitious deſires and practices, their affectation of preeminence, their aſſuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, he ſaith, *But be ye not called Rabbi: for there is one Maſter* (one Guide, or Governor) *of you, even Chriſt; but ye are brethren.* How more pregnantly could he have declared the nature of his conſtitution, and the relation of Chriſtians one to another eſtabliſhed therein, to exclude ſuch differences of power whereby one doth in way of domination impoſe his opinion or his will on others!

Matt. xxiii. 8. εἷς καθηγητής.

Ye are all fellow-ſcholars, fellow-ſervants, and fellow children of God; it therefore doth not become you to be anywiſe imperious over one another; but all of you humbly and lovingly to conſpire in learning and obſerving the precepts of your common Lord; the doing which is backed with a promiſe, and a threat ſuitable to the purpoſe; *He that exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed; and he that will abaſe himſelf ſhall be exalted;* the which ſentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the rule foregoing.

equality together with ſimplicity, ſaying, that they ought to become as little children.

If it be ſaid, that ſuch diſcourſe doth impugn all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; I anſwer, that indeed thereby is removed all ſuch haughty and harſh rule, which ſome have exerciſed over Chriſtians; that αὐθεντία, (*arbitrary power;*) that ἐξουσία ἀνεύθυνος, (*abſolute, uncontrollable authority;*) that τυραννικὴ προνομία, (*tyrannical prerogative,*) of which the Fathers complain; that καταχυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων, (*domineering over their charges,*) which St. Peter forbiddeth. [k]*We,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *were deſigned to teach the word, not to exerciſe empire or abſolute ſovereignty; we do bear the rank of adviſers, exhorting to duty.*

Chryſ. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Eph. Or. 11. Iſid. Pel. Ep. iv. 219. ii. 125. Greg. Naz. Or. 28. 1 Pet. v. 3.

A biſhop, ſaith St. Jerome, differeth from a king, in that a biſhop *preſideth over thoſe that are willing,* the king *againſt their will*[l]; (that is, the biſhop's governance ſhould be ſo gentle and eaſy, that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it; but ſhould obey, as St. Peter exhorteth, (ἐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, *not by conſtraint, but of their own accord;*) and, [m]*Let,* ſaith he, *the biſhops be content with their honour; let them know themſelves to be fathers, not lords; they ſhould be loved, not feared.*

1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

And, [n]*Thou* (ſaith St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius) *doſt ſuperintend, the name of Biſhop ſignifying to thee not dominion, but duty.*

At leaſt thoſe precepts of our Lord do exclude that power which is aſcribed to St. Peter over the Apoſtles themſelves, the which indeed is greater than in likelihood any Phariſee did ever affect; yea in many reſpects doth exceed any domination which hath been claimed or uſurped by the moſt abſolute monarch upon earth; for the power of St. Peter in their opinion was the ſame which

[k] Εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προεχειρίσθημεν, ἐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, ἢ εἰς αὐθεντίαν· συμμάχων τάξιν ἐπέχομεν παρακαλούντων. *Chryſ. in Eph.* Or. 11.

[l] Ille enim nolentibus præeſt, hic volentibus. *Hier. Ep.* 3. *ad Nepot.*

Ὁ μέντοι ἑκόντων ἐφίλων ἄρχειν, &c. *Chryſ. in Tit.* i. 7.

He ought to rule them ſo as they may be willing to be ruled, &c.

[m] Sed contenti ſint honore ſuo; patres ſe ſciant eſſe non dominos—— *Hier.* Ep. 62. *ad Theoph.* cap. 3.

Amari parens, et epiſcopus debet, non timeri. *Ibid.* cap. 1.

[n] Inde denique ſuperintendis, ſonante tibi Epiſcopi nomine non dominium, ſed officium. *Bern. de Conſid.* ii. 6.

now the Roman biſhop doth challenge to himſelf over the paſtors and people of God's Church, by virtue of ſucceſſion to him, (St. Peter's power being the baſe of the papal, and therefore not narrower than its ſuperſtructure; but what domination comparable to that hath ever been uſed in the world?

What emperor did ever pretend to a rule ſo wide in extent, (in regard either to perſons or matters,) or ſo abſolute in effect?

Who ever, beſide his Holineſs, did uſurp a command not only over the external actions, but the moſt inward cogitations of all mankind; ſubjecting the very minds and conſciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his cenſures?

Who ever thundered curſes and damnations on all thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſſent from his opinion, or to conteſt his pleaſure?

Who ever claimed more abſolute power, in making, aboliſhing, ſuſpending laws, or impoſing upon men what he pleaſed, under obligation of conſcience, and upon extremeſt penalties?

What prince ever uſed a ſtyle more imperious, than is that which is uſual in the papal bulls; [o]*Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expreſſion of our will and command, or to go againſt it with bold raſhneſs.*

What Domitian more commonly did admit the appellation of Lord, than doth the Pope? [p]*Our moſt Holy Lord*, is the ordinary ſtyle attributed to him by the Fathers of Trent, as if they were his ſlaves, and intended to enſlave all Chriſtendom to him.

Who ever did exempt his clients and dependents in all nations from ſubjection to civil laws, from undergoing common burdens and taxes, from being judged or puniſhed for their miſdemeanours and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to diſpoſe of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly? to diſpoſe even of kingdoms, to judge ſovereign princes, and to con-

[o] Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ voluntatis et mandati infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire.

[p] Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter. *Concil. Trid.* Seſſ. xxii. cap. 11, &c.

demn them, to depoſe them from their authority, abſolving their ſubjects from all allegiance to them, and expoſing their kingdoms to rapine?

To whom but a pope were ever aſcribed prerogatives like thoſe of judging all men, and himſelf being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame; ſo that, as a papal canon aſſureth us, *let a pope be ſo bad, as by his negligence and maleadminiſtration to carry with him innumerable people to hell, yet no mortal man whatever muſt preſume here to reprove his faults; becauſe he being to judge all men, is himſelf to be judged of no man, except he be catched ſwerving from the faith;* which is a caſe they will hardly ſuffer a man to ſuppoſe poſſible.

Si papa ſuæ, &c. *Grat. Diſt.* xl. cap. 6.

To whom but to a pope was ſuch power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himſelf, that he could hear thoſe words applying to him, *All power is given to thee in heaven and in earth?*

Concil. Lat. ſub Leone x. Seſſ. xi. p. 138. (in Or Archiep. Patrac.)

[q] Such power the popes are wont to challenge, and when occaſion ſerveth do not fail to execute, as ſucceſſors of St. Peter; to whom therefore conſequently they aſcribe it: and ſometimes in expreſs terms; as in that brave apoſtrophe of Pope Gregory VII. (the ſpirit of which Pope hath poſſeſſed his ſucceſſors generally;) [r] *Go to therefore,* (ſaid he, directing his ſpeech to St. Peter and St. Paul,) *moſt holy princes of the Apoſtles, and what I have ſaid confirm by your authority; that now at length all men may underſtand, whether ye can bind and looſe; that alſo ye can take away and give on earth, empires, kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have.*

Now if the aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch powers be not that καταχυριεύειν, and κατεξουσιάζειν, that exalting one's ſelf, that being called rabbi, father, maſter, which our Lord prohibiteth, what is ſo? what then can thoſe words ſignify? what could our Lord mean?

The authority therefore which they aſſign to St. Peter,

[q] Hac itaque fiducia fretus, &c. *Excommun. Henrici R. in Concil. Rom.* iii. *ſub Greg.* VII. *apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 484.

[r] Agite Apoſtolorum ſanctiſſimi principes, &c. *Plat. in Greg. VII.* In Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 491.

and aſſume to themſelves from him, is voided by thoſe declarations and precepts of our Lord; the which it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord would have propoſed, if he had deſigned to conſtitute St. Peter in ſuch a ſupremacy over his diſciples and Church.

7. Surveying particulars, we ſhall not find any peculiar adminiſtration committed to St. Peter, nor any privilege conferred on him, which was not alſo granted to the other Apoſtles.

Was St. Peter an ambaſſador, a ſteward, a miniſter, a vicar, (if you pleaſe,) or ſurrogate of Chriſt? ſo were they, by no leſs immediate and expreſs warrant than he; for, *As the Father ſent me, ſo alſo I ſend you,* ſaid our Lord preſently before his departure; by thoſe words, as St. Cyprian remarketh, [s] *granting an equal power to all the*
2 Cor. v. 20. *Apoſtles:* and, *We,* ſaith St. Paul, *are ambaſſadors for Chriſt; we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be reconciled to God:*
1 Cor. iv. 1. and, *So let a man eſteem us, as the miniſters of Chriſt, and*
2 Cor. vi. 4. *ſtewards of the myſteries of God.*

Matt. xvi. 18. Was St. Peter a rock, on which the Church was to be founded? Be it ſo; but no leſs were they all; for the
Rev. xxi. 10, 14. wall of Jeruſalem, which *came down from heaven,* had *twelve foundations, on which were inſcribed the names of*
Eph. ii. 20. *the twelve apoſtles of the Lamb;* and, *We,* ſaith St. Paul, *are all built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone;* whence [t] *equally,* ſaith St. Jerome, *the ſtrength of the Church is ſettled upon them.*

1 Pet. ii. 5, 1 Cor. iii. 10. Was St. Peter an architect of the *ſpiritual houſe,* (as himſelf calleth the Church?) ſo were alſo they; for *I,* ſaith St. Paul, *as a wiſe maſter-builder, have laid the foundation.*

Matt. xvi. 19. Were *the keys* of the Church (or *of the kingdom of heaven*) committed to him? ſo alſo were they unto them; they had a power to open and ſhut it by effectual inſtruction and perſuaſion, by diſpenſation of the ſacraments, by

[s] Et quamvis Apoſtolis omnibus poſt reſurrectionem ſuam parem poteſtatem tribuat et dicat, Sicut, &c. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[t] Ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidatur. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

iſe of diſcipline, by excluſion of ſcandalous and he-
l perſons; whatever faculty the keys did import, the
lles did uſe it in the foundation, guidance, and go-
nent of the Church; and did (as the Fathers teach)
rt it to thoſe whom they did in their ſtead conſtitute
d and govern the Church.

id St. Peter a power given him of binding and looſ-
ffectually? ſo had they, immediately granted by our
ur, in as full manner, and couched in the ſame
.; *If thou ſhalt bind on earth, it ſhall be bound in* Matt. xvi.
n, ſaid our Lord to him; and, *Whatſoever things ye* 19. xviii.
bind on earth, they ſhall be bound in heaven, ſaid the 18.
divine mouth to them [u].

id he a privilege to remit and retain ſins? it was then
rtue of that common grant or promiſe; *Whoſe ſoever* John xx.
e remit, they ſhall be remitted; and whoſe ſoever ſins 23.
tain, they are retained.

id he power and obligation to feed the ſheep of Chriſt,
r some?) ſo had they indefinitely and immediately:
d others by authority derived from them; who were
nated *Paſtors*; who had this charge laid on them: Eph. iv. 11.
heed unto yourſelves, and to all the flock, over which Act xx. 28.
Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers, to feed the Church
od, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood;
n he doth himſelf exhort, *Feed the flock of God which* 1 Pet. v. 2.
ong you, taking the overſight thereof: let feeding ſig-
what it can, inſtruction, or guidance, or governance,
of them together, (*Regio more impera*, if you pleaſe,
llarmine will have it,) it did appertain to their charge;
ach was a common duty, to lead and to rule were
non functions; St. Peter could not, nor would not
priate it to himſelf; it is his own exhortation, when
iketh moſt upon him, *Be mindful of the command-* 2 Pet. iii. 2.

τι γε καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιειλημένοις
, τὴν αὐτὴν προσεῖναι τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐξουσίαν πιστεύομεν. *Phot.* Cod.
. 1600.

o who, by ſucceſſion from them, (viz. the Apoſtles,) were endowed
iſcopal authority, we believe to have the ſame power of binding and

ment (or precept) *of us the Apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.*

Was his commiſſion univerſal, or unlimited? ſo was theirs, by the ſame immediate authority; for, *All power* (ſaid he to them, when he gave his laſt charge) *is given to me in heaven and in earth; go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I commanded you;* and, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to every creature.*

Mat. xxviii. 19.
Mark xvi. 15.
Luke xxiv. 47.

They, as St. Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh, [x] *were all in common intruſted with the whole world, and had the care of all nations.*

Was he furniſhed with extraordinary gifts, with ſpecial graces, with continual directions and aſſiſtances for the diſcharge of the apoſtolical office? ſo were they; for the *promiſe* was common of ſending the Holy Spirit, *to lead them into all truth,* and *clothing them with the power from on high;* and of endowing them with power to perform all ſorts of miraculous works; our Lord before his departure *breathed into them, and ſaid, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt; All of them,* ſaith St. Luke, *were filled with the Holy Ghoſt;* all of them with confidence and truth could ſay, *It hath ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us;* all of them did abundantly partake of that character which St. Paul reſpected, when he did ſay, *The ſigns of an Apoſtle were wrought among you, in ſigns, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

Luke xxiv. 49.
John xvi. 13, 14, 26.
John xx. 22.
Acts ii. 4.
Acts xv. 28.
2 Cor. xii. 12.

Did St. Peter repreſent the Church as receiving privileges in its behalf; as the Fathers affirm? [y] ſo did they, according to the ſame Fathers; [z] *If therefore* (ſaith St. Auſtin, citing the famous place, *Sicut me miſit Pater*) *they did bear the perſon of the Church, and this was ſaid to them,*

[x] Πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 115. Tom v. Orat. 47. in 2 Cor. xi. 28.

[y] Cui totius eccleſiæ figuram gerenti, &c. *Aug.* Ep. 165.

[z] Ergo ſi perſonam gerebant Eccleſiæ, et ſic eis hoc dictum eſt, tanquam ipſi Eccleſiæ diceretur, pax Eccleſiæ dimittit peccata, &c. *Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* iii. 18.

as if it were ſaid to the Church itſelf, then the peace of the Church remitteth ſins.

What ſingular prerogative then can be imagined appertaining to St. Peter? what ſubſtantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other Apoſtles? Nothing ſurely doth appear; whatever the patrons of his ſupremacy do claim for him is precariouſly aſſumed, without any fair colour of proof; he for it is beholding, not to any teſtimony of holy Scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy: we may well infer with Cardinal Cuſanus; [a] *We know that Peter did not receive more power from Chriſt than the other Apoſtles; for nothing was ſaid to Peter, which was not alſo ſaid to the other: therefore,* addeth he, *we rightly ſay, that all the Apoſtles were equal to Peter in power.*

8. Whereas St. Peter himſelf did write two Catholic Epiſtles, there doth not in them appear any intimation, any air or ſavour of pretence to this arch-apoſtolical power. It is natural for perſons endowed with unqueſtionable authority, (howſoever otherwiſe prudent and modeſt,) to diſcover a ſpice thereof in the matter or in the ſtyle of their writing; their mind, conſcious of ſuch advantage, will ſuggeſt an authoritative way of expreſſion; eſpecially when they earneſtly exhort, or ſeriouſly reprove, in which caſes their very authority is a conſiderable motive to aſſent or compliance, and ſtrongly doth impreſs any other arguments; but no critic peruſing thoſe Epiſtles would ſmell a pope in them. The ſpeech of St. Peter, although preſſing his doctrine with conſiderations of this nature, hath no tang of ſuch authority.

The elders, ſaith he, *which are among you, I exhort, who alſo am an elder, and a witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhall be revealed:* by ſuch excellent but common advantages of his perſon and office, he preſſeth on the clergy his advices. 1 Pet. v. 1

[a] Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus poteſtatis a Chriſto recepit aliis Apoſtolis; nihil enim dictum eſt ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non eſt. Ideo recte dicimus omnes Apoſtolos eſſe æquales cum Petro in poteſtate. *Card. Cuſ. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13.

Had he been what they make him, he might have ſaid, I, the peculiar vicar of Chriſt, and ſovereign of the Apoſtles, do not only exhort, but require this of you: this language had been very proper, and no leſs forcible: but nothing like this, nothing of the ſpirit and majeſty of a pope, is ſeen in his diſcourſe; there is no *pagina noſtræ voluntatis et mandati*, which now is the papal ſtyle; when he ſpeaketh higheſt, it is in the common name of the Apoſtles, *Be mindful*, ſaith he, *of the command* (that is, of the doctrine and precepts) *of us, the Apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour.*

τῆς ἐντολῆς. 2 Pet. iii. 2.

9. In the apoſtolical hiſtory, the proper place of exerciſing this power, ([b] *wherein*, as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *we may ſee the predictions of Chriſt, which he uttered in the Goſpels, reduced to act, and the truth of them ſhining in the things themſelves*,) no footſtep thereof doth appear.

We cannot there diſcern, that St. Peter did aſſume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his brethren was rendered to him, as to their governor or judge. No inſtance there doth occur of his laying commands on any one Apoſtle, or exerciſing any act of juriſdiction upon any one; but rather to the contrary divers paſſages are obſervable, which argue, that he pretended to no ſuch thing, and that others did not underſtand any ſuch thing belonging to him.

His temper indeed and zeal commonly did prompt him to be moſt forward in ſpeaking and acting upon any emergency for the propagation or maintenance of the Goſpel; [c] and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him, ſtrongly might inſtigate him thereto; regard to his ſpecial gifts and ſuffi-

[b] Καὶ γὰρ τὰς προῤῥήσεις ἃς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Χριστὸς προανεφώνει, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμπουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. *Chryſ. in Act.* 1.

[c] Ὡς θερμὸς, καὶ ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ποιμνίον, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ πρῶτος διὸ πρότερος ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου. *Chryſ. in Act.* i. 15.

As being a man hot and earneſt, and as intruſted with the flock by Chriſt, and as the foreman of the company, he ever begins to ſpeak.

Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἐγίνετο διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός——. *In Act.* i. 26.

Probably ſo it fell out by reaſon of the ſignal virtue of the man.

ciency did incline the reſt willingly to yield that advantage to him; and perhaps becauſe, upon the conſiderations before touched, they did allow ſome preference in order to him; but in other reſpects, as to the main adminiſtration of things, he *is but one among the reſt,* not taking upon him in his ſpeech or behaviour beyond others. All things are tranſacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in caſes of difference is made ſingly to him; no peremptory deciſion or decree is made by him; no orders are iſſued out by him alone, or in a ſpecial way; in eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies he acteth but as one member; in deliberations he doth only propound his opinion, and paſſeth a ſingle vote; his judgment and practice are ſometime queſtioned, and he is put to render an account of them: he doth not ſtand upon his authority, but aſſigneth reaſons to perſuade his opinion, and juſtify his actions; yea ſometimes he is moved by the reſt, receiving orders and employment from them: [d] theſe things we may diſcern by conſidering the inſtances which follow.

Ἑτερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῷ τῷ χορῷ *Chryſ. de Sacerd. Or.* 4.

In the deſignation of a new Apoſtle, to ſupply the place of Judas, he did indeed ſuggeſt the matter, and lay the caſe before them; he firſt declared his ſenſe; but the whole company did chooſe two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration. Acts i. 15-26. ver. 23. καὶ ἔστησαν δύο.

At the inſtitution of deacons, *the twelve did call the multitude of diſciples,* and directed them *to elect* the perſons; and the propoſal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly; [e] *they choſe Stephen,* &c. whom *they ſet before the Apoſtles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.* Acts vi. 2.

In that important tranſaction about the obſervance of Moſaical inſtitutions, *a great ſtir and debate being ſtarted,* Acts xv. 2. Γενομένης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης.

[d] Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς. *Chryſ. in Act.* i. 16.

Behold him doing all things by common conſent; nothing authoritatively nor imperiouſly.

[e] Acts vi. 5. καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, &c.

which St. Paul and St. Barnabas by diſputation could not appeaſe, what courſe was then taken? did they appeal to St. Peter, as to the ſupreme dictator and judge of con-
Acts xv. 2. troverſies? Not ſo; but *they ſent to the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem, to inquire about the queſtion:* when thoſe
Ver. 4. great meſſengers were arrived there, *they were received by the Church, and the apoſtles, and elders*; and having
Ver. 6. made their report, *the apoſtles and elders did aſſemble to*
Ver. 7. *conſider about that matter.* In this aſſembly, *after much debate* paſſed, and that many had freely uttered their ſenſe, St. Peter *roſe up*, with apoſtolical gravity, declaring what his reaſon and experience did ſuggeſt conducing to a reſolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded, not only upon common reaſon, but upon ſpecial revelation concerning the caſe
Acts xv. 13—18. whereupon St. James, alleging that revelation, and backing it with reaſon drawn from Scripture, with much authority pronounceth his judgment; [f] *Therefore*, ſaith he, *I judge*, (that is, ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *I authoritatively ſay,*) *that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them* &c. And the reſult was, that according to the propoſal of St. James, it was by general conſent determined to ſend a decretal letter unto the Gentile Chriſtians, containing a canon, or advice directive of their practice in the caſe; [g] *It then ſeemed good to* (or was decreed by) *the apoſtles and elders, with the whole Church, to ſend*—and the letter ran thus, *The apoſtles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren of the Gentiles.*——Now in all this action (in this leading precedent for the management of things in eccleſiaſtical ſynods and conſiſtories,) where can the ſharpeſt ſight deſcry any mark of diſtinction or preeminence which St. Peter had in reſpect to the other Apoſtles? Did St. Peter there anywiſe behave himſelf like his pretended

[f] Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω. Acts xv. 19.
Τί ἐστι κρίνω ἐγώ; ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας λέγω τοῦτο εἶναι. *Chryſ.*
[g] Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c. Acts xv. 22.
Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Acts xvi. 4.
Κρίναντες ἡμεῖς ἐπιστεῖλαμεν. Acts xxi. 25.

ſucceſſors upon ſuch occaſions? what authority did he claim or uſe before that aſſembly, or in it, or after it? did he ſummon or convocate it? No; they met upon common agreement. Did he preſide there? No; but rather St. James, [h] *to whom,* (ſaith St. Chryſoſtom,) *as Biſhop of Jeruſalem, the government was committed.* Did he offer to curb or check any man, or to reſtrain him from his liberty of diſcourſe there? No; *there was much diſputation,* every man frankly ſpeaking his ſenſe. Did he more than uſe his freedom of ſpeech becoming an Apoſtle, in arguing the caſe and paſſing his vote? No; for in ſo exact a relation nothing more doth appear. Did he form the definitions, or pronounce the decree reſulting? No; St. James rather did that; for, (as an ancient author ſaith,) [i] *Peter did make an oration, but St. James did enact the law.* Was, beſide his ſuffrage in the debate, any ſingular approbation required from him, or did he by any bull confirm the decrees? No ſuch matter; theſe were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In ſhort, doth any thing correſpondent to papal pretences appear aſſumed by St. Peter, or deferred to him? If St. Peter was ſuch a man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himſelf, how did he neglect the right and dignity of his office, in not taking more upon him, upon ſo illuſtrious an occaſion, the greateſt he did ever meet with? How defective alſo were the Apoſtolical College, and the whole Church of Jeruſalem, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their ſovereign, the vicar of their Lord! Whatever account may be framed of theſe defailances, the truth is, that St. Peter then did know his own place and duty better than men do know them now; and the reſt as well underſtood how it became them to demean themſelves. St. Chryſoſtom's

[h] Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τότε ἱστασκόπουν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων πρωτοτύπει πάντων. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 59.

Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος——ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἦν. *Chryſ. in loc.*

For he had the government committed to him——he was empowered.

[i] Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ. *Heſych. apud Phot.* Cod. 275.

reflections on thoſe paſſages are very good; that indeed then [k] *there was no faſtuouſneſs in the Church,* and *the ſouls of thoſe primitive Chriſtians were clear of vanity;* the which diſpoſitions did afterward ſpring up and grow rankly to the great prejudice of religion, begetting thoſe exorbitant pretences which we now diſprove.

Acts x. 28. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπέδειξε— Acts xi. 12. Again, when St. Peter, being warned from heaven thereto, did receive Cornelius, a Gentile ſoldier, unto communion; divers good Chriſtians, who were ignorant of the warrantableneſs of that proceeding, (as others commonly were, and St. Peter himſelf was, before he was informed by that ſpecial revelation,) did not fear διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, *to conteſt with him* about it; not having any notion (as it ſeemeth) of his ſupreme unaccountable authority, (not to ſay of that infallibility, with which the Canoniſts and Jeſuits have inveſted him;) unto whom St. Peter rendereth a fair account, and maketh a ſatisfactory apology for his proceedings;[l] not brow-beating thoſe audacious contenders with his authority, but gently ſatisfying them with reaſon. But if he had known his power to be ſuch, as now they pretend it to be, he ſhould have done well to have aſſerted it, even out of good-will and charity to thoſe good brethren;[m] correcting their error, and checking their miſdemeanour; ſhewing them what an enormous preſumption it was ſo to contend with their ſovereign paſtor and judge.

Acts xi. 2. Bell. de Pont. Rom. iv. 3, 4. Acts xi. 18.

Farther; ſo far was St. Peter from aſſuming command over his brethren, that he was upon occaſion ready to obey their orders; as we may ſee by that paſſage, where, upon the converſion of divers perſons in Samaria, it is ſaid, that *the Apoſtles hearing it, did ſend to them Peter and John,*

Acts viii. 14.

[k] Οὕτως οὐδεὶς τύφος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὕτως καθαρὰ δόξης ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή. *Chryſ. ibid.*

[l] Ὅρα τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ ἀκενόδοξον,—ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀξιώματι κεχρῆσθαι. *Chryſ.*

See how free he is from pride and vainglory; ſee how he excuſes himſelf, and thinks himſelf not worthy to have the honour of a maſter.

[m] Ita ut Petrus quoque timens ne culparetur ab ipſis. *Iren.* iii. 12.

N. In the matter at Antioch, St. Peter did comply with St. James and the Judaizers, which did not beſeem ſuch authority.

who going down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt. The Apoſtles ſent him: that, had he been their ſovereign, would have been ſomewhat unſeemly and preſumptuous; for ſubjects are not wont to ſend their prince, or ſoldiers their captain; to be ſent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himſelf did teach; *A ſervant,* ſaid he, *is not greater than his Lord; nor he that is ſent greater than he that ſent him.* St. Luke therefore ſhould at leaſt have ſo expreſſed this paſſage, that the Apoſtles might have ſeemed to keep their diſtance, and obſerved good manners: if he had ſaid, they beſeeched him to go, that had ſounded well; but *they ſent him,* is harſh, if he were *Dominus noſter Papa,* as the modern Apoſtles of Rome do ſtyle their Peter. The truth is, then among Chriſtians there was little ſtanding upon punctilios; private conſiderations and pretences to power then took ſmall place; each one was ready to comply with that which the moſt did approve; the community did take upon it to preſcribe unto the greateſt perſons, as we ſee again in another inſtance, where the brethren at Antioch did [n] *appoint Paul and Barnabas* (the moſt conſiderable perſons among them) *to go up unto Jeruſalem.* They were then *ſo generous, ſo merciful, ſo full of charity, as, rather than to cauſe or foment any diſturbance, to recede, or go whither the multitude pleaſed, and do what was commanded by it.* John xiii. 16.

10. In all relations, which occur in Scripture, about controverſies incident of doctrine or practice, there is no appeal made to St. Peter's judgment, or allegation of it as decifive; no argument is built on his authority: diſſent from his opinion, or diſconformity to his practice, or diſobedience to his orders, are not mentioned

[n] Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν. Acts xv. 2. xiii. 2.

Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὔσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, ἢ ἔρις, ἢ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι οὗ ἐὰν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. *Clem. ad Cor.* p. 69.

Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels of compaſſion? who is full of charity? Let him ſay, If for my ſake there be ſedition, and ſtrife, and diviſions, I will depart, and go whither you would have me, and do what ſhall be enjoined me by the multitude.

as ground of reproof, as aggravation of any error, an miſdemeanour, any diſorder; which were very ſtrange, i then he was admitted or known to be the univerſal prin and paſtor of Chriſtians, or the ſupreme judge and ar bitrator of controverſies among them: for then ſurely th moſt clear, compendious, and effectual way to confut any error, or check any diſorder, had been to allege th authority of St. Peter againſt it: who then could hav withſtood ſo mighty a prejudice againſt his cauſe? If no a queſtion doth ariſe about any point of doctrine, inſtantl the parties (at leaſt ſome one of them, which hopeth to fin moſt favour) hath recourſe to the Pope to define it; an his judgment, with thoſe who admit his pretences, proved ſufficiently deciſive, or at leaſt greatly ſwayeth in preju dice to the oppoſite party. If any hereſy, or any opinio diſagreeing from the current ſentiments, is broached, th Pope preſently doth roar, that his voice is heard throug Chriſtendom, and thundereth it down: if any ſchiſm o diſorder ſpringeth up, you may be ſure that Rome wil inſtantly meddle to quaſh it, or to ſettle matters as bel ſtandeth with its principles and intereſts: ſuch influenc hath the ſhadow of St. Peter's authority now: but n ſuch regard was then had to poor Pope Peter himſelf; h was not ſo buſy and ſtirring in ſuch caſes: the Apoſtle did not ſend heretics to be knocked down by his ſentence nor ſchiſmatics to be ſcourged by his cenſure; but wer fain to uſe the long way of diſputation, ſtriving to con vince them by teſtimonies of Scripture, and rational diſ courſe. If they did uſe *authority*, it was their own; whic they *challenge as given to them by Chriſt for edification*, o upon account of the more than ordinary gifts and grace of the Divine Spirit, conferred on them by God.

2 Cor. xiii. 10. x. 8. xii. 21.
1 Cor. iv. 2.
2 Theſſ. iii. 14.
1 Cor. vii. 25, 40.
1 Theſſ. iv. 8.

11. St. Peter nowhere doth appear intermeddling as a judge or governor paramount in ſuch caſes; yea, where he doth himſelf deal with heretics and diſorderly perſons, confuting and reproving them, (as he dealeth with divers notoriouſly ſuch,) he proceedeth not as a Pope decreeing, but as an Apoſtle warning, arguing, and perſuading againſt them.

It is particularly remarkable how St. Paul, reproving the factions which were among Chriſtians at Corinth, doth repreſent the ſeveral parties, ſaying, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Chriſt.* Now ſuppoſing the caſe then had been clear and certain, (and if it were not ſo then, how can it be ſo now?) that St. Peter was ſovereign of the apoſtles, is it not wonderful that any Chriſtian ſhould prefer any apoſtle or any preacher before him? as if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the Pope is truly what he pretendeth to be, would any body ſtand in competition with him, would any glory in a relation to any other miniſter before him? 1 Cor. i. 12. iii. 21.

It is obſervable how St. Clemens reflecteth on this contention; [o] *Ye were,* ſaith he, *leſs culpable for that partiality; for ye did then incline to renowned Apoſtles, and to a man approved by them: but now,* &c.

If it be replied, that Chriſt himſelf did come into the compariſon; I anſwer, that probably no man was ſo vain, as to compare him with the reſt, nor indeed could any there pretend to have been baptized by him, (which was the ground of the emulation in reſpect of the others;) but thoſe who ſaid they were of Chriſt, were the wiſe and peaceable ſort, who by ſaying ſo declined and diſavowed faction; whoſe behaviour St. Paul himſelf in his diſcourſe commendeth and confirmeth, ſhewing that all indeed were *of Chriſt,* the Apoſtles being only his miniſters, to work faith and virtue in them. [p] *None,* ſaith St. Auſtin, *of thoſe contentious perſons were good, except thoſe who ſaid, But I am of Chriſt.* 1 Cor. iii. 5

We may alſo here obſerve, that St. Paul, in reflecting upon theſe contentions, had a fair occaſion of intimating ſomewhat concerning St. Peter's ſupremacy, and aggravating their blameable fondneſs, who compared others with him.

[o] Ἀλλ' ἡ προσκλισις ἐκείνη ἦττον ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήπτεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c. *Clem. ad Corinth.* p. 61.

[p] Falſum eſt quod illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Chriſti. *Aug. cont. Creſcon.* i. 27.

12. The conſideration of the Apoſtles proceeding in the converſion of people, in the foundation of churches, and in adminiſtration of their ſpiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of St. Peter's juriſdiction over them.

They went about their buſineſs, not by order or licence from St. Peter, but according to ſpecial inſtinct and direction of God's Spirit, (*being ſent forth by the Holy Ghoſt; going by revelation,*) or according to their ordinary prudence, and the habitual *wiſdom given unto them;* by thoſe aids (without troubling St. Peter or themſelves more) they founded ſocieties, they ordained paſtors, they framed rules and orders requiſite for the edification and good government of churches, reſerving to themſelves a kind of paramount inſpection and juriſdiction over them; which in effect was only πατρικὴ ἐπιμέλεια, *a paternal care* over them; which they particularly claimed to themſelves upon account of ſpiritual parentage, for that they had begotten them to Chriſt; *If,* ſaith St. Paul to the Corinthians, *I am not an Apoſtle to others, I am however ſo to you:* why ſo? becauſe he had converted them, and could ſay, *As my beloved ſons I warn you: for though ye have ten thouſand inſtructors in Chriſt, yet ye have not many fathers; for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the Goſpel.* This paternal charge they did exerciſe without any dependence, or regard to St. Peter, none ſuch appearing, it not being mentioned that they did ever conſult his pleaſure, or render him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded abſolutely, by virtue of their univerſal office and commiſſion of our Lord.

'Επιμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύμ. ἁγ. Acts xiii. 4. 2. xvi. 6, 9. Gal. ii. 2. κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν. 2 Pet. iii. 5. 1 Cor. vii. 17. xi. 34. xvi. 1. Tit. i. 5. Iſid. Pel. 1 Theſſ. ii. 7, 11. 1 Cor. ix. 2. Acts xviii. 1. 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15. Gal. iv. 19.

Gal. i. 18. ἱστορῆσαι.

If it be alleged, that St. Paul went to Jeruſalem to St. Peter; I anſwer, that it was *to viſit him* out of reſpect and love; or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort; or at moſt to obtain approbation from him and the other Apoſtles, which might ſatisfy ſome doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative inſtructions from him; it being, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, the deſign of St. Paul's diſcourſe to diſavow any ſuch dependence on any man whatever. So doth St. Chryſoſtom

note, [q] *What,* ſaith he, *can be more humble than this ſoul? after ſo many and ſo great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his diſcourſe, but being in dignity equal to him, (for I will now ſay no more,) he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater and ancienter; and a fight alone of Peter is the cauſe of his journey thither.*—And, *He went,* ſaith he again, *not to learn any thing of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might ſee him, and honour him with his preſence.*

And indeed that there was no ſuch deference of the Apoſtles to St. Peter, we may hence reaſonably preſume, becauſe it would then have been not only impertinent and needleſs, but inconvenient and troubleſome. For,

13. If we conſider the nature of the apoſtolical office, the ſtate of things at that time, and the manner of St. Peter's life; in correſpondence to thoſe things, he will appear uncapable, or unfit, to manage ſuch a juriſdiction over the Apoſtles as they aſſign him.

The nature of the apoſtolical miniſtry was ſuch, that the Apoſtles were not fixed in one place of reſidence, but were continually moving about the world, or *in procinctu,* ready in their gears to move whither divine ſuggeſtions did call them, or fair occaſion did invite them, for the propagation or furtherance of the Goſpel [r]. 2 Cor. xi. 25

The ſtate of things was not favourable to the Apoſtles, who were diſcountenanced and diſgraced, perſecuted, and driven from one place to another, (as our Lord foretold of them;) Chriſtians lay ſcattered about at diſtant places, 1 Cor. iv. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 8. vi. 4. xi. 25. Matt. xxiv. 9. Luke xxi. 12.

[q] Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς; μετὰ τοσαῦτα δὲ τοιαῦτα κατορθώματα μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμος ὢν αὐτῷ (πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως) ὅμως ἀνέρχεται ὡς πρὸς μείζονα, καὶ πρεσβύτερον· καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκεῖ γέγονε αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέτρου μόνη.——οὐχ ὡς μαθησόμενός τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς διόρθωσίν τινα δεξόμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ. *Chryſ. in Gal.* i. 18.

[r] Ἐσπεύδων γὰρ ἅμιλλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπλέκεσθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἦ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. *Chryſ. in Joh.* xxi. 23.

For ſeeing they were to take upon them the inſpection and ſuperintendency of all the world, it behoved them not any longer to be mixed or conjoined together, for this had been a great loſs and hindrance to the world.

ſo that opportunities of diſpatch for conveyance of inſtructions from him, or of accounts to him, were not eaſily found.

Euſeb. iii. 1. Niceph. ii. 38, 39, 40. Tertul. ad Jud. cap. 7. Col. i. 6, 23. Rom. x. 18.

St. Thomas preaching in Parthia, St. Andrew in Scythia, St. John in Aſia, Simon Zelotes in Britain, [s] St. Paul in many places; other Apoſtles and apoſtolical men in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in India, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany, *in the whole world, and in all the creation under heaven*, as St. Paul ſpeaketh, could not well maintain correſpondence with St. Peter; eſpecially conſidering the manner of his life, which was not ſettled in any one known place, but moveable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide world, preaching the Goſpel, converting, confirming, and comforting Chriſtian people, as occaſion ſtarting up did induce: how then could he conveniently diſpenſe all about his ruling and judging influence? how in caſes incident could direction be fetched from him, or reference be made to him by thoſe ſubordinate governors, who could not eaſily know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To ſend to him had been to ſhoot at rovers; affairs therefore which ſhould depend on his reſolution and orders muſt have had great ſtops; he could but very lamely have executed ſuch an office; ſo that his juriſdiction muſt have been rather an extreme inconvenience and incumbrance, than anywiſe beneficial or uſeful to the Church.

Gold and ſilver he had none, or a very ſmall purſe, to maintain dependents and officers to help him, (nuncios, legates *a latere*, ſecretaries, auditors, &c.) infinity of affairs would have oppreſſed a poor helpleſs man; and to bear ſuch a burden as they lay on him no one could be ſufficient.

14. It was indeed moſt requiſite, that every Apoſtle ſhould have a complete, abſolute, independent authority

[s] Ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην σταδιώσας, καὶ τῷ περὶ πίστεως δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφήνας. *Baſ. Seleuc. Or.* 2.

He that run his race through the whole univerſe, and by his ſo eager running for the faith made the world, as it were, too narrow for him.

in managing the concerns and duties of his office; that he might not anywiſe be obſtructed in the diſcharge of them; not clogged with a need to conſult others, not hampered with orders from thoſe who were at diſtance, and could not well deſcry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of him who had promiſed to be *perpetually preſent with them*, and by his Holy Spirit to guide, to inſtruct, to admoniſh them upon all occaſions, was abundantly ſufficient; they did not want any other conduct or aid beſide that ſpecial light and powerful influence of grace, which they received from him; the which ἱκάνωσεν αὐτοὺς, *did*, as St. Paul ſpeaketh, *render them ſufficient miniſters of the New Teſtament.* Mat. xxviii. 20. John xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Rom. xv. 15.

Accordingly their diſcourſe and practice do thoroughly ſavour of ſuch an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true, which Bellarmine dictateth, that [t] *the Apoſtles depended on St. Peter, as on their head and commander.*

15. Particularly the diſcourſe and behaviour of St. Paul towards St. Peter doth evidence, that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any ſubjection to him.

St. Paul doth often purpoſely aſſert to himſelf an independent and abſolute power, inferior or ſubordinate to none other, inſiſting thereon for the enforcement or neceſſary defence of his doctrine and practice; (*I have become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me*, ſaith he;) alleging divers pregnant arguments, to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his office, the tenor of his proceedings in the diſcharge of it, the ſucceſs of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of other Apoſtles. 2 Cor. xii. 11. Rom. xi. 13.

As for his call and commiſſion to the apoſtolical office, he maintaineth, (as if he meant deſignedly to exclude

[t] —— a quo illi tanquam a capite et imperatore ſuo pendebant. *Bellarm. de Pont.* i. 16.

Bell. l. 9, 14, 16. thoſe pretences, that other Apoſtles were only called *in partem ſolicitudinis* with St. Peter,) that he was *an Apoſtle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father;* that is, that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from men, or by the miniſtry of any man, but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the hiſtory plainly ſheweth, in which our Lord telleth him, that he did [u]*conſtitute him an officer, and a choſen inſtrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles.*

Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου. Gal. i. 1.

Hence he ſo often is careful and cautious to expreſs himſelf an Apoſtle by [x]*the will* and ſpecial *grace*, or favour and appointment, and command of God; and particularly telleth the Romans, that *by Chriſt he had received grace and apoſtleſhip.*

For the warrant of his office, he doth not allege the allowance of St. Peter, or any other, but thoſe ſpecial gifts and graces which were conſpicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performances; *Truly*, ſaith he, *the ſigns of an Apoſtle were wrought among you in all patience, in ſigns, and wonders, and mighty deeds;* and, *I will not dare to ſpeak of any of thoſe things which Chriſt hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty ſigns and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.*

2 Cor. xii. 12. Rom. xv. 18, 19. 1 Cor. ii. 4.

To the ſame purpoſe he allegeth his ſucceſsful induſtry in converting men to the Goſpel; *Am I not an Apoſtle?* ſaith he; *are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an Apoſtle to others, I am ſurely one to you: for the ſeal of mine apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.* And, *By the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was on me became not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all.*

1 Cor. ix. 1, 2. 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xi. 23.

In the diſcharge of his office, he immediately, (after

[u] Προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην, &c. Act. ix. 15. xxii. 21.

[x] Θελήματι Θεοῦ. 1 Cor. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Eph. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 2 Tim. i. 1.

Χάριτι. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iii. 7. 1 Tim. i. 12. 2 Tim. i. 12.

Κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 1 Tim. i. 1. Rom. i. 5.

that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour,) without conſulting or taking licence from any man, did vigorouſly apply himſelf to the work; *Immediately*, ſaith he, *I conferred not with fleſh and blood;* Gal. i. 16, 17. *neither went I up to Jeruſalem to them that before me were Apoſtles:* ſo little did he take himſelf to be accountable to any man.

In ſettling order, and correcting irregularities in the Church, he profeſſed to act merely by his own authority, conferred on him by our Lord; *Therefore*, ſaith he, *being* 2 Cor. xiii. 10. x. 8. *abſent*, I write theſe things, *that being preſent I may not uſe ſeverity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for deſtruction.*

Such being the privileges which he did aſſert to himſelf with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other Apoſtles; but the chief of them, *knowing the* Gal. ii. 9. *grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right hand of fellowſhip;* in token of their acknowledgment and allowance of his proceedings.

Upon theſe conſiderations (plainly ſignifying his abſolute independence in the reception and execution of his office) he doth more than once affirm (and in a manner *boaſt*) himſelf *to be inferior in nothing to the very chief* 2 Cor. xii. 11. *Apoſtles:* in nothing; that is, in nothing pertinent to the xi. 5. authority or ſubſtantial dignity of his place; for as to his perſonal merit he profeſſeth himſelf *much leſs than the* 1 Cor. xv. 9. *leaſt of the Apoſtles;* but as to the authentickneſs and au- Eph. iii. 8. thority of his office, he deemed himſelf equal to the greateſt; *being by the grace of God what he was; a miniſter of* 1 Cor. xv. 10. *the Goſpel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which* Eph. iii. 7. *was given him according to the effectual working of his power.*

When he ſaid he was *behind none*, he could not forget St. Peter; when he ſaid *none of the chief*, he could not but eſpecially mean him; (he did indeed, as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, intend *to compare himſelf with St. Peter;*) Περὶς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον φιλοτιμίνος τὴν σύγκρισιν. when he ſaid *in nothing*, he could not but deſign that which was moſt conſiderable, the authority of his place; which in the context he did expreſsly mention. For when 2 Cor. xi. 5.

Κατὰ προσ-ωπον. 2 Cor. xii. 11. i. 16, 17. he objected to himſelf the ſemblance of fondneſs or arrogance in ſpeaking after that manner, he declared that he did not ſpeak raſhly or vainly, but upon ſerious conſideration, and with full aſſurance, finding it very needful or uſeful to maintain his authority, or to *magnify his office*, as he otherwhere ſpeaketh.

Rom. xi. 13.

If things had been, as now we are taught from the Roman ſchool, it is ſtrange, that St. Paul ſhould compare himſelf ſo generally, not excepting St. Peter; that he ſhould expreſs (nor by the leaſt touch intimate) no ſpecial conſideration for his, as they tell us, *ordinary paſtor*; that he ſhould not conſider how liable ſuch words were to be interpreted in derogation to St. Peter's due prerogatives.

Bell. de Pont. i. 11.

But it is no wonder, that St. Paul, in St. Peter's abſence, ſhould thus ſtand on his own legs, not ſeeming to mind him, whenas in immediate tranſactions with him he demeaned himſelf as his fellow, yielding to him no reſpect or deference, as to his ſuperior. For,

When St. Paul went to Jeruſalem, to have conference with St. Peter and other Apoſtles, who were chief in repute, he profeſſeth, that *they did not confer any thing to him*, ſo as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary courſe of practice, which was different from theirs: this was (it ſeemeth) hardly proper or ſeemly for him to ſay, if St. Peter had been his ſovereign: but he ſeemeth to ſay it on very purpoſe, to exclude any prejudice that might ariſe to his doctrine from their authority or repute; their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the caſe; for *whatſoever*, addeth he, *they were, it maketh no matter to me; God reſpecteth no man's perſon:* the which might well be ſaid of perſons greater in common eſteem, but not ſo well of one who was his ſuperior in office; to whoſe opinion and conduct, as of his judge and paſtor by God's appointment, he did owe a ſpecial regard.

Gal. ii. 2.

Gal. ii. 6.

Again, St. Paul at Antioch, *obſerving St. Peter out of fear* and policy to act otherwiſe than became the ſimplicity and ſincerity of Chriſtians, to the prejudice of *evangelical truth*, charity, and liberty, againſt his own judgment and

Gal. ii. 12, 13, 14.

former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the ſame unwarrantable courſe of behaviour, did *withſtand him to the face*, did *openly reprove him before all, becauſe he was blameable*; did, as Pope Gelaſius I. affirmeth[y], (to excuſe another pope miſbehaving himſelf,) *worthily confute him*; did (as St. Auguſtine often doth affirm and urge, in proof that greateſt perſons may ſometimes err and fail) *correct him, rebuke him, chide him*[z]. Gal. ii. 11, 14.

Which behaviour of St. Paul doth not well conſiſt with the *ſuppoſition, that St. Peter was his ſuperior in office*; if that had been, Porphyrius with good colour of reaſon might have objected procacity to St. Paul in taxing his betters; for he then indeed had ſhewed us no commendable pattern of demeanour towards our governors, in ſo boldly oppoſing St. Peter, in ſo openly cenſuring him, in ſo ſmartly confuting him. Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 11. in Pro ad Gal.

More unſeemly alſo it had been to report the buſineſs as he doth in writing to the Galatians; for to divulge the miſcarriages of ſuperiors, to revive the memory of them, to regiſter them, and tranſmit them down to all poſterity, to ſet forth our claſhing and conteſts with them, is hardly allowable; if it may conſiſt with juſtice and honeſty, it doth yet little ſavour of gravity and modeſty: it would have been more ſeemly for St. Paul to have privately and

[y] (Vid. P. Pelag. II. apud Bin. tom. iv. p. 308. in Epiſt. ad Eliam.)

Nunquid ideo aut illa ejus ſequenda ſunt, quæ merito ejus co-apoſtolus ejus facta redarguit. *Gelaſ. I. de Anath.* (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 645.)

[z] Apoſtolo Paulo monſtrante et corrigente. *Aug. cont. Creſcon.* i. 32. ii. 32. *Ep.* 19. *de Bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 1, 2. correptus, *cont. Don.* ii. 1. objurgavit, *Ep.* 8.

—— qui de minore cauſa converſationis ambiguæ Petro ipſi non pepercit. *Tert.* v. 3. (*contra Marc.*)

—— who for a ſmaller matter of doubtful converſation ſpared not Peter himſelf.

Cum laudetur etiam Pauli minimi Apoſtolorum ſana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum Apoſtolorum primum adductum in hypocriſin, et non recta via incedentem ad veritatem evangelii fidenter improbans, in faciem illi reſtitit, eumque coram omnibus coram objurgavit. *Fac. Her.* viii. 6.

Whereas the ſound reaſon and freedom even of Paul, the leaſt of the Apoſtles, is commended, in that, when Peter, the chief of the Apoſtles, was carried away with diſſimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the Goſpel, he boldly diſliked, and withſtood him to the face, and reproved him openly before all.

humbly remonſtrated to St. Peter, than openly and downrightly to have reprehended him; at leaſt it would have become him in cold blood to have repreſented his carriage more reſpectfully, conſulting the honour of the univerſal Paſtor, whoſe reputation was like to ſuffer by ſuch a repreſentation of his proceedings. Pope Pelagius II. would have taught St. Paul better manners; who ſaith, that [a] *they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who do reprove or accuſe their prelates;* and Pope Gregory would have taught him another leſſon, namely, that [b] *the evils of their ſuperiors do ſo diſpleaſe good ſubjects, that however they do conceal them from others;* and, [c] *Subjects are to be admoniſhed, that they do not raſhly judge the life of their ſuperiors, if perhaps they ſee them do blameably,* &c.

It is plain, that St. Paul was more bold with St. Peter, than any man now muſt be with the Pope; for let the Pope commit never ſo great crimes, yet *no mortal,* ſaith the canon law, *preſume to reprove his faults.*

Grat. Diſt. xl. cap. 6.

But if St. Peter were not in office ſuperior to St. Paul, but his colleague, and equal in authority, although preceding him in ſtanding, repute, and other advantages; then St. Paul's free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable, but wholeſome, and deſerving for edification to be recited and recorded; as implying an example how colleagues upon occaſion ſhould with freedom and ſincerity admoniſh their brethren of their errors and faults; St. Peter's carriage in patiently bearing that correption alſo affording another good pattern of equanimity in ſuch caſes; to which purpoſe [d] St. Cyprian (alleged and approved by St. Auſtin) doth apply this paſſage; *for,* ſaith he, *neither Peter, whom the Lord firſt choſe, and upon whom*

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don. ii. 2.

[a] Non ſunt conſentiendi, ſed reprobandi, qui prælatos ſuos reprehendunt vel accuſant. *Pelag. II. Ep.* 2.

[b] Bonis ſubditis ſic præpoſitorum ſuorum mala diſplicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent. *Greg. M. Moral.* xxv. 15.

[c] Admonendi ſunt ſubditi, ne præpoſitorum ſuorum vitam temere judicent, ſiquid eos fortaſſe agere reprehenſibiliter vident, &c. *Greg. Paſt.* part. iii. cap. 1. *Admon.* 5.

[d] Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, &c. *Cypr. Ep.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

he built his Church, when Paul afterward conteſted with him about circumciſion, did inſolently challenge, or arrogantly aſſume any thing to himſelf, ſo as to ſay, that he did hold the primacy, and that rather thoſe who were newer and later Apoſtles ought to obey him; neither deſpiſed he St. Paul, becauſe he was before a perſecutor of the Church; but he admitted the counſel of truth, and eaſily conſented to the lawful courſe which St. Paul did maintain; yielding indeed to us a document both of concord and patience, that we ſhould not pertinaciouſly love our own things, but ſhould rather take thoſe things for ours which ſometimes are profitably and wholeſomely ſuggeſted by our brethren and colleagues, if they are true and lawful: this St. Cyprian ſpeaketh, upon ſuppoſition that St. Peter and St. Paul were equals, or (as he calleth them) colleagues and brethren, in rank coordinate; otherwiſe St. Cyprian would not have approved the action; for he often ſeverely doth inveigh againſt inferiors taking upon them to cenſure their ſuperiors; [e] *What tumour,* ſaith he, *of pride, what arrogance of mind, what inflation of heart, is it, to call our ſuperiors and biſhops to our cogniſance?* St. Cyprian therefore could not conceive St. Peter to be St. Paul's governor, or ſuperior in power; he doth indeed plainly enough in the forecited words ſignify, that in his judgment St. Peter had done *inſolently and arrogantly,* if he had aſſumed any *obedience* from St. Paul. St. Auſtin alſo doth in ſeveral places of his writings make the like application of this paſſage. Aug. cont Don. de Bapt. ii. 1 2. Ep. 19.

The ancient writer contemporary to St. Ambroſe, and paſſing under his name, doth argue in this manner; [f] *Who*

[e] Quis enim hic eſt ſuperbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio ad cognitionem ſuam præpoſitos et ſacerdotes vocare? *Cypr. Ep.* 69.

[f] Nam quis eorum auderet Petro primo Apoſtolo, cui claves regni cœlorum Dominus dedit, reſiſtere, niſi alius talis, qui fiducia electionis ſuæ, ſciens ſe non imparem, conſtanter improbaret quod ille ſine conſilio fecerat? *Ambr. in Gal.* ii. 9

Paulus Petrum reprehendit, quod non auderet, niſi ſe non imparem ſciret. (*Hieron. vel alius quis ad Gal. citatus a Grat. Cauſ.* ii. qu. 7. cap. 33.)

Paul reprehended Peter, which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himſelf to be equal to him.

dared reſiſt Peter the firſt Apoſtle, to whom the Lord did give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but another ſuch a one; who in aſſurance of his election knowing himſelf to be not unequal to him, might conſtantly diſprove what he had unadviſedly done?

S. Cyril. cont Jul. lib. ix. (p. 325.) Chryſ. tom. v. Or. 59. ὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς. Aug. Ep. 11. &c.

It is indeed well known, that Origen, and after him St. Chryſoſtom and St. Jerome, and divers of the ancients beſide, did conceive that St. Paul did not ſeriouſly oppoſe or tax St. Peter, but did only do it ſeemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good deſign.

This interpretation, however ſtrained and earneſtly impugned by St. Auſtin, I will not diſcuſs; but only ſhall obſerve, that it being admitted doth rather ſtrengthen than weaken our diſcourſe: for, if St. Peter were St. Paul's governor, it maketh St. Peter to have conſented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and ſcandalous; and how can we imagine, that St. Peter would have complotted to the impairing his own juſt authority in the eye of a great Church? doth not ſuch a condeſcenſion imply in him a diſavowing of ſuperiority over St. Paul, or a conſpiracy with him to overthrow good order?

Chryſ. tom. v. Or. 59. Καὶ γὰρ αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἵ μείζονα ποιῶ, &c.

To which purpoſe we may obſerve, that St. Chryſoſtom, in a large and very elaborate diſcourſe, wherein he profeſſeth to endeavour *an aggravation* of the irregularity of St. Paul's demeanour, if it were ſerious; doth not lay the ſtreſs of that aggravation upon St. Paul's oppoſing his lawful governor; but his only ſo treating a co-apoſtle of ſuch eminency: neither when to that end he deſigneth to reckon all the advantages of St. Peter beyond St. Paul, or any other Apoſtle, doth he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpoſe, that he was St. Paul's governor; which obſervations if we do carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine, that St. Chryſoſtom had any notion of St. Peter's ſupremacy in relation to the Apoſtles[g].

[g] Ὡς οὐδέν μοι ὄφελος ἂν Πέτρου τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀποσκευασαμένου, ὁ Παῦλος φαίνηται θαρσαλέως καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως τοῦ συναποστόλου κατηγορῶν ——.

So that it is no advantage to me, if, when Peter has confuted the charge, Paul appear to accuſe his fellow Apoſtle boldly and inconſiderately.

In fine, the drift of St. Paul, in reporting thoſe paſſages concerning himſelf, was not to diſparage the other Apoſtles, nor merely to commend himſelf, but to fence the truth of his doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his diſciples againſt any prejudice that might ariſe from any authority, that might be pretended in any conſiderable reſpects ſuperior to his, and alleged againſt them; to which purpoſe he declareth by arguments and matters of fact, that his authority was perfectly apoſtolical, and equal to the greateſt; even to that of St. Peter, the prime Apoſtle; of St. John, the beloved diſciple; of St. James, the biſhop of Jeruſalem; the judgment or practice of whom was no law to him, nor ſhould be to them, farther than it did conſiſt with that doctrine which he, by an independent authority, and by ſpecial *revelation from Chriſt*, did preach unto them: he might, as St. Chryſoſtom noteth, have pretended *to ſome advantage over them*, in regard that he *had laboured more abundantly than they all;* but he forbeareth to do ſo, *being contented to obtain equal advantages* [h].

Gal. i. 12.

Well therefore, conſidering the diſadvantage which this paſſage bringeth to the Roman pretence, might this hiſtory be called by Baronius, *a hiſtory hard to be underſtood, a ſtone of offence, a rock of ſcandal, a rugged place, which St. Auſtin himſelf, under favour, could not paſs over without ſtumbling.*

Baron. An. li. §. 32—34, 35, &c.

It may alſo be conſidered, that St. Paul particularly doth aſſert to himſelf an independent authority over the Gentiles, coordinate to that which St. Peter had over the Jews [i]; the which might engage him ſo earneſtly to conteſt with St. Peter, as by his practice ſeducing thoſe who

Rom. xi. 13.

[h] Καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀποστόλων πλειονεκτήσας, περισσότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐποίησε, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τίνος ὁ καταπαινάζει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φέρων. *Chryſ. in Gal.* i. 1.

[i] Plena authoritas Petro in Judaiſmi prædicatione data dignoſcitur, et Pauli perfecta authoritas in prædicatione Gentium invenitur. *Ambr.*

There is diſcerned a full authority given to Peter of preaching to the Jews, and in Paul there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles.

belonged to his charge; the which alſo probably moved him thus to aſſert his authority to the Galatians, as being Gentiles under his care, and thence obliged eſpecially to
Gal. i. 6, 7. regard his authority. *They*, ſaith St. Paul, *knowing that I was intruſted with the Goſpel of uncircumciſion, as Peter* was intruſted *with that of circumciſion,—gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowſhip:* the which words do clearly enough ſignify, that he took himſelf, and that the other Apoſtles took him to have, under Chriſt, an abſolute charge, ſubordinate to no man, over the Gentiles;
2 Cor. xi. 28. whence he claimeth to himſelf, as his burden, *the care of all the churches:* he therefore might well conteſt for their liberty, he might well inſiſt upon his authority among them.

Thus did St. Chryſoſtom underſtand the caſe; for [k] *Chriſt*, ſaith he, *committed the Jews to Peter, but ſet Paul over the Gentiles;* and, [l] *He*, ſaith that great Father, *farther doth ſhew himſelf to be equal to them in dignity, and compareth himſelf, not only to the others, but even to the ringleader; ſhewing that each did enjoy equal dignity.*

It may alſo by any prudent conſiderer eaſily be diſcerned, that if St. Peter had really been as they aſſert him, ſo in authority ſuperior to the other Apoſtles, it is hardly poſſible, that St. Paul ſhould upon theſe occaſions expreſs nothing of it.

16. If St. Peter had been appointed ſovereign of the Church, it ſeemeth that it ſhould have been requiſite, that he ſhould have outlived all the Apoſtles; for then either the Church muſt have wanted a head, or there muſt have been an inextricable controverſy about who that head was. St. Peter died long before St. John, (as all agree,) and perhaps before divers others of the Apoſtles. Now, after his departure, did the Church want a head? (then it might before and after have none; and our adverſaries

[k] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίους ἐπίστρεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίστησεν ὁ Χριστός. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 59.

[l] Δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνων, δεικνὺς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσιν ἀξίας. *Chryſ. in Gal.* ii. 8.

loſe the main ground of their pretence.) Did one of the Apoſtles become head? (which of them was it; upon what ground did he aſſume the headſhip, or who conferred it on him; who ever did acknowledge any ſuch thing, or where is there any report about it?) Was any other perſon made head? (ſuppoſe the Biſhop of Rome, who only pretendeth thereto;) then did St. John and other Apoſtles become ſubject to one in degree inferior to them; then what becometh of St. Paul's *firſt Apoſtles, ſecondly prophets, thirdly teachers?* What do all the apoſtolical privileges come to, when St. John muſt be at the command of Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, and of I know not who beſide? Was it not a great abſurdity for the Apoſtles to truckle under the *paſtors and teachers of Rome?* 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 1

The like may be ſaid for St. James, if he (as the Roman Church doth in its Liturgicks ſuppoſe) were an Apoſtle, who in many reſpects might claim the preeminence; who therefore, in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, is preferred before Clement biſhop of Rome.

17. Upon the ſame grounds, on which a ſupremacy of power is claimed to St. Peter, other Apoſtles might alſo challenge a ſuperiority therein over their brethren; but to ſuppoſe ſuch a difference of power among the reſt is abſonous; and therefore the grounds are not valid upon which St. Peter's ſupremacy is built.

I inſtance in St. James and St. John, who upon the ſame probabilities had (after St. Peter) a preference to the other Apoſtles. For to them our Saviour declared a ſpecial regard; to them the Apoſtles afterwards may ſeem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances, ſeem to have ſurpaſſed; they (after St. Peter and his brother) were firſt called to the apoſtolical office; they (as St. Peter) were by our Lord new chriſtened, (as it were,) and nominated *Boanerges*, by a name ſignifying the efficacy of their endeavour in their maſter's ſervice; they, together with St. Peter, were aſſumed to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our Lord in his agony; they alſo, with St. Peter, Matt. iv. 2 Luke v. 1 Mark iii. 1 Matt. xvi 1, 2. 2 Pet. i. 1 Matt. xxv 37. Mark xiv. 3

(others being excluded,) were taken to atteſt our Lord's performance of that great miracle, of reſtoring the ruler's daughter to life; they, preſuming on their ſpecial favour with our Lord, did pretend to the chief places in his kingdom.

Matt. xx. 20, 21. Mark x. 35. 37.

To one of them it is expreſſed that our Saviour did bear a peculiar affection, he being *the diſciple whom Jeſus loved*, and *who leaned on his boſom*: to the other he particularly diſcovered himſelf after his reſurrection, and firſt honoured him with the crown of martyrdom.

John xiii. 23. xxi. 7, 20. 1 Cor. xv. 7.

They in blood and cognation did neareſt touch our Lord; being his couſin germans; (which was eſteemed by the ancients a ground of preferment;) as Hegeſippus reporteth [m].

Their induſtry and activity in propagation of the Goſpel was moſt eminently conſpicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that St. James did firſt ſuffer for it, and St. John did longeſt perſiſt in the faithful confeſſion of it; whoſe writings in ſeveral kinds do remain as the richeſt magazines of Chriſtian doctrine, furniſhing us with the fulleſt teſtimonies concerning the divinity of our Lord, with ſpecial hiſtories of his life, and with his divineſt diſcourſes; with moſt lively incitements to piety and charity; with prophetical revelations concerning the ſtate of the Church. He therefore was one of the *στύλοι*, chief pillars and props, of the Chriſtian profeſſion; one of *ὑπὲρ λίαν Ἀπόστολοι*, *the ſuperlative Apoſtles*.

Acts xii. 2. Gal. ii. 9. 2 Cor. xii. 11. xi. 5. Mark iii. 17.

Accordingly in the rolls of the Apoſtles, and in reports concerning them, their names uſually are placed after St. Peter.

Acts i. 13.

Hence alſo ſome of the Fathers do take them, as St. Peter was, to have been preferred by our Lord [n]: *Peter*,

[m] Τὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου. *Hegeſipp. apud Euſeb.* iii. 20.

They being diſmiſſed, and ſent away to govern the churches, as being both witneſſes, and alſo kinſmen of our Lord.

[n] Λαβὼν τοίνυν τοὺς κορυφαίους. *Chryſ. in Matt.* xvii. 1.

Taking therefore the chief and principal.

Διὰ τί τούτους παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες. *Chryſ. ibid.*

Wherefore

ſaith St. Gregory Nazianzen, *and James and John, who both were indeed, and were reckoned before the others— ſo indeed did Chriſt himſelf prefer them;* and, *Peter, James, and John,* ſaith Clemens Alexandrinus, *did not, as being preferred by the Lord himſelf, conteſt for honour, but did chooſe James the Juſt, biſhop of Jeruſalem,* (or, as Ruffinus reads, *biſhop of the Apoſtles.*)

Hence if by deſignation of Chriſt, by the conceſſion of the apoſtolical college, by the prefulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground, St. Peter had the πρωτεῖα, or firſt place; the δευτερεῖα, or next place, in the ſame kind, by like means, upon the ſame grounds, ſeems to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage did imply difference, not in power, but in order only, (not authoritative ſuperiority, but honorary precedence,) then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The Fathers, both in expreſs terms, and implicitly or by conſequence, do aſſert the Apoſtles to have been equal or coordinate in power and authority.

What can be more expreſs, than that of St. Cyprian; [o] *The other Apoſtles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal conſortſhip of honour and power;* and again, [p] *Although our Lord giveth to all the Apoſtles after his reſurrection an equal power, and ſaith, As the Father ſent me, ſo I ſend you?*

What can be more plain than that of St. Chryſoſtom; [q] *St. Paul ſheweth, that each Apoſtle did enjoy equal dignity?*

How again could St. Chryſoſtom more clearly ſignify Chryſ. in Gal. i. 8.

Wherefore taketh he theſe only with him? Becauſe theſe were the chief and principal above the others.

Πέτρος, ϗ Ἰάκωβος, ϗ Ἰωάννης, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ϗ ὄντες ϗ ἀριθμούμενοι —— αὕτη μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις. *Greg. Naz.* Or. 26.

Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἱλίσθαι. (Ruffinus reddit Apoſtolorum Epiſcopum.) *Clem. Alex. apud Euſeb.* ii. 1.

[o] Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi et honoris et poteſtatis.

[p] —— quamvis Apoſtolis omnibus poſt reſurrectionem ſuam parem poteſtatem tribuat, ac dicat, &c. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[q] Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. *Chryſ. in Gal.* ii. 8.

his opinion, than when comparing St. Paul to St. Peter, he calleth St. Paul ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ, *equal in honour to him,* adding, πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως, *for I will not as yet ſay any thing more,* as if he thought St. Paul indeed the more honourable?

Vide Tert. de Præſcr. cap. 20.

How alſo could St. Cyril more plainly declare his ſenſe to be the ſame, than when he called St. Peter and St. John ἰσοτίμους ἀλλήλοις, *equal to one another in honour?* [r]

Did not St. Jerome alſo ſufficiently declare his mind in the caſe, when he ſaith of the Apoſtles, that [s] *the ſtrength of the Church is equally ſettled upon them?*

Doth not Dionyſius (the ſuppoſed Areopagite) call [t] *the decade of the Apoſtles coordinate with their foreman,* St. Peter? in conformity, I ſuppoſe, to the current judgment of his age.

What can be more full than that of Iſidore, (whoſe words ſhew how long this ſenſe continued in the Church;) [u] *The other Apoſtles did receive an equal ſhare of honour and power; who alſo being diſperſed in the whole world did preach the Goſpel; and to whom departing the biſhops did ſucceed, who are conſtituted through the whole world in the ſees of the Apoſtles?*

By conſequence the Fathers do aſſert this equality,

[r] Πίτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὸ καὶ Ἀπόστολοι ἁγίοι μαθηταί. *Act. Con. Eph.* part. i. p. 209.

Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were alſo the Apoſtles and holy diſciples.

Did Tertullian think St. Paul inferior to St. Peter, when he ſaid, It is well that Peter is even in martyrdom equalled to Paul? *Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adæquatur. Tert. de Præſcr.* 24.

[s] At dicis ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia, licet id ipſum alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, et ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidetur. *Hieron. in Jovin.* i. 14.

But you will ſay, the Church is founded upon Peter, though the ſame thing in another place is affirmed of all the Apoſtles, and that, &c.

[t] Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, μετὰ τῆς ὁμοταγοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς διπλάδος. *Dionyſ. de Eccl. Hier.* cap. 5.

[u] Cæteri Apoſtoli cum Petro par conſortium honoris et poteſtatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe diſperſi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibuſque decedentibus ſucceſſerunt Epiſcopi, qui ſunt conſtituti per totum mundum in ſedibus Apoſtolorum. *Iſid. Hiſp. de Off.* ii. 5.

when they affirm (as we before did ſhew) the apoſtolical office to be abſolutely ſupreme; when alſo they affirm (as afterwards we ſhall ſhew) all the Apoſtles' ſucceſſors to be equal as ſuch; and particularly that the Roman biſhop, upon account of his ſucceeding St. Peter, hath no preeminence above his brethren; for, [x] *wherever a biſhop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium; at Conſtantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Thanis; he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame prieſthood: the force of wealth, and lowneſs of poverty, doth not render a biſhop more high or more low; for that all of them are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles.*

19. Neither is it to prudential eſteem a deſpicable conſideration, that the moſt ancient of the Fathers, having occaſion ſometimes largely to diſcourſe of St. Peter, do not mention any ſuch prerogatives belonging to him.

20. The laſt argument which I ſhall uſe againſt this primacy, ſhall be the inſufficiency of thoſe arguments and teſtimonies, which they allege to warrant and prove it.

If this point be of ſo great conſequence as they make it; if, as they would perſuade us, the ſubſiſtence, order, unity, and peace of the Church, together with the ſalvation of Chriſtians, do depend on it [y]; if, as they ſuppoſe, many great points of truth do hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main article of faith, and [z] *not only a ſimple error, but a pernicious hereſy to deny this primacy;* then it is requiſite, that a clear revelation from God ſhould be producible in favour of it, (for upon that ground only ſuch points can firmly ſtand;) then it is moſt probable, that God (to prevent controverſies, occaſions of doubt, and excuſes for error about ſo grand a matter) would not have failed to have declared it ſo plainly, as might ſerve to ſatisfy any reaſonable man, and to convince any froward gainſayer: but no ſuch revelation doth appear; for

[x] Ubicunque fuerit epiſcopus, ſive Romæ ſive Eugubii, &c. *Hier. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85. Clem. ad Corinth. Iren. iii. 12. iii. 1, 3.

[y] Agitur de ſumma rei Chriſtianæ, &c. *Bell. præf. ad lib. de Pontif. R.*

[z] Eſt enim revera non ſimplex error, ſed pernicioſa hæreſis negare B. Petri primatum a Chriſto inſtitutum. *Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 10.

the places of Scripture which they allege do not plainly expreſs it, nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair conſequence be inferred from them: no man unprepoſſeſſed with affection to their ſide would deſcry it in them; without thwarting St. Peter's order, and *wreſting the Scriptures*, they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their allegations will appear.

2 Pet. iii. 16.

I. They allege thoſe words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occaſion of St. Peter's confeſſing him to be the Son of God, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.* Here, ſay they, St. Peter is declared the foundation, that is, the ſole ſupreme governor of the Church [a].

Matt. xvi. 18.

To this I anſwer:

1. Thoſe words do not clearly ſignify any thing to their purpoſe; for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous, or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot ſuffice to ground ſo main a point of doctrine, or to warrant ſo huge a pretence; theſe ought to ſtand upon downright, evident, and indubitable teſtimony.

It is pretty to obſerve how Bellarmine propoſeth this teſtimony; [b] *Of which words*, ſaith he, *the ſenſe is plain and obvious, that it be underſtood, that under two metaphors the principate of the whole Church was promiſed;* as if that ſenſe could be ſo plain and obvious, which is couched under two metaphors, and thoſe not very pat or clear in application to their ſenſe.

2. This is manifeſtly confirmed from that the Father and Divines, both ancient and modern, have much differed in expoſition of theſe words.

Toſtat. in Matth. xvi. qu. 67.

[*Some*, ſaith Abulenſis, *ſay, that this rock is Peter*——

[a] S. Romana Eccleſia nullis ſynodicis conſtitutis cæteris eccleſiis prælata eſt, ſed Evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris noſtri primatum obtinuit; *Tu es Petrus* (inquiens) &c. *P. Geleſ.* i. Diſt. 21. cap. 3.

The holy church of Rome is not preferred before other churches by any ſynodical decrees, but has obtained the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the Goſpel, ſaying, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

[b] Quorum verborum planus et obvius ſenſus eſt, ut intelligatur ſub duabus metaphoris promiſſum Petro totius eccleſiæ principatum. *Bell. de Pon.* i. 10.

others ſay, and better, that it is Chriſt——others ſay, and yet better, that it is the confeſſion which Peter maketh.]

For ſome interpret *this rock* to be Chriſt himſelf, of whom St. Paul ſaith, *Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.* 1 Cor. iii. 11.

St. Auſtin telleth us in his Retractations, that he often had expounded the words to this purpoſe, although he did not abſolutely reject that interpretation which made St. Peter the rock; leaving it to the reader's choice which is the moſt probable[c].

Others (and thoſe moſt eminent Fathers) do take the rock to be St. Peter's faith, or profeſſion; [d] *Upon the rock,* ſaith the prince of interpreters, *that is, upon the faith of his profeſſion;* and again, [e] *Chriſt ſaid that he would build his Church on Peter's confeſſion;* and again, (he, or another ancient writer under his name,) [f] *Upon this rock, he ſaid not upon Peter; for he did not build his Church upon the man, but upon his faith.*

[g] *Our Lord,* ſaith Theodoret, *did permit the firſt of the Apoſtles, whoſe confeſſion he did fix as a prop or foundation of the Church, to be ſhaken.*

[Whence Origen ſaith, that [h] *every diſciple of Chriſt is the rock,* in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confeſſion.]

[c] Scio me poſtea ſæpiſſime expoſuiſſe, ut ſuper hanc Petram intelligeretur quem confeſſus eſt Petrus; harum autem duarum ſententiarum quæ ſit probabilior eligat lector. *Aug. Retr.* i. 21. Vide Aug. in Joh. tr. 124. de verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13.

Super hanc, inquit, Petram quam confeſſus es, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. *Aug. in Joh.* tr. 124. et de verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13. (tom. 10.)

Super hanc Petram, id eſt, ſuper me ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. *Anſ. in Matt.* xvi. 18.

[d] Τῇ Πέτρᾳ——τουτέστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. *Chryſ. in Matt.* xvi. 18.

[e] —— τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν ἰκείνου. *Chryſ. in Joh.* i. 50.

[f] Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ, οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 163.

Super hanc igitur confeſſionis Petram Eccleſiæ ædificatio eſt. *Hil. de Trin.* 6.

[g] —— Ἀποστόλων τὸν πρῶτον, ὃ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἷον τίνα κρηπῖδα, καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατίστηξι, συνεχώρησε σαλευθῆναι. *Theod.* Ep. 77.

[h] Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, &c. *Orig. in Matt.* xvi. p. 275.

This ſenſe even popes have embraced [i].

Others ſay, [k] that as St. Peter did not ſpeak for himſelf, but in the name of all the Apoſtles, and of all faithful people, repreſenting the paſtors and people of the Church; ſo correſpondently our Lord did declare, that he would build his Church upon ſuch faithful paſtors and confeſſors.

Vide Rigalt. in Cypr. Ep. 27. 40. 70. 71. 73. 69.

Others do indeed by the rock underſtand St. Peter's perſon, but do not thereby expound to be meant his being ſupreme governor of the Apoſtles, or of the whole Church.

The divines, ſchoolmen, and canoniſts of the Roman communion, do not alſo agree in expoſition of the words; and divers of the moſt learned among them do approve the interpretation of St. Chryſoſtom.

Now then, how can ſo great a point of doctrine be firmly grounded on a place of ſo doubtful interpretation? How can any one be obliged to underſtand the words according to their interpretation, which perſons of ſo good ſenſe and ſo great authority do underſtand otherwiſe? With what modeſty can they pretend that meaning to be clear, which ſo perſpicacious eyes could not diſcern therein? Why may not I excuſably agree with St. Chryſoſtom, or St. Auſtin, in underſtanding the place? May I not reaſonably oppoſe their judgment to the opinion of any modern doctors, deeming Bellarmine as fallible in his conceptions, as one of them? Why conſequently may I not

[i] In vera fide perſiſtite, et vitam veſtram in petra Eccleſiæ, hoc eſt in confeſſione B. Petri Apoſtolorum principis ſolidate. *Greg. M.* Ep. iii. 33.

Perſiſt in the true faith, and eſtabliſh and fix your life upon the rock of the Church, that is, upon the confeſſion of bleſſed Peter, the prince of the Apoſtles.

Super iſta confeſſione ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. *Felix III.* Ep. 5. Vide Nic. I. Ep. ii. 6. Joh. VIII. Ep. 76.

[k] Unus pro omnibus loquens, et Eccleſiæ voce reſpondens. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

One ſpeaking for all, and anſwering in the name of the Church.

Cui Eccleſiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, *Super hanc—. Aug.* Ep. 165.

To whom, repreſenting the whole Church, our Lord ſaith, *Upon this rock*, &c.

Petrus ex perſona omnium Apoſtolorum profitetur. *Hier. in loc.*

Peter profeſſes in the perſon of all the Apoſtles.

without blame refuſe their doctrine, as built upon this place, or diſavow the goodneſs of this proof?

3. It is very evident, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not underſtand thoſe words of our Lord to ſignify any grant or promiſe to St. Peter of ſupremacy over them; for would they have *contended* for the chief place, if they had underſtood whoſe it of right was by our Lord's own poſitive determination? would they have *diſputed* about a queſtion, which to their knowledge by their Maſter was already ſtated? would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who ſhould be the greateſt in his kingdom, when they knew that our Lord had declared his will to make St. Peter viceroy? would the ſons of Zebedee have been ſo fooliſh and preſumptuous, as to beg the place, which they knew by our Lord's word and promiſe fixed on St. Peter? [1] would St. Peter, among the reſt, have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place by our Lord's immutable purpoſe and infallible declaration aſſured to him? And if none of the Apoſtles did underſtand the words to imply this Roman ſenſe, who can be obliged ſo to underſtand them? yea who can wiſely, who can ſafely ſo underſtand them? for ſurely they had common ſenſe, as well as any man living now; they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning; their ignorance therefore of this ſenſe being ſo apparent, is not only a juſt excuſe for not admitting this interpretation, but a ſtrong bar againſt it.

Luke xxii. 14. Mar. ix. 3. Matt. xviii. 1.

4. This interpretation alſo doth not well conſiſt with our Lord's anſwers to the conteſts, inquiries, and petitions of his diſciples, concerning the point of ſuperiority: for doth he not (if the Roman expoſitions be good) ſeem upon thoſe occaſions, not only to diſſemble his own word and promiſe, but to diſavow them, or thwart them? can we conceive, that he would in ſuch a caſe of doubt forbear to reſolve them, clearly to inſtruct them, and admoniſh them of their duty?

[1] Matth. xx. 24. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτησαν.
And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation.

5. Taking the rock, as they would have it, to be the perſon of St. Peter, and that on him the Church ſhould be built; yet do not the words *being a rock* probably denote government? for what reſemblance is there between being a rock and a governor? at leaſt what aſſurance can there be, that this metaphor preciſely doth import that ſenſe; ſeeing in other reſpects, upon as fair ſimilitudes, he might be called ſo?

St. Auſtin ſaith, [m] *the Apoſtles were foundations, becauſe their authority doth ſupport our weakneſs.*

St. Jerome ſaith, that they [n] *were foundations, becauſe the faith of the Church was firſt laid in them.*

St. Baſil ſaith, that [o] *St. Peter's ſoul was called the rock, becauſe it was firmly rooted in the faith, and did hold ſtiff, without giving way againſt the blows of temptation.*

Chryſologus ſaith, that [p] *Peter had his name from a rock, becauſe he firſt merited to found the Church by firmneſs of faith.*

Theſe are fair explications of the metaphor, without any reference to St. Peter's government.

But however alſo admitting this, that being ſuch a rock doth imply government and paſtoral charge; yet do they (notwithſtanding theſe grants and ſuppoſitions) effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words ſpoken excluſively in regard to other Apoſtles, or to import any thing ſingular to him above or beſide them: he might be a governing rock, ſo might others be; the Church might be built on him, ſo it might be on other Apoſtles; he might be deſigned a governor, a great governor, a principal gover-

[m] Quare ſunt fundamenta Apoſtoli et Prophetæ, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem noſtram. *Aug. in Pſ.* lxxxvi.

[n] In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primum poſita eſt fides Eccleſiæ. *Hier. in Pſ.* lxxxvi.

[o] Πέτρα δὲ ὑψηλὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ὠνόμασται, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐρριζῶσθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερρῶς καὶ ἐνσθένως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐκ πειρασμῶν ἐπαγομένας πληγάς. *Baſ. in Iſ.* ii. p. 869.

[p] Petrus a petra nomen adeptus eſt, quia primus meruit Eccleſiam fidei firmitate fundare. *Chryſ.* Serm. 53.

nor, ſo might they alſo be; this might be without any violence done to thoſe words.

And this indeed was; for all the other Apoſtles in holy Scripture are called foundations, and the Church is ſaid to be built on them.

[q] *If*, ſaith Origen, the Father of interpreters, *you think the whole Church to be only built on Peter alone, what will you ſay of John the ſon of thunder, and of each of the Apoſtles? &c.* largely to this purpoſe.

[r] *Chriſt*, as St. Jerome ſaith, *was the Rock, and he beſtowed it upon the Apoſtles, that they ſhould be called rocks.* Eph. ii. 20.

And, [s] *You ſay*, ſaith he again, *that the Church is founded on Peter; but the ſame in another place is done upon all the Apoſtles.*

The twelve Apoſtles, ſaith another ancient author, *were the immutable pillars of orthodoxy, the rock of the Church.*

[t] *The Church*, ſaith St. Baſil, *is built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles; Peter alſo was one of the mountains; upon which rock the Lord did promiſe to build his Church.*

St. Cyprian, in his diſputes with Pope Stephen, did more than once allege this place, yet could he not take them in their ſenſe to ſignify excluſively; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of power among the Apoſtles or their ſucceſſors. He indeed plainly took theſe words to reſpect all the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors; our Lord taking occaſion to promiſe that to one, which he intended to impart to all for themſelves and their ſucceſſors; [u] *Our* Cypr. Ep. 71, 73.

[q] Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκεῖνον Πέτρον νομίζεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν Ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσαις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἑκάστου τῶν Ἀποστόλων, &c. *Orig. in Matth.* xvi. p. 275.

[r] Petra Chriſtus eſt, qui donavit Apoſtolis, ut ipſi quoque Petræ vocentur. *Hier. in Amos* ix. 12.

[s] Dicis ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia, licet id ipſum in alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

[t] Ἐκκλησία — ᾠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῇ θεμελίῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ Προφητῶν· ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δὲ ἡ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρας ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. *Baſil. in Iſa.* ii. p. 869.

[u] Dominus noſter epiſcopi honorem, et Eccleſiæ ſuæ rationem diſponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico——Inde per temporum et ſucceſſionum vices epi-

Lord, ſaith he, *ordering the honour of a biſhop, and the order of his Church, ſaith to Peter, I ſay to thee, &c. Hence through the turns of times and ſucceſſions, the ordination of biſhops, and the manner of the Church doth run on, that the Church ſhould be ſettled upon the biſhops, and every act of the Church ſhould be governed by the ſame prelates:* as therefore he did conceive the Church to be built, not on the Pope ſingularly, but on all the biſhops; ſo he thought our Lord did intend to build his Church, not upon St. Peter only, but on all his Apoſtles.

6. It is not ſaid, that the Apoſtles, or the apoſtolical office, ſhould be built on him; for that could not be, ſeeing the Apoſtles were conſtituted, and the apoſtolical office was founded, before that promiſe; the words only therefore can import, that according to ſome meaning he was a rock, upon which the Church, afterward to be collected, ſhould be built; he was [x] *a rock of the Church to be built,* as Tertullian ſpeaketh: the words therefore cannot ſignify any thing available to their purpoſe, in relation to the Apoſtles.

7. If we take St. Peter himſelf for the rock, then (as I take it) the beſt meaning of the words doth import, that our Lord deſigned St. Peter for a prime inſtrument [y], (the firſt mover, the moſt diligent and active at the beginning, the moſt conſtant, ſtiff, and firm,) in the ſupport of his truth, and propagation of his doctrine, or converſion of men to the belief of the Goſpel; the which is called building of the Church; according to that of St. Ambroſe, or ſome ancient Homiliſt under his name, [z] *He is called a rock, becauſe he firſt did lay in the nations the foundations of faith:* in which regard, as the other Apoſtles are called

ſcoporum ordinatio, et Eccleſiæ ratio decurrit, ut Eccleſia ſuper epiſcopos conſtituatur, et omnis actus Eccleſiæ per eoſdem præpoſitos gubernetur. *Cypr.* Ep. 27. *et de Unit. Eccl.*

[x] Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ Eccleſiæ Petram dictum. *Tertull. de Præſcr.* cap. 22.

[y] Πέτρος ἐν ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν. *Chryſ.*

Peter firſt of all the Apoſtles preached Chriſt.

[z] Petra dicitur eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta poſuerit. *Ambr. de Sanctis.* Serm. 2.

foundations of the Church, (the Church being founded on their labours,) ſo might St. Peter ſignally be ſo called; who, as St. Baſil ſaith, alluſively interpreting our Saviour's words, [a] *for the excellency of his faith did take on him the edifying of the Church.*

Both he and they alſo might be ſo termed, for that upon their teſtimonies concerning the life, death, and reſurrection of Chriſt, the faith of Chriſtians was grounded; as alſo it ſtands upon their convincing diſcourſes, their holy practice, their miraculous performances; in all which St. Peter was moſt eminent; and in the beginning of Chriſtianity diſplayed them to the edification of the Church.

This interpretation plainly doth agree with matter of fact and hiſtory; which is the beſt interpreter of right or privilege in ſuch caſes; for we may reaſonably underſtand our Saviour to have promiſed that, which in effect we ſee performed; ſo [b] *the event ſheweth, the Church was built on him, that is by him,* ſaith Tertullian.

But this ſenſe doth not imply any ſuperiority of power or dignity granted to St. Peter above his brethren; however it may ſignify an advantage belonging to him, and deſerving eſpecial reſpect; as St. Chryſoſtom notably doth ſet out in theſe words; [c] *Although John, although James, although Paul, although any other whoever may appear performing great matters; he yet doth ſurpaſs them all, who did precede them in liberty of ſpeech, and opened the entrance, and gave to them, as to a river carried with a huge ſtream, to enter with great eaſe:* doing this, as, I ſay, it might ſignify his being a rock of the Church, ſo

[a] Ὁ διὰ πίστιως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος. *Baſ. contra Eunom.* lib. 2.

Petra ædificandæ Eccleſiæ. *Tertull. de Præſcr.* cap. 22.

[b] Sic enim exitus docet, in ipſo Eccleſia extructa eſt, id eſt per ipſum, &c. *Tert. de Pudic.* cap. 21.

[c] Κἂν Ἰωάννης, κἂν Ἰάκωβος, κἂν Παῦλος, κἂν ἄλλος ὁτισοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα μέγα τι τῶν φαίνηται, ἁπάντων οὗτος πλείονι τῷ, ὁ προῳδοποιήσας αὐτῶν τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ, καὶ διανοίξας τὴν εἴσοδον, καὶ δὺς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμῷ πολλῷ φερομένῳ ῥεύματι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐπεισιέναι, &c. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 59.

it denoteth an excellency of merit, but not a ſuperiority in power.

8. It may alſo be obſerved, that St. Peter, before the ſpeaking of thoſe words by our Lord, may ſeem to have had a primacy, intimated by the Evangeliſts, when they report his call to the apoſtolical office; and by his behaviour, when in this confeſſion, and before in the like, he undertook to be their mouth and ſpokeſman; when, [e] *not being unmindful of his place,* ſaith St. Ambroſe, *he did act a primacy; a primacy,* addeth that Father, *of confeſſion, not of honour; of faith, not of order:* his primacy therefore (ſuch as he had) cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore poſſeſſed of it, and, as St. Ambroſe conceived, exerciſing it at that time.

Matt. x. 2. John vi. 69.

II. They allege the next words of our Lord, ſpoken in ſequel upon the ſame occaſion, *To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;* that is, ſay they, *the ſupreme power over all the Church* [f]; for he, ſay they, that hath the keys is maſter of the houſe.

To this teſtimony we may apply divers of the ſame anſwers, which were given to the former; for,

1. Theſe words are figurate, and therefore not clear enough to prove their aſſertion.

2. They do admit, and have received, various interpretations.

3. It is evident, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not underſtand theſe words as importing a ſupremacy over them; that St. Peter himſelf did not apprehend this ſenſe; that our Lord, upon occaſion inviting to it, did not take notice of his promiſe according thereto.

4. The words, *I will give thee,* cannot anywiſe be aſſured to have been excluſive of others, or appropriated to him. [g] *He ſaid,* as a very learned man of the Roman

[e] Loci non immemor ſui primatum egit;——primatum confeſſionis, non honoris; fidei, non ordinis. *Ambr. de Incarn.* cap. 4.

[f] Per claves datas Petro intelligimus ſummam poteſtatem in omnem Eccleſiam. *Bell. de Pont.* i. 3.

[g] Dixit Petro, Dabo tibi claves; at non dixit, Dabo tibi ſoli. *Rigalt. in Epiſt. Firmil.*

communion noteth) *to Peter, I will give thee the keys; but he ſaid not, I will give them to thee alone:* nothing therefore can be concluded from them to their purpoſe.

5. The Fathers do affirm, that all the Apoſtles did receive the ſame keys.

[h] *Are,* ſaith Origen, *the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and ſhall none other of the bleſſed ones receive them? But if this, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, be common, how alſo are not all the things common, which were ſpoken before, or are added as ſpoken to Peter?*

St. Jerome ſays in expreſs words, that all [i] *the Apoſtles did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

[k] *He,* ſaith Optatus, *did alone receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* (which were) *to be communicated to the reſt;* that is, (as Rigaltius well expoundeth thoſe words,) *which Chriſt himſelf would alſo communicate to the reſt.*

Theophylact. [l] *Although it be ſpoken to Peter alone, I will give thee, yet it is given to all the Apoſtles.*

It is part of St. John's character in St. Chryſoſtom, [m] *He that hath the keys of the heavens.*

6. Indeed, whatever (according to any tolerable expoſition, or according to the current expoſitions of the Fa-

[h] Ἆρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τό δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα πάντα προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα; *Orig. in Matt.* xvi. p. 275.

[i] Quod Petro dicitur, Apoſtolis dicitur. *Ambr. in Pſal.* xxxviii.

What is ſaid to Peter, is ſaid to the Apoſtles.

Licet id ipſum in alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, et cunctis claves regni cœlorum accipiant. *Hier. in Jov.* i. 14.

Though the ſame thing in another place is done upon all the Apoſtles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

[k] Claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris ſolus accepit. *Opt.* lib. 7.

Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipſe Chriſtus communicaturus erat et cæteris. *Rigalt. in Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[l] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δίδοται. *Theoph. in loc.*

[m] Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Chryſ. in Præf. Evang. Joh.*

thers) thoſe keys of the kingdom of heaven do import[n], (whether it be a faculty of opening it by doctrine, of admitting into it by diſpenſation of baptiſm and abſolution, of excluding from it by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, or any ſuch faculty ſignified by that metaphorical expreſſion,) it plainly did belong to all the Apoſtles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea, after them, upon all the paſtors of the Church in their ſeveral precincts and degrees; who in all ages have claimed to themſelves the power of the keys; to be (as the *Council of Compeigne* calleth all biſhops) *clavigeri*, [o] the *key-bearers of the kingdom of heaven.*

So that in theſe words nothing ſingular was promiſed or granted to St. Peter; although it well may be deemed a ſingular mark of favour, that what our Lord did intend to beſtow on all paſtors, *that* he did anticipately promiſe to him; or, as the Fathers ſay, to the Church and its paſtors in him. In which reſpect we may admit thoſe words of Pope Leo I.[p]

7. Indeed divers of the Fathers do conceive the words ſpoken to St. Peter, not as a ſingle perſon, but as a repreſentative of the Church, or as ſtanding in the room of each paſtor therein; unto whom our Lord deſigned to impart the power of the keys.

[q] *All we biſhops*, ſaith St. Ambroſe, *have in St. Peter received the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

[n] Claves intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Chriſti. *Rigalt. in Cyp. Ep.* 73.

[o] Epiſcopi——quos conſtat eſſe vicarios Chriſti, et clavigeros regni cœlorum. *Conc. Comp. apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.

[p] Tranſivit quidem in Apoſtolos alios vis iſtius poteſtatis, ſed non fruſtra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergo ſingulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis Eccleſiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur. *Leo I. in Nat. Petri et Pauli.* Serm. 2.

The efficacy of this power paſſed indeed upon all the Apoſtles; yet was it not in vain, that what was intimated to all, was commended to one. Therefore this is committed ſingly to Peter, becauſe Peter's pattern and example is propounded to all the governors of the Church.

[q] In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cuncti ſuſcepimus ſacerdotes. *Ambr. de Dign. Sac.* 1.

Eccleſia quæ fundatur in Chriſto, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit, id

8. Theſe anſwers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoined, equivalent to theſe, and interpretative of them; *And whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth ſhall be bound in heaven;*—the which do import a power or privilege ſoon after expreſsly, and in the very ſame words, promiſed or granted to all the Apoſtles; as alſo the ſame power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the reſurrection. Aug. ſupr. Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 23.

If therefore the keys of the kingdom of heaven do import ſupreme power, then each Apoſtle had ſupreme power.

9. If we ſhould grant (that which nowiſe can be proved) that ſomething peculiarly belonging to St. Peter is implied in thoſe words, it can only be this, that he ſhould be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the Goſpel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to believers; which is an opening of the kingdom of heaven; according to what Tertullian excellently ſaith of him: [r] *So,* ſaith he, *the event teacheth, the Church was built in him, that is, by him; he did initiate the key; ſee which, Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words, Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you,* &c. *He, in fine, in the*

eſt, poteſtatem ligandi ſolvendique peccata. *Aug.* tract. 124. *in Joh.* Vid. tract. 50.

The Church, which is founded upon Chriſt, received from him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. the power of binding and looſing ſins.

In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit poteſtatem——. *Aug. de Bap.* iii. 17.

Our Lord gave the power to Peter, as a type of unity.

Ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ κορυφαίου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία δίδοται. *Phot.* Cod. 280.

Such authority was given to the reſt of the Apoſtles in the perſon of him who was the chief.

Non ſine cauſa inter omnes Apoſtolos Eccleſiæ Catholicæ perſonas ſuſtinet Petrus; huic enim Eccleſiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ ſunt, cum Petro datæ ſunt——. *Aug. de Ag. Chr.* cap. xxx. in Pſ. cviii.

Not without cauſe does Peter among the reſt of the Apoſtles ſuſtain the perſon of the Catholic Church; for to this Church are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they are given unto Peter.

[r] Sic enim exitus docet, in ipſo Eccleſia extructa eſt, id eſt, per ipſum; ipſe clavem imbuit; vide quam, Viri Iſraelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jeſum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis deſtinatum, &c. Ipſe denique primus in Chriſti baptiſmo referavit aditum cœleſtis regni, &c. *Tert. de Pud.* 21.

baptiſm of Chriſt, did unlock the entrance to the kingdom of heaven, &c.

10. It ſeemeth abſurd, that St. Peter ſhould exerciſe the power of the keys in reſpect to the Apoſtles: for did he open the kingdom of heaven to them, who were by our Lord long before admitted into it?

11. In fine, our Lord (as St. Luke relateth it) did ſay to St. Peter, and probably to him firſt, *Fear not, from henceforth thou ſhalt catch men:* might it hence be inferred, that St. Peter had a peculiar or ſole faculty of catching men? why might it not by as good a conſequence as this, whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many ſuch inſtances might in like manner be uſed.

Luke v. 10. Matt. iv. 19.

III. They produce thoſe words of our Saviour to St. Peter, *Feed my ſheep;* that is, in the Roman interpretation, *Be thou univerſal governor of my Church.*

To this allegation I anſwer:

1. From words which truly and properly might have been ſaid to any other Apoſtle, yea, to any Chriſtian paſtor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpoſe, importing a peculiar duty or ſingular privilege of St. Peter.

2. From indefinite words a definite concluſion (eſpecially in matters of this kind) may not be inferred: it is ſaid, *Do thou feed my ſheep;* it is not ſaid, Do thou alone feed all my ſheep: this is their arbitrary gloſs, or preſumptuous improvement of the text; without ſuccour whereof the words ſignify nothing to their purpoſe, ſo far are they from ſufficiently aſſuring ſo vaſt a pretence: for inſtance, when St. Paul doth exhort the biſhops at Epheſus *to feed the Church of God;* may it thence be collected, that each of them was an univerſal governor of the whole Church, *which Chriſt had purchaſed with his own blood?*

Acts xx. 28.

3. By theſe words no new power is (aſſuredly at leaſt) granted or inſtituted by our Lord;[s] for the Apoſtles before

[s] Κεχειροτόνητο μὲν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀποστολὴν ὑμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος. *Cyril. in loc.*

Peter

this had their warrant and authority configned to them, when our Lord did inſpire them, and ſolemnly commiſſionate them, ſaying, *As the Father did ſend me, ſo I ſend you:* to which commiſſion, theſe words (ſpoken occaſionally, before a few of the diſciples) did not add or derogate. At moſt the words do only, as St. Cyril ſaith, *renew the former grant of apoſtleſhip*, after his great offence of denying our Lord [t]. John xx. 21.

4. Theſe words do not ſeem inſtitutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the preſſing a common duty, before incumbent on St. Peter, upon a ſpecial occaſion, in an advantageous ſeaſon, that he ſhould effectually diſcharge the office which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord, I ſay, preſently before his departure, when his words were like to have a ſtrong impreſſion on St. Peter, doth earneſtly direct and warn him to expreſs that ſpecial ardency of affection, which he obſerved in him, in an anſwerable care to perform his duty of feeding; that is, of inſtructing, guiding, edifying, in faith and obedience, thoſe ſheep of his; that is, thoſe believers, who ſhould be converted to embrace his religion, as ever he ſhould find opportunity [u].

5. The ſame office certainly did belong to all the Apoſtles, who, as St. Jerome ſpeaketh, [v] *were the princes of our diſcipline, and chieftains of the Chriſtian doctrine*; they at their firſt vocation had a commiſſion and command *to go unto the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael, that were ſcattered abroad like ſheep not having a ſhepherd*; they before our Lord's aſcenſion were enjoined *to teach all nations* the doctrines and precepts of Chriſt; to receive them into the Matt. x. 6. ix. 36. Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.

Peter was ordained to the holy apoſtleſhip together with the reſt of the diſciples.

[t] Διὰ δὲ τοῦ φάναι τὸν Κύριον βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου, ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς πάλαι δεδομένης ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται. *Cyril. ibid.*

[u] Paulus Apoſtolus boni paſtoris implebat officium, quando Chriſtum prædicabat. *Aug. in Joh.* tr. 47.

Paul fulfilled the office of a good paſtor, when he preached Chriſt.

[v] Principes diſciplinæ noſtræ, et Chriſtiani dogmatis duces. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

fold, to feed them with good inſtruction, to guide and govern their converts with good diſcipline; hence, [w]*All of them,* as St. Cyprian ſaith, *were ſhepherds; but the flock did appear one, which was fed by the Apoſtles with unanimous agreement.*

6. Neither could St. Peter's charge be more extenſive, than was that of the other Apoſtles; for they had a general and unlimited care of the whole Church; that is, according to their capacity and opportunity, none being exempted from it, who needed or came into the way of their diſcharging paſtoral offices for them.

[x]*They were œcumenical rulers,* as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *appointed by God, who did not receive ſeveral nations or cities, but all of them in common were intruſted with the world.*

Hence particularly St. Chryſoſtom calleth St. John, [y]*a pillar of the churches over the world;* and St. Paul, *an Apoſtle of the world;* who *had the care, not of one houſe, but of cities and nations, and of the whole earth;* who *undertook the world, and governed the churches;* on whom *the whole world did look,* and *on whoſe ſoul the care of all the churches everywhere did hang; into whoſe hands were delivered the earth, and the ſea, the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world.*

And could St. Peter have a larger flock committed to him? could this charge, *Feed my ſheep,* more agree to him, than to thoſe, who no leſs than he were obliged to feed all Chriſtian people everywhere?

[w] Paſtores ſunt omnes, ſed grex unus oſtenditur, qui ab Apoſtolis omnibus unanimi conſenſione paſcatur. *Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

[x] Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες ὄχ ἔθνη ἢ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 115.

[y] Ὁ στύλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἐκκλησιῶν. *Chryſ. Præf. Comment. ad Joh.* Καὶ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος ἦν. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor.* ix. 2. Οὗτος ὁ οὐκ οἰκίας μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων. *Chryſ. in* 2 *Cor.* xi. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀντιλαμβάνετο πάσης, ᾗ διεκυβέρνα τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 115. Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἦν ἐξηρτημέναι——. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 59. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπεχειρίσθη· Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 39.

7. The words indeed are applicable to all Chriſtian biſhops and governors of the Church; according to that of St. Cyprian to Pope Stephen himſelf; [z] *We being many ſhepherds do feed one flock, and all the ſheep of Chriſt:* for they are ſtyled paſtors; they, in terms as indefinite as thoſe in this text, are exhorted *to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood;* to them (as the Fathers commonly ſuppoſe) this injunction doth reach, our Lord, when he ſpake thus to St. Peter, intending to lay a charge on them all to expreſs their love and piety toward him in this way, by feeding his ſheep and people [a]. Acts xx. 28.

[b] *Which ſheep,* ſaith St. Ambroſe, *and which flock, not only then St. Peter did receive, but alſo with him all we prieſts did receive it.*

[c] *Our Lord,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *did commit his ſheep to Peter, and to thoſe which came after him;* that is, to all Chriſtian paſtors, as the ſcope of his diſcourſe ſheweth.

[d] *When it is ſaid to Peter,* ſaith St. Auſtin, *it is ſaid to all, Feed my ſheep.*

[e] *And we,* ſaith St. Baſil, *are taught this* (obedience to ſuperiors) *by Chriſt himſelf conſtituting St. Peter paſtor after himſelf of the Church, (for, Peter, ſaith he, doſt thou*

[z] Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen gregem, et oves Chriſti univerſas paſcimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. *ad P. Steph.*

[a] Quanto magis debent uſque ad mortem pro veritate certare, et uſque ad ſanguinem adverſus peccatum, quibus oves ipſas paſcendas, hoc eſt docendas regendaſque committit. *Aug. in Joh.* tract. 123.

How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and againſt ſin even unto blood, to whom he committeth his ſheep to be fed, that is, to be taught and governed.

[b] Quas oves, et quem gregem non ſolum tunc B. ſuſcepit Petrus, ſed et cum eo nos ſuſcepimus omnes. *Ambr. de Sacerd.* 2.

[c] Τὰ πρόβατα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. *Chryſ. de Sacerd.* 1.

[d] Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Paſce oves meas. *Aug. de Agone Chriſt.* 30.

[e] Καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδευόμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρε, γὰρ φησὶ, φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τὴν ἴσην παρέχοντος ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ διεμεῖν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, καὶ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος. *Baſ. Conſt. Mon.* cap. 22.

love me more than theſe? Feed my ſheep;) and conferring to all paſtors and teachers continually afterward an equal power (of doing ſo;) *whereof it is a ſign, that all do in like manner bind and do looſe as he.*

St. Auſtin compriſeth all theſe conſiderations in thoſe words[f].

How could theſe great maſters more clearly expreſs their mind, that our Lord in thoſe words to St. Peter did inculcate a duty nowiſe peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all guides of the Church; in ſuch manner, as when a maſter doth preſs a duty on one ſervant, he doth thereby admoniſh all his ſervants of the like duty? whence St. Auſtin ſaith, [g]that St. Peter in that caſe *did ſuſtain the perſon of the Church;* that which was ſpoken to him belonging to all its members, eſpecially to his brethren the clergy.

[h]*It was,* ſaith Cyril, *a leſſon to teachers, that they cannot otherwiſe pleaſe the Arch-paſtor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational ſheep.*

8. Hence it followeth, that the ſheep, which our Saviour biddeth St. Peter to feed, were not the Apoſtles, who were his fellow-ſhepherds, deſigned to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common believers, or people of God, which St. Peter himſelf doth
1 Pet. ii. 5. call *the flock of God; Feed,* ſaith he to his fellow-elders,
Acts xx. 28. *the flock of God, which is among you;* and St. Paul, *Take*

[f] Et quidem, fratres, quod paſtor eſt, dedit et membris ſuis; nam et Petrus paſtor, et Paulus paſtor, et cæteri Apoſtoli paſtores, et boni epiſcopi paſtores. *Aug. in Joh.* tract. 47.

And indeed, brethren, that which a paſtor is, he gave alſo to his members; for both Peter was a paſtor, and Paul a paſtor, and the reſt of the Apoſtles were paſtors, and good biſhops are paſtors.

[g] Ut ergo Petrus quando ei dictum eſt, Tibi dabo claves, in figura perſonam geſtabat Eccleſiæ, ſic et quando ei dictum eſt, Paſce oves meas, Eccleſiæ quoque perſonam in figura geſtabat. *Aug. in Pſ.* cviii.

Οὐ πρὸς ἱερέας δὲ τοῦτο μόνον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἱμπιστευμένων ποιμνίον. *Chryſ. in Matt.* xxiv. Or. 77.

This was not ſpoken to thoſe prieſts only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little flock committed to us.

[h] Διδασκάλοις δὲ γνῶσις διὰ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων εἰσβίβηται θεωρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἑτέρως εὐαρεστήσειεν τῷ πάντων ἀρχιποιμένι, εἰ μὴ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων εὐρωστίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι διαμονῆς ποιοῖντο φροντίδα. *Cyril. ibid.*

heed therefore unto yourſelves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers.

9. Take feeding for what you pleaſe; for teaching, for guiding; the Apoſtles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught and guided by God himſelf.

Hence we may interpret that ſaying of St. Chryſoſtom, which is the moſt plauſible argument they can allege for them, that our Lord, in ſaying this, did commit to St. Peter *a charge* (or preſidency) *over his brethren*[i]; that is, he made him a paſtor of Chriſtian people, as he did others; at leaſt, if προστασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν be referred to the Apoſtles, it muſt not ſignify authority over them, but at moſt a primacy of order among them; for that St. Peter otherwiſe ſhould feed them, St. Chryſoſtom could hardly think, who preſently after ſaith, that [k]*ſeeing the Apoſtles were to receive the adminiſtration of the whole world, they ought not afterward to converſe with one another; for that would ſurely have been a great damage to the world.*

10. But they, forſooth, muſt have St. Peter ſolely obliged to feed all Chriſt's ſheep; ſo they did impoſe upon him a vaſt and crabbed province; a taſk very incommodious, or rather impoſſible for him to undergo. How could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able, to feed ſo many flocks of Chriſtian people ſcattered about in diſtant regions, through all nations under heaven? He, poor man, that had ſo few helps, that had no officers or dependents, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the ſheep in Britain and in Parthia; unto infinite diſtraction of thoughts ſuch a charge muſt needs have engaged him.

But for this their great champion hath a fine expedient; [l]*St. Peter*, ſaith he, *did feed Chriſt's whole flock, partly by*

[i] Ἐγχειρίζει τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. *Chryſ. in Joh.* xxi. 15.
Τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιστεύθη τῶν ἀδελφῶν. In ver. 21.

[k] Ἐκειδὰν γὰρ ἅπαλλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἦδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἡ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. *Ibid.* ver. 23.

[l] Reſpondeo, S. Petrum partim per ſe, partim per alios univerſum dominicum gregem ut ſibi imperatum erat paviſſe——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 16.

himſelf, partly by others; ſo that, it ſeemeth, the other Apoſtles were St. Peter's curates, or vicars and deputies. This indeed were an eaſy way of feeding; thus, although he had ſlept all his time, he might have fed all the ſheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a later invention, not known ſo ſoon in the Church; and it might then ſeem near as abſurd to be a ſhepherd, as it is now (in his own account) to be a juſt man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* paſtorage, as this *a putative righteouſneſs*. However, the Apoſtles, I dare ſay, did not take themſelves to be St. Peter's ſurrogates, but challenged to themſelves to be accounted *the miniſters, the ſtewards, the ambaſſadors of Chriſt himſelf;* from whom immediately they received their orders, in whoſe name they acted, to whom they conſtantly refer their authority, without taking the leaſt notice of St. Peter, or intimating any dependence on him.

1 Cor. iv. 1. 2 Cor. v. 20. x. 8. Gal. i. 1. Tit. i. 3, &c.

It was therefore enough for St. Peter, that he had authority reſtrained to no place; but might, as he found occaſion, preach the Goſpel, convert, confirm, guide Chriſtians everywhere to truth and duty: nor can our Saviour's words be forced to ſignify more.

In fine, this (together with the precedent teſtimonies) muſt not be interpreted ſo as to thwart practice and hiſtory; according to which it appeareth, that St. Peter did not exerciſe ſuch a power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer ſuch an one upon him.

P. Leo IX. Ep. 1. Ad ejuſdem primatus confirmationem, &c. *Bell.* i. 17.

IV. Farther in confirmation of their doctrine, they do draw forth a whole ſhoal of teſtimonies, containing divers prerogatives, as they call them, of St. Peter, which do, as they ſuppoſe, imply this primacy; ſo very ſharp-ſighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about him, they can deſcry ſome argument or ſhrewd inſinuation of his preeminence; eſpecially being aided by the gloſſes of ſome fanciful expoſitor. From the change of his name; from his walking on the ſea; from his mira-

culous draught of fiſh; from our Lord's praying for him, that his faith ſhould not fail, and bidding him to confirm his brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's firſt waſhing his feet, and his firſt appearing to him after the reſurrection; from the prediction of his martyrdom; from ſick perſons being cured by his ſhadow; from his ſentencing Ananias and Sapphira to death; from his preaching to Cornelius; from its being ſaid *that he paſſed through all;* from his being prayed for by the Church; from St. Paul's going to viſit him; from theſe paſſages, I ſay, they deduce or confirm his authority. Now in earneſt, is not this ſtout arguing? Is it not egregious modeſty for ſuch a point to allege ſuch proofs? What cauſe may not be countenanced by ſuch rare fetches? Who would not ſuſpect the weakneſs of that opinion, which is fain to uſe ſuch forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honeſt or conſcionable dealing, ſo to wreſt or play with the holy Scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs, where there is no ſhew of conſequence?

Acts ix. 32.

To be even with them, I might aſſert the primacy of St. John, and to that purpoſe might allege his prerogatives, (which indeed may ſeem greater than thoſe of St. Peter;) namely, that he was *the beloved diſciple*, that he leaned on our Lord's breaſt; that St. Peter, not preſuming to aſk our Lord a queſtion, defired *him* to do it, as having a more ſpecial confidence with our Lord; that St. John did higher ſervice to the Church, and all poſterity, by writing not only more Epiſtles, but alſo a moſt divine Goſpel, and a ſublime prophecy concerning the ſtate of the Church[m]; that St. John did *outrun Peter, and came firſt to the ſepulchre*, (in which paſſage ſuch acute deviſers would find out marvellous ſignificancy;) that St. John was a virgin; that he did outlive all the Apoſtles, (and thence was moſt fit to be univerſal paſtor;) that St. Jerome, comparing Peter and John, doth ſeem to prefer

John xiii. 24.

John xx. 4.

[m] Infinita futurorum myſteria continentem. *Hier.*
Containing infinite myſteries of future things.

the latter; for [n] *Peter*, ſaith he, *was an Apoſtle, and John was an Apoſtle; but Peter was only an Apoſtle; John both an Apoſtle and an Evangeliſt, and alſo a Prophet;—and*, ſaith he, *that I may in brief ſpeech comprehend many things, and ſhew what privilege belongeth to John—yea, virginity in John; by our Lord a virgin, his mother the virgin, is commended to the virgin diſciple.* Thus I might by prerogatives and paſſages very notable infer the ſuperiority of St. John to St. Peter, in imitation of their reaſoning; but I am afraid they would ſcarce be at the trouble to anſwer me ſeriouſly, but would think it enough to ſay I trifled: wherefore let it ſuffice for me in the ſame manner to put off thoſe levities of diſcourſe.

V. They argue this primacy from the conſtant placing St. Peter's name before the other Apoſtles, in the catalogues and narrations concerning him and them.

To this I anſwer:

1. That this order is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, as not to admit ſome exceptions; for St. Paul ſaith, that *James, Cephas, and John, knowing the grace given unto him*—ſo it is commonly read in the ordinary copies, in the text of ancient commentators, and in old tranſlations; and, *Whether Paul, whether Apollos, whether Cephas,* ſaith St. Paul again; and, *As the other Apoſtles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas;* and, *Philip*, ſaith St. John, *was of Bethſaida, the city of Andrew and Peter;* and Clemens Alexandrinus in Euſebius ſaith, that [o] *the Lord, after his reſurrection, delivered the ſpecial knowledge to James the Juſt, and to John, and to Peter;* poſtponing St. Peter, as perhaps conceiving him to have leſs of ſublime revelations imparted to him: that order therefore is not ſo punctually conſtant.

Gal. ii. 9.

1 Cor. iii. 22.

1 Cor. ix. 5.

John i. 45.

[n] Petrus Apoſtolus eſt, et Joannes Apoſtolus, maritus et virgo; ſed Petrus Apoſtolus tantum, Joannes et Apoſtolus et Evangeliſta et Propheta, &c. *Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

Et ut brevi ſermone multa comprehendam, doceamque cujus privilegii ſit Joannes, —— imo in Joanne virginitas; a Domino Virgine mater Virgo Virgini diſcipulo commendatur. *Hier.* ibid.

[o] Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ Κύριος. *Euſeb. Hiſt.* ii. 1.

In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, St. Paul and St. Peter being induced jointly preſcribing orders, they begin, *I Paul, and I Peter, do appoint:* ſo little ambitious or curious of precedence are they repreſented. Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατάσσομαι— *Conſt. Apoſt.* viii. 33.

2. But it being indeed ſo conſtant, as not to ſeem caſual, I farther ſay, that poſition of names doth not argue difference of degree, or ſuperiority in power; any ſmall advantage of age, ſtanding, merit, or wealth, ſerving to ground ſuch precedence, as common experience doth ſhew.

3. We formerly did aſſign other ſufficient and probable cauſes, why St. Peter had this place. So that this is no cogent reaſon.

VI. Farther, (and this indeed is far their moſt plauſible argumentation,) they allege the titles and elogies given to St. Peter by the Fathers; who call him ἔξαρχον, (the prince,) κορυφαῖον, (the ringleader,) κεφαλὴν, (the head,) *πρόεδρον, (the preſident,) ἀρχηγὸν, (the captain,) προηγορον, (the prolocutor,) πρωτοστάτην, (the foreman,) προστάτην, (the warden,) ἔκκριτον τῶν Ἀποστόλων, (the choice, or egregious Apoſtle,) *majorem,* (the greater, or grandee among them,) *primum,* (the firſt, or prime Apoſtle.) * Chryſ. tom. v. Or. 59. Chryſ. in Joh. xxi. Cyr. cont. Jul. ix. (p. 325.) Aug. Ep. xi. 19.

To theſe and the like allegations, I anſwer:

1. [p] If we ſhould ſay, that we are not accountable for every hyperbolical flaſh or flouriſh occurring in the Fathers, (it being well known, that they in their encomiaſtic ſpeeches, as orators are wont, following the heat and gaiety of fancy, do ſometimes overlaſh,) we ſhould have the pattern of their greateſt controvertiſts to warrant us; for Bellarmine doth put off their teſtimonies by ſaying, that they do [q] *ſometimes ſpeak in way of exceſs, leſs properly, leſs warily, ſo as to need benign expoſition,* &c. as Biſhop Andrews ſheweth; and it is a common ſhift of Cardinal Perron, whereof you may ſee divers inſtances alleged by M. Daillé. Tort. Tort. p. 338. Daill. de uſ. P. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 158. (et p. 314.)

[p] The truth is, the beſt arguments of the Papiſts in other queſtions are ſome flouriſhes of orators, ſpeaking hyperbolically and heedleſsly.

[q] Per exceſſum loqui. *Bell. de Miſſ.* ii. 10. minus proprie, iii. 4. benigna expoſitione opus habere. *de Amiſſ.* Gr. iv. 12, minus caute. *de Purg.* i. 11.

Which obſervation is eſpecially applicable to this caſe; for that eloquent men do never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy, than in the demonſtrative kind, in panegyrics, in their commendations of perſons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for thoſe expreſſions of Pope Leo, ſounding ſo exorbitantly, that St. Peter was by our Lord [r] *aſſumed into conſortſhip of his individual unity;* and that *nothing did paſs upon any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter.*

2. We may obſerve, that ſuch turgid elogies of St. Peter are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian —— when they mention St. Peter, do ſpeak more temperately and ſimply, according to the current notions and traditions of the Church in their time; uſing indeed fair terms of reſpect, but not ſuch high ſtrains of courtſhip, about him. But they are found in the latter Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their diſcourſes to vent thoſe faculties, did ſpeak more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence, according to a prudent eſtimation of things in ſuch a caſe, the ſilence or ſparingneſs of the firſt ſort is of more conſideration on the one hand, than the ſpeech, how free ſoever, of the latter is on the other hand: and we may rather ſuppoſe thoſe titles do not belong to St. Peter, becauſe the firſt do not give them, than that they do, becauſe the other are ſo liberal in doing it.

Indeed if we conſult the teſtimonies of this kind alleged by the Romaniſts, who with their utmoſt diligence have raked all ancient writings for them, it is ſtrange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find ſo few plauſible ones; that they are fain (to make up the number) to produce ſo many, which evidently have no

[r] Nunc enim in conſortium individuæ unitatis aſſumptum id quod ipſe erat voluit nominari. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 89. Nihil a bonorum fonte Deo in quenquam ſine Petri participatione tranſire. *P. Leo de Aſſumpt. ſua.* Serm. 3.

force or pertinency; being only commendations of his apoſtolical office, or of his perſonal merits, without relation to others.

3. We ſay, that all thoſe terms or titles, which they urge, are ambiguous, and applicable to any ſort of primacy or preeminency; to that which we admit, no leſs than to that which we refuſe; as by inſtances from good authors, and from common uſe, might eaſily be demonſtrated; ſo that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cauſe.

Cicero calleth Socrates, *prince of the philoſophers;* and Sulpitius, *prince of all lawyers:* would it not be ridiculous thence to infer, that Socrates was a ſovereign governor of the philoſophers, or Sulpitius of the lawyers? The ſame great ſpeaker calleth Pompey [s] *prince of the city in all men's judgment:* doth he mean, that he did exerciſe juriſdiction over the city? Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Cic. de clar. Orat.

Tertullus calleth St. Paul, πρωτοστάτην, *a ringleader of the ſect of the Nazarenes;* and St. Baſil calleth Euſtathius Sebaſtenus, *foreman of the ſect of the Pneumatomachi:* did Tertullus mean, that St. Paul had univerſal juriſdiction over Chriſtians? or St. Baſil, that Euſtathius was ſovereign of thoſe heretics? Acts xxiv. 5. Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως. *Baſ.* Ep. 74.

So neither did *prince of the Apoſtles*, or any equivalent term, in the ſenſe of thoſe who aſſigned it to St. Peter, import authority over the Apoſtles, but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in apoſtolical performances, or at moſt in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the ſtate of things, not the ſtate of things to be inferred from them; and in underſtanding them we ſhould obſerve the rule of Tertullian [t].

[s] Quem omnium judicio longe principem eſſe civitatis videbat——principem orbis terræ virum——. *Cic. pro domo ſua.*

[t] Malo te ad ſenſum rei quam ad ſonum vocabuli exerceas. *Tert. adv. Prax.* cap. 3.

I had rather you would apply yourſelf to the ſenſe of the thing, than to the ſound of the word.

Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὴν φύσιν παραιροῦσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἵλεωσα μεταβάλλει. *Athan.* Orat. iii. *adv. Ar.* (p. 373.)

For

4. Accordingly the Fathers ſometimes do explain thoſe elogies ſignifying them to import the ſpecial gifts and virtues of St. Peter, wherein he did excel; ſo Euſebius calleth St. Peter *the moſt excellent and great Apoſtle, who for his virtue was prolocutor of the reſt.*

Euſeb. Hiſt. li. 14.

5. This anſwer is thoroughly confirmed from hence; that even thoſe who give thoſe titles to St. Peter, do yet expreſsly affirm other Apoſtles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who doth give higher elogies to him than St. Chryſoſtom? yet doth he aſſert all the Apoſtles to be ſupreme, and *equal in dignity;* and particularly he doth often affirm St. Paul to be ἰσότιμον, equal in honour to St. Peter, as we before ſhewed.

The like we declared of St. Jerome, St. Cyril, &c. And as for St. Cyprian, who did allow a primacy to St. Peter, nothing can be more evident, than that he took the other Apoſtles to be *equal to him in power and honour.*

The like we may conceive of St. Auſtin, who having carefully peruſed thoſe writings of St. Cyprian, and frequently alleging them, doth never contradict that his ſentiment.

Even Pope Gregory himſelf acknowledgeth St. Peter not to have been properly the head, but only [u] *the firſt member of the univerſal Church; all being members of the Church under one head.*

6. If Pope Leo I. or any other ancient pope, do ſeem to mean farther, we may reaſonably except againſt their opinion, as being ſingular, and proceeding from partial affection to their ſee; ſuch affection having influence on the mind of the wiſeſt men; according to that certain maxim of Ariſtotle, *Every man is a bad judge in his own caſe.*

7. The ancients, when their ſubject doth allure them

For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to itſelf.

[u] Certe Petrus Apoſtolus primum membrum S. et univerſalis Eccleſiæ—— ſub uno capite omnes membra ſunt Eccleſiæ. *Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 38.

do adorn other Apoſtles with the like titles, equalling thoſe of St. Peter, and not well conſiſtent with them, according to that rigour of ſenſe which our adverſaries affix to the commendations of St. Peter.

The Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to St. James, (an apocryphal but ancient writing,) calleth St. James our Lord's brother, [x] *the Biſhop of Biſhops;* the Clementine Recognitions call him *the Prince of Biſhops*; Ruffinus, in his tranſlation of Euſebius, *the Biſhop of the Apoſtles;* [y] St. Chryſoſtom ſaith of him, that he *did preſide over all the Jewiſh believers;* Heſychius, preſbyter of Jeruſalem, calleth him [z] *the chief Captain of the new Jeruſalem, the Captain of Prieſts, the Prince of the Apoſtles, the top among the heads,* &c.

The ſame Heſychius calleth St. Andrew, [a] *the firſt-born of the apoſtolical choir, the firſt ſettled pillar of the Church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the firſt-fruits of the beginning,* &c.

St. Chryſoſtom ſaith of St. John, that he was [b] *a pillar of the churches through the world, he that had the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* &c.

But as occaſion of ſpeaking about St. Paul was more frequent, ſo the elogies of him are more copious, and indeed ſo high as not to yield to thoſe of St. Peter.

[x] Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ——ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ.

Jacobum Epiſcoporum Principem Sacerdotum Princeps orabat. *Clem. Rec.* i. 68.

Apoſtolorum Epiſcopus. *Ruf. Euſeb.* ii. 1.

[y] It is likely that Ruffinus did call him ſo, by miſtaking that in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions;

Τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου. *Apoſt. Conſt.* viii. 10.

Τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προϊστήκει πάντων. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 59.

[z] Τὸν τῆς νίας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρχιστράτηγον, τῶν ἱερέων ἡγήμονα, τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸν ἔμπροσθεν, τὸν ἐν κεφαλαῖς κορυφὴν, &c. *Heſych. Preſb. apud Phot.* Cod. 275. (p. 1525.)

[a] Ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύλος, ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος, ὁ τοῦ Θεμελίου Θεμέλιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ— *Heſych. apud Phot.* Cod. 269.

[b] Ὁ τύλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c. *Chryſ. in Joh.* i. 1.

[b] *He was,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *the ringleader and guardian of the choir of all the ſaints.*

[c] *He was the tongue, the teacher, the Apoſtle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon earth.*

He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth.

[d] *He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands.*

[e] *He was better than all men, greater than the Apoſtles, and ſurpaſſing them all.*

[f] *Nothing was more bright, nothing more illuſtrious than he.*

[g] *None was greater than he, yea none equal to him.*

[b] Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖος, καὶ προστάτης. *Chryſ. in Rom.* xvi. 24.

Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor.* ix. 2.

[c] Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ τύλος καὶ ἰδρείωμα τῆς ἀληθείας.

Τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.

He had the whole habitable world committed to his charge.

Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ἦν τοὺς τὴν γῆν οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐπιστρατεύς.

He was the teacher of the world, and had all the inhabitants of the earth committed to his truſt.

[d] Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. *In Jud.* Or. 6.

Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιδίξασθαι. *In* 1 *Cor.* Or. 22.

Οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ φέρων ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεός; Tom. vii. p. 2.

Did not God put into his hands the whole world?

Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κρατήσας. *In* 2 *Tim.* ii. 1.

He had the charge of the whole world.

[e] Πάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττων. *De Sacerd.* 4. Τίς οὖν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμείνων τίς δὲ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος——εἰ τοίνυν μείζονα τῶν Ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στέφανον, τῶν δὲ Ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν, οὔτε δὲ κἀκείνων μείζων, ἴδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας Tom. v. Or. 33.

Who then was better than all other men? who elſe but that tent-maker the teacher of the world?——If therefore he receive a greater crown than the Apoſtles, and none perhaps was equal to the Apoſtles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifeſt, that he ſhall enjoy the higheſt honour and preeminence.

[f] Παύλου λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον. Tom. v. Or. 47.

[g] Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκείνου μείζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ἐστί. Tom. vi. Or. 9. Οὐδεὶς Παύλου ἴσος ἦν. 2 *Tim.* iii. 15.

Ὁ πάνσοφος, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄριστος ἀρχιστάτων. *Theod.* Ep. 146.

Th

Pope Gregory I. ſaith of St. Paul, that he [h] *was made head of the nations, becauſe he obtained the principate of the whole Church.*

Theſe characters of St. Paul I leave them to interpret, and reconcile with thoſe of St. Peter.

8. That the Fathers, by calling St. Peter prince, chieftain, &c. of the Apoſtles, do not mean authority over them, may be argued from their joining St. Paul with him in the ſame appellations; who yet ſurely could have no juriſdiction over them; and his having any would deſtroy the pretended eccleſiaſtical monarchy.

St. Cyril calleth them together, [i] *Patrons, or Preſidents of the Church.*

St. Auſtin (or St. Ambroſe or Maximus) calleth them [k] *Princes of the churches.*

The popes Agatho and Adrian (in their general ſynods) call them [l] *the ringleading Apoſtles.*

The popes Nicholas I. and Gregory VII. &c. call them *Princes of the Apoſtles.* Nicol. I. Ep. 7. Plat. in Greg. VII. &c.

St. Ambroſe, or St. Auſtin, or St. Maximus Taur. (chooſe you which,) doth thus ſpeak of them; [m] *Bleſſed Peter and Paul are moſt eminent among all the Apoſtles, excelling the reſt by a kind of peculiar prerogative: but whether of theſe two be preferred before the other is uncertain; for I count them to be equal in merit, becauſe they are equal in ſuffering*, &c.

The moſt wiſe, and beſt architect, or chief builder of the churches.

Ὁ μακάριος Ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ. *Juſt. M. Reſp. ad Orthod.* Qu. 119.

The bleſſed Apoſtle, the father of the fathers.

[h] Caput effectus eſt nationum, quia obtinuit totius Eccleſiæ principatum. *Greg. M. in* 1 *Reg.* lib. 4. Videſis. Paulus Apoſtolorum Princeps. *Ep. Spalat. in Lat. Syn. ſub P. Jul. II.* Seſſ. i. p. 25.

[i] Πίστεως καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται. *Cyril.* Cat. 6.

[k] Eccleſiarum Principes. *Aug. de Sanct.* 27.

[l] Κορυφαῖοι Ἀποστόλων. *P. Agatho, in* 6 *Syn. Act.* iv. p. 35. *P. Adrian in* 7 *Syn. Act.* ii. p. 554.

[m] Beati Petrus et Paulus eminent inter univerſos Apoſtolos, et peculiari quadam prærogativa præcellunt; verum inter ipſos quis cui præponatur incertum eſt, puto enim illos æquales eſſe meritis, quia æquales ſunt paſſione, &c. *Ambr.* Serm. 66. *Aug. de Sanct.* 27. *Max. Taur.* Serm. 54.

[n] To all this diſcourſe I ſhall only add, that if any of the Apoſtles, or apoſtolical men, might claim a prefidency or authoritative headſhip over the reſt, St. James ſeemeth to have the beſt title thereto; for [o] *Jeruſalem was the mother of all churches*, the fountain of the Chriſtian law and doctrine, the *ſee* of our Lord himſelf, the chief Paſtor.

Iſa. ii..3.

Luke xiv. 47.

[p] He therefore, who, as the Fathers tell us, was by our Lord himſelf conſtituted biſhop of that city, and the *firſt* of all biſhops, might beſt pretend to be in ſpecial manner our Lord's vicar or ſucceſſor; [q] *He*, ſaith Epiphanius, *did firſt receive the epiſcopal chair, and to him our Lord firſt did intruſt his own throne upon earth.*

He accordingly did firſt exerciſe the authority of preſiding and moderating in the firſt eccleſiaſtical ſynod, as St. Chryſoſtom in his notes thereon doth remark.

Gal. ii. 9.

He therefore probably by St. Paul is firſt named in his report concerning the paſſages at Jeruſalem; and to his orders it ſeemeth that St. Peter himſelf did conform;

Gal. ii. 12.

for it is ſaid there, that *before certain came from St. James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew.*

Hence in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, in the prayer preſcribed for the Church, and for all the governors of it, the biſhops of the principal churches being ſpecified by name, St. James is put in the firſt place, before the bi-

[n] Hæ voces Eccleſiæ, ex qua habuit omnis eccleſia initium. *Iren.* iii. 12.

Theſe are the words of the Church, from whence every church had its beginning.

[o] Eccleſia in Hieruſalem fundata totius orbis eccleſias ſeminavit. *Hieron. in Iſa.* ii.

The church founded in Jeruſalem was the ſeminary of the churches throughout the whole world.

Theod. v. 9. Vide Tert. de Præſcr. cap. 20.

[p] Ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, ἰμοὶ δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor.* Or. 11.

After that he was ſeen of James, I ſuppoſe to his brother; for he is ſaid to have ordained him, and made him the firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem.

[q] Πρῶτος οὗτος εἵληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ. *Epiph.* hær. 78.

ſhops of Rome and of Antioch; [r] *Let us pray for the whole epiſcopacy under heaven, of thoſe who rightly diſpenſe the word of thy truth; and let us pray for our Biſhop James, with all his pariſhes; let us pray for our Biſhop Clemens, and all his pariſhes; let us pray for Euodius, and all his pariſhes.*—

Hereto conſenteth the tradition of thoſe ancient writers aforecited, who call St. James, *the Biſhop of Biſhops, the Biſhop of the Apoſtles*, &c.

SUPPOSITION II.

I proceed to examine the next Suppoſition of the Church Monarchiſts, which is, *That St. Peter's Primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not perſonal, but derivable to his ſucceſſors.*

AGAINST which Suppoſition I do aſſert, that admitting a primacy of St. Peter, of what kind or to what purpoſe ſoever, we yet have reaſon to deem it merely perſonal, and not (according to its grounds and its deſign) communicable to any ſucceſſors, nor indeed in effect conveyed to any ſuch.

It is a rule in the Canon Law, that [s] *a perſonal privilege doth follow the perſon, and is extinguiſhed with the perſon;* and ſuch we affirm that of St. Peter; for,

1. His primacy was grounded upon perſonal acts, (ſuch as his cheerful following of Chriſt, his faithful confeſſing of Chriſt, his reſolute adherence to Chriſt, his embracing ſpecial revelations from God;) or upon perſonal graces, (his great faith, his ſpecial love to our Lord, his ſingular zeal for Chriſt's ſervice;) or upon perſonal gifts and endowments, (his courage, reſolution, activity, forwardneſs in apprehenſion and in ſpeech;) the which advantages are

[r] Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, &c. *Conſt. Ap.* viii. 10.

[s] Privilegium perſonale perſonam ſequitur, et cum perſona extinguitur. *Reg. Juris*, 7. *in Sexto.*

not tranſient, and conſequently a preeminency built on them is not in its nature ſuch.

2. All the pretence of primacy granted to St. Peter is grounded upon words directed to St. Peter's perſon, characterized by moſt perſonal adjuncts, as name, parentage; and which exactly were accompliſhed in St. Peter's perſonal actings; which therefore it is unreaſonable to extend farther.

Matt. xvi. 17. John xxi. 15, 16, 17.

Our Lord promiſed to *Simon, ſon of Jona,* to build his Church on him: accordingly in eminent manner the Church was founded upon his miniſtry, or by his firſt preaching, teſtimony, performances.

Matt. xvi. 17.

Our Lord promiſed to give him the keys of the heavenly kingdom: this power St. Peter ſignally did execute in converting Chriſtians, and receiving them by baptiſm into the Church, by conferring the Holy Ghoſt, and the like adminiſtrations.

Our Lord charged *Simon, ſon of Jonas,* to feed his ſheep: this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding and governing Chriſtians, as he found opportunity: wherefore, if any thing was couched under thoſe promiſes or orders ſingularly pertinent to St. Peter, for the ſame reaſon that they were ſingular, they were perſonal; for,

John xxi. 15.

Theſe things being in a conſpicuous manner accompliſhed in St. Peter's perſon, the ſenſe of thoſe words is exhauſted; there may not with any probability, there cannot with any aſſurance, be any more grounded on them; whatever more is inferred muſt be by precarious aſſumption; and juſtly we may caſt at thoſe who ſhall infer it that expoſtulation of Tertullian, [s] *What art thou who doſt overturn and change the manifeſt intention of our Lord, perſonally conferring this on Peter?*

3. Particularly the grand promiſe to St. Peter of founding the Church on him cannot reach beyond his perſon becauſe there can be no other foundations of a ſociety than ſuch as are firſt laid; the ſucceſſors of thoſe, who

[s] Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifeſtam Domini intentionem perſonaliter hoc Petro conferentem? *Tertul. de Pud.* 21.

firſt did erect a ſociety, and eſtabliſh it, are themſelves but ſuperſtructures.

4. The apoſtolical office, as ſuch, was perſonal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and deſign, not ſucceſſive or communicable to others in perpetual deſcendence from them.

It was, as ſuch, in all reſpects extraordinary, conferred in a ſpecial manner, deſigned for ſpecial purpoſes, diſcharged by ſpecial aids, endowed with ſpecial privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Chriſtianity and founding of churches.

To that office it was requiſite, that the perſon ſhould have an immediate deſignation and commiſſion from God; ſuch as St. Paul ſo often doth inſiſt upon for aſſerting his title to the office; *Paul, an Apoſtle, not from men, or by man*— [t] *Not by men,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom; *this is a property of the Apoſtles.* Gal. i. 1.

It was requiſite that an Apoſtle ſhould be able to atteſt concerning our Lord's reſurrection or aſcenſion, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident conſequence, as St. Paul; thus St. Peter implied, at the choice of Matthias; *Wherefore of thoſe men which have companied with us——muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of the reſurrection;* and, *Am I not,* ſaith St. Paul, *an Apoſtle? have I not ſeen the Lord?* according to that of Ananias, *The God of our fathers hath choſen thee, that thou ſhouldeſt know his will, and ſee that Juſt One, and ſhouldeſt hear the voice of his mouth; for thou ſhalt bear witneſs unto all men of what thou haſt ſeen and heard.* Acts i. 21, 22. 1 Cor. ix. 1. xv. 8. Acts xxii. 14, 15.

It was needful alſo that an Apoſtle ſhould be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to aſſure his authority and to execute his office; wherefore St. Paul calleth theſe *the marks of an Apoſtle,* the *which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience,* (or perſeveringly,) *in ſigns, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* 2 Cor. xii. 12. Rom. xv. 18.

It was alſo, in St. Chryſoſtom's opinion, proper to an Apoſtle, that he ſhould be able, according to his diſcretion,

[t] Τὸ δὲ οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο ἴδιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Chryſ. in Gal.* i. 1.

in a certain and conſpicuous manner to impart ſpiritual gifts; as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that Father, was *the peculiar gift and privilege of the Apoſtles* [u].

It was alſo a privilege of an Apoſtle, by virtue of his commiſſion from Chriſt, *to inſtruct all nations* in the doctrine and law of Chriſt; he had right and warrant to exerciſe his function everywhere; [x] *His charge was univerſal and indefinite; the whole world was his province;* he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was (as St. Cyril calleth him) [y] *an œcumenical judge,* and *an inſtructor of all the ſubceleſtial world.*

Apoſtles alſo did govern in an abſolute manner, according to diſcretion, as being guided by infallible aſſiſtance, to the which they might upon occaſion appeal, and affirm, *It hath ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us.* Whence their writings have paſſed for inſpired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

Acts xv. 28.

It did belong to them to found churches, to conſtitute paſtors, to ſettle orders, to correct offences, to perform all ſuch acts of ſovereign ſpiritual power, in virtue of the ſame divine aſſiſtance, *according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification;* as we ſee practiſed by St. Paul.

In fine, the [z] *apoſtleſhip was,* as St. Chryſoſtom telleth us, *a buſineſs fraught with ten thouſand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehenſive of them.*

Now ſuch an office, conſiſting of ſo many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requiſite

[u] Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα—τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. *Chryſ. in Act.* viii. 18.

De ſolis Apoſtolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent epiſcopi, quod per manus impoſitionem Spiritum S. dabant. *P. Eugenius IV. in Inſtit. Arm.*

It is recorded of the Apoſtles alone, in whoſe room the biſhops ſucceed, that they gave the Holy Ghoſt by the laying on of hands.

[x] Ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐπιδέχεσθαι. *Chryſ. in Joh.* xxi.

[y] Κριταὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ, καὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καθηγηταί. *Cyril. glaph. in Gen.* vii.

[z] Τὴν ἀποστολὴν, πρᾶγμα μυρίων ἀγαθῶν γέμον, τῶν χαρισμάτων ἁπάντων κ μεῖζον, καὶ περιεκτικόν. *Chryſ. in Rom.* [illegible] viii. p. 114.

for the foundation of the Church, and the diffuſion of Chriſtianity, againſt the manifold difficulties and diſadvantages which it then needs muſt encounter, was not deſigned to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without groſs impoſture and hypocriſy could challenge to himſelf.

Neither did the Apoſtles pretend to communicate it; they did indeed appoint ſtanding paſtors and teachers in each church; they did aſſume fellow-labourers or aſſiſtants in the work of preaching and governance: but they did not conſtitute Apoſtles, equal to themſelves in authority, privileges, or gifts; for, [a] *Who knoweth not,* ſaith St. Auſtin, *that principate of apoſtleſhip to be preferred before any epiſcopacy?* and, [b] *The biſhops,* ſaith Bellarmine, *have no part of the true apoſtolical authority* [c].

Wherefore St. Peter, who had no other office mentioned in Scripture, or known to antiquity, beſide that of an Apoſtle, could not have properly and adequately any ſucceſſor to his office; but it naturally did expire with his perſon, as did that of the other Apoſtles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other Apoſtles, as ſuch, had no ſucceſſors, the apoſtolical office not being propagated, the primacy of St. Peter (whatever it were, whether of order or juriſdiction, in regard to his brethren) did ceaſe with him; for when there were no Apoſtles extant, there could be *no head* or *prince of the Apoſtles* in any ſenſe.

6. If ſome privileges of St. Peter were derived to popes, why were not all? why was not Pope Alexander VI. as holy as St. Peter? why was not Pope Honorius as ſound in his private judgment? why is not every pope inſpired?

[a] Quis neſcit illum Apoſtolatus principatum cuilibet epiſcopatui præferendum? *Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 1.

[b] Epiſcopi nullam habent partem veræ Apoſtolicæ auctoritatis. *Bell.* iv. 25.

[c] The Apoſtles themſelves do make the apoſtolate a diſtinct office from paſtors and teachers, which are the ſtanding offices in the Church. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

why is not every papal epiſtle to be reputed canonical? why are not all Popes endowed with power of doing miracles? why doth not the Pope by a ſermon convert thouſands? (why indeed do Popes never preach?) why doth not he cure men by his ſhadow? (he is, ſay they, himſelf his ſhadow:) what ground is there of diſtinguiſhing the privileges, ſo that he ſhall have ſome, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected, that the Fathers commonly do call biſhops ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; to aſſoil that objection we may conſider, that whereas the apoſtolical office virtually did contain the functions of teaching and ruling God's people; the which, for preſervation of Chriſtian doctrine and edification of the Church, were requiſite to be continued perpetually in ordinary ſtanding offices, theſe indeed were derived from the Apoſtles, but not properly in way of ſucceſſion, as by univocal propagation, but by ordination, imparting all the power needful for ſuch offices; which therefore were exerciſed by perſons during the Apoſtles' lives concurrently, or in ſubordination to them; even as a dictator at Rome might create inferior magiſtrates, who derived from him, but not as his ſucceſſors; for, as Bellarmine himſelf telleth us, [b] *there can be no proper ſucceſſion, but in reſpect of one preceding; but apoſtles and biſhops were together in the Church.*

The Fathers therefore ſo in a large ſenſe call all biſhops ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; not meaning that any one of them did ſucceed into the whole apoſtolical office, but that each did receive his power from ſome one (immediately or mediately) whom ſome apoſtle did conſtitute biſhop, veſting him with authority to feed the particular flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge; according to the ſayings of that apoſtolical perſon, Clemens Romanus; [c] *The*

[b] Non ſucceditur proprie niſi præcedenti, at ſimul fuerunt in Eccleſia Apoſtoli et Epiſcopi——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* iv. 25.

[c] Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίσανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. *Clem. ad Corinth.* i. p. 54.

Κατέστησαν

Apoſtles preaching in regions and cities, did conſtitute their firſt converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for biſhops and deacons of thoſe who ſhould afterward believe; and *having conſtituted the foreſaid,* (biſhops and deacons,) *they withal gave them farther charge, that if they ſhould die, other approved men ſucceſſively ſhould receive their office:* thus did the biſhops ſupply the room of the Apoſtles, [d] *each in guiding his particular charge,* all of them together, by mutual aid, conſpiring to govern the whole body of the Church.

8. In which regard it may be ſaid, that not one ſingle biſhop, but all biſhops together through the whole Church, do ſucceed St. Peter, or any other Apoſtle; for that all of them, in union together, have an univerſal ſovereign authority, commenſurate to an apoſtle.

9. This is the notion which St. Cyprian doth ſo much inſiſt upon, affirming that the biſhops do ſucceed St. Peter, and the other Apoſtles, [e] *by vicarious ordination*; that [f] *the biſhops are apoſtles;* that there is but [g] *one chair by the Lord's word built upon one Peter;* [h] *one undivided biſhoprick, diffuſed in the peaceful numeroſity of many biſhops, whereof each biſhop doth hold his ſhare;* [i] *one flock, whom the Apoſtles by unanimous agreement did feed,* and *which afterward the biſhops do feed;* having *a portion thereof allotted to each, which he ſhould govern.*

Καθίστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν ἐπιδεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibid.* p. 57.

[d] Singulis paſtoribus portio gregis adſcripta eſt, quam regat unuſquiſque et gubernet——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[e] Præpoſitos, qui Apoſtolis vicaria ordinatione ſuccedunt—. *Ep.* 69, 42, 75.

[f] Apoſtolos, id eſt, epiſcopos et præpoſitos Dominus elegit. *Ep.* 65.

[g] Cathedra una ſuper Petrum Domini voce fundata——. *Ep.* 40. et *Ep.* 73. et *de Unit. Eccl.*

[h] Epiſcopatus unus, epiſcoporum multorum concordi numeroſitate diffuſus. *Ep.* 52.

Epiſcopatus unus, cujus a ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur. *De Unit. Eccl.*

[i] Et paſtores ſunt omnes, ſed grex unus oſtenditur, qui ab Apoſtolis omnibus unanimi conſenſione paſcatur. *De Unit. Eccl.*

Nam etſi paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen gregem paſcimus, et oves univerſas, &c. *Ep.* 67.

For though we are many paſtors, yet we feed one flock, and all the ſheep, &c.

So the Synod of Carthage, with St. Cyprian [k].

So alſo St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, that [l] *the ſheep of Chriſt were committed by him to Peter, and to thoſe after him,* that is, in his meaning, to all biſhops.

10. Such, and no other power, St. Peter might devolve on any biſhop ordained by him in any church which he did conſtitute or inſpect; as in that of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Babylon, of Rome.

Hier. ad Evagr.

The like did the other Apoſtles communicate, who had the ſame power with St. Peter in founding and ſettling churches; whoſe ſucceſſors of this kind were equal to thoſe of the ſame kind, whom St. Peter did conſtitute; enjoying in their ſeveral precincts an equal part of the apoſtolical power, as St. Cyprian often doth aſſert.

11. It is in conſequence obſervable, that in thoſe churches, whereof the Apoſtles themſelves were never accounted biſhops, yet the biſhops are called ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; which cannot otherwiſe be underſtood, than according to the ſenſe which we have propoſed; that is, becauſe they ſucceeded thoſe who were conſtituted by the Apoſtles; according to thoſe ſayings of Irenæus and Tertullian; [m] *We can number thoſe who were inſtituted biſhops by the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors;* and, [n] *All the churches do ſhew thoſe, whom, being by the Apoſtles conſtituted in the epiſcopal office, they have as continuers of the apoſtolical ſeed.*

So, although St. Peter was never reckoned Biſhop of

[k] Manifeſta eſt ſententia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Apoſtolos ſuos mittentis, et ipſis ſolis poteſtatem a patre ſibi datam permittentis quibus nos ſucceſſimus, eadem poteſtate Eccleſiam Domini gubernantes.

The mind and meaning of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is manifeſt in ſending his Apoſtles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whoſe ſucceſſors we are, governing the Church of God by the ſame power.

[l] Τὰ πρόβατα——ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. *Chryſ. de Sacerd.* 1.

[m] Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt epiſcopi, e ſucceſſores eorum uſque ad nos——. *Iren.* iii. 3.

[n] Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apoſtolis in epiſcopatum conſtitutos apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent. *Tert. de Præſcr.* 32.

Alexandria, yet becauſe it is reported that he placed St. Mark there, the biſhop of Alexandria is ſaid to ſucceed the Apoſtles [o].

And becauſe St. John did abide at Epheſus, inſpecting that Church, and *appointing biſhops there*, the biſhops of that ſee did *refer their origin to him* [p].

So many biſhops did claim from St. Paul.

So St. Cyprian and Firmilian do aſſert themſelves [q] *ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles*, who yet perhaps never were at Carthage or Cæſarea.

So the church of Conſtantinople is often in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called *this great apoſtolic church*, being ſuch churches as thoſe of whom Tertullian ſaith, that [r] *although they do not produce any of the Apoſtles or apoſtolical men for their author, yet conſpiring in the ſame faith, are no leſs, for the conſanguinity of doctrine, reputed apoſtolical.*

Yea hence St. Jerome doth aſſert a parity of merit and dignity ſacerdotal to all biſhops; becauſe, ſaith he, *all of them are ſucceſſors to the Apoſtles;* having all a like power by their ordination conferred on them. Hier. ad Evagr.

12. Whereas our adverſaries do pretend, that indeed the other Apoſtles had an extraordinary charge as legates of Chriſt, which had no ſucceſſion, but was extinct in their perſons; but that St. Peter had a peculiar charge, as ordinary paſtor of the whole Church, which ſurviveth: Bell. iv. 25, &c.

[o] Τέταρτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρεῖμος. *Euſ. Hiſt.* iv. 1.

Primus is the fourth from the Apoſtles who was the biſhop of that place, or obtained the miniſtry there.

[p] Ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, &c. *Clem. Alex. apud Euſeb.* iii. 23.

Ordo epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit autorem. *Tert. in Marc.* iv. 5. Tert. de Præſcr. xxxii.

[q] Unitatem a Domino et per Apoſtolos nobis ſucceſſoribus traditam. *Cypr.* Ep. 42.

Adverſarii noſtri qui Apoſtolis ſucceſſimus. *Firmil. in Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[r] —— ab illis eccleſiis, quæ licet nullum ex Apoſtolis, vel apoſtolicis auctorem ſuum proferant, ut multo poſteriores, quæ denique quotidie inſtituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conſpirantes, non minus apoſtolicæ deputantur, pro conſanguinitate doctrinæ. *Tert. de Præſcr.* 32.

To this it is enough to rejoin, that it is a mere figment, deviſed for a ſhift, and affirmed precariouſly; having no ground either in holy Scripture or in ancient tradition; there being no ſuch diſtinction in the ſacred or eccleſiaſtical writings; no mention occurring there of any office which he did aſſume, or which was attributed to him, diſtinct from that extraordinary one of an Apoſtle; and all the paſtoral charge imaginable being aſcribed by the ancients to all the Apoſtles in regard to the whole Church, as hath been ſufficiently declared.

13. In fine, if any ſuch conveyance of power (of power ſo great, ſo momentous, ſo mightily concerning the perpetual ſtate of the Church, and of each perſon therein) had been made, it had been (for general direction and ſatisfaction, for voiding all doubt and debate about it, for ſtifling theſe pretended hereſies and ſchiſms) very requiſite that it ſhould have been expreſſed in ſome authentic record, that a particular law ſhould have been extant concerning it, that all poſterity ſhould be warned to yield the ſubmiſſion grounded thereon.

Indeed a matter of ſo great conſequence to the being and welfare of the Church could ſcarce have ſcaped from being clearly mentioned ſomewhere or other in Scripture, wherein ſo much is ſpoken touching eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; it could ſcarce have avoided the pen of the firſt Fathers, (Clemens, Ignatius, the Apoſtolical Canons and Conſtitutions, Tertullian, &c.) who alſo ſo much treat concerning the function and authority of Chriſtian governors.

Nothing can be more ſtrange, than that in the Statute-book of the New Jeruſalem, and in all the original monuments concerning it there ſhould be ſuch a dead ſilence concerning the ſucceſſion of its chief magiſtrate.

Wherefore, no ſuch thing appearing, we may reaſonably conclude no ſuch thing to have been, and that our adverſaries' aſſertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary, and groundleſs.

14. I might add, as a very convincing argument, that if ſuch a ſucceſſion had been deſigned, and known in old

times, it is morally impoſſible that none of the Fathers, (Origen, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, Cyril, Jerome, Theodoret, &c.) in their expoſition of the places alleged by the Romaniſts for the primacy of St. Peter, ſhould declare that primacy to have been derived and ſettled on St. Peter's ſucceſſor: a point of that moment, if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a moſt uſeful application, and direction for duty.

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, *That St. Peter was Biſhop of Rome.*

CONCERNING which aſſertion we ſay, that it may with great reaſon be denied, and that it cannot anywiſe be aſſured; as will appear by the following conſiderations.

1. St. Peter's being Biſhop of Rome would confound the offices which God made diſtinct; for *God did appoint firſt apoſtles, then prophets, then paſtors and teachers;* wherefore St. Peter, after he was an Apoſtle, could not well become a biſhop; it would be ſuch an irregularity, as if a biſhop ſhould be made a deacon. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

2. The offices of an apoſtle and of a biſhop are not in their nature well conſiſtent; for the apoſtleſhip is an extraordinary office, charged with inſtruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an anſwerable care; (r *the Apoſtles being rulers,* as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *ordained by God; rulers not taking ſeveral nations and cities, but all of them in common intruſted with the whole world;*) but epiſcopacy is an ordinary ſtanding charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a ſpecial attendance there; biſhops being paſtors, who, as St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, s *do ſit, and are employed in one place.* Now he that hath ſuch a general care, can hardly diſcharge ſuch a particular office; and he that is fixed to ſo particular attendance, can hardly

r Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες δὲ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινὴν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. *Chryſ.* tom. viii. p. 115.

s Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι. *Chryſ. in Eph.* iv. 11.

look well after ſo general a charge: either of thoſe offices alone would ſuffice to take up a whole man; as thoſe tell us who have conſidered the burden incumbent on the meaneſt of them; the which we may ſee deſcribed in St. Chryſoſtom's diſcourſes concerning the prieſthood.

Baronius ſaith of St. Peter, that [t] *it was his office, not to ſtay in one place, but as much as it was poſſible for one man to travel over the whole world, and to bring thoſe who did not yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to eſtabliſh believers:* if ſo, how could he be Biſhop of Rome, which was an office inconſiſtent with ſuch vagrancy?

3. It would not have beſeemed St. Peter, the prime Apoſtle, to aſſume the charge of a particular biſhop; it had been a degradation of himſelf, and a diſparagement to the apoſtolical majeſty, for him to take upon him the biſhoprick of Rome; as if the King ſhould become Mayor of London; as if the Biſhop of London ſhould be Vicar of Pancras.

4. Wherefore it is not likely that St. Peter, being ſenſible of that ſuperior charge belonging to him, which did exact a more extenſive care, would vouchſafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive, that St. Peter did affect the name of a biſhop, as now men do, allured by the baits of wealth and power, which then were none: if he did affect the title, why did he not in either of his Epiſtles, (one of which, as they would perſuade us, was written from Rome,) inſcribe himſelf Biſhop of Rome?

Eſpecially conſidering, that being an Apoſtle, he did not need any particular authority, that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations: there was no reaſon that an Apoſtle (or univerſal biſhop) ſhould become a particular biſhop.

5. Alſo St. Peter's general charge of converting and inſpecting the Jews, diſperſed over the world, (*his apoſtle-*

[t] Non erat ejus officii in uno loco conſiſtere, ſed quantum homini licuiſſet univerſum peragrare orbem, et nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes vero in fide penitus ſtabilire. *Baron.* ann. lviii. §. 51.

ſkip, as St. Paul calleth it, *of the circumciſion*,) which required much travel, and his preſence in divers places, doth not well agree to his aſſuming the epiſcopal office at Rome. Ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς, Gal. ii. 8.

Eſpecially at that time, when they firſt make him to aſſume it; which was in the time of Claudius, who, as St. Luke and other hiſtories do report, did baniſh all the Jews from Rome, as Tiberius alſo had done before him: he was too ſkilful a fiſherman to caſt his net there, where there were no fiſh. Acts xviii. 2. Sueton. in Claud. 25. in Tib. 36.

6. If we conſider St. Peter's life, we may well deem him uncapable of this office; which he could not conveniently diſcharge; for it, as hiſtory doth repreſent it, and may be collected from divers circumſtances of it, was very unſettled; he went much about the world, and therefore could ſeldom reſide at Rome.

Many have argued him to have never been at Rome; which opinion I ſhall not avow, as bearing a more civil reſpect to ancient teſtimonies and traditions; although many falſe and fabulous relations of that kind having crept into hiſtory and common vogue, many doubtful reports having paſſed concerning him, many notorious forgeries having been vented about his travels and acts, (all that is reported of him out of Scripture having a ſmack of the legend,) would tempt a man to ſuſpect any thing touching him which is grounded only upon human tradition; ſo that the forger of his Epiſtle to St. James might well induce him ſaying, [u] *If while I do yet ſurvive, men dare to feign ſuch things of me, how much more will they dare to do ſo after my deceaſe?* Euſeb. iii. 3.

But at leaſt the diſcourſes of thoſe men have evinced, that it is hard to aſſign the time when he was at Rome; and that he could never long abide there. For,

The time which old tradition aſſigneth of his going to Rome is rejected by divers learned men, even of the Roman party. Scal. in Euſeb. p. 189. Onuph. apud Bell. ii. 6. Valeſ. in Euſeb. ii. 16.

[u] Εἰ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἔτι περίοντος τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν καταψεύδεσθαι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ ποιοῦν οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσι; *Petr. ad Jacob.*

Acts xi. 2. xv. 7. Gal. i. 18. ii. 9, 11. 1 Pet. v. 13. 1 Cor. i. 12. Euſeb. ii. 25. 2 Pet. iii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 1.

He was often in other places; ſometimes at Jeruſalem, ſometimes at Antioch, ſometimes at Babylon, ſometimes at Corinth, ſometimes probably at each of thoſe places unto which he directeth his Catholic Epiſtles; among which Epiphanius ſaith, that [x] *Peter did often viſit Pontus and Bithynia.*

And that he ſeldom was at Rome may well be collected from St. Paul's writings; for he writing at different times one epiſtle to Rome, and divers epiſtles from Rome, (that to the Galatians, that to the Epheſians, that to the Philippians, that to the Coloſſians, and the ſecond to Timothy,) doth never mention him, ſending any ſalutation to him, or from him.

Particularly St. Peter was not there, when St. Paul mentioning Tychicus, Oneſimus, Ariſtarchus, Marcus, and Juſtus, addeth, *Theſe alone my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.*

Col. iv. 11.

2 Tim. iv. 16.

He was not there, when St. Paul ſaid, *At my firſt defence no man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me.*

He was not there immediately before St. Paul's death, (when *the time of his departure was at hand,*) when he telleth Timothy, that *all the brethren did ſalute him,* and naming divers of them, he omitteth Peter.

2 Tim. iv. 6, 21.

Which things being conſidered, it is not probable that St. Peter would aſſume the epiſcopal chair of Rome, he being little capable to reſide there, and for that other needful affairs would have forced him to leave ſo great a church deſtitute of their paſtor.

7. It was needleſs that he ſhould be biſhop, for that by virtue of his apoſtleſhip (involving all the power of inferior degrees) he might, whenever he ſhould be at Rome, exerciſe epiſcopal functions and authority. What need a ſovereign prince to be made a juſtice of peace?

Conc. Nic. can. 16. Conc. Ant. can. 3. Conc. Sard. can. 11, 12. Conc. Trul. can. 80.

8. Had he done ſo, he muſt have given a bad example of non-reſidence; a practice that would have been very ill reliſhed in the primitive Church, as we may ſee by ſeveral canons interdicting offences of kin to it, (it being, I think,

[x] Πίτρος πολλάκις Πόντου ϗ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. *Epiph. Hær.* 27.

then not ſo known as nominally to be cenſured,) and culpable upon the ſame ground; and by the ſayings of Fathers condemning practices approaching to it[y].

Even later ſynods, in more corrupt times, and in the declenſion of good order, yet did prohibit this practice[z].

Epiphanius therefore did well infer, that it was needful the Apoſtles ſhould conſtitute biſhops reſident at Rome; [a]*It was,* ſaith he, *poſſible, that, the Apoſtles Peter and Paul yet ſurviving, other biſhops ſhould be conſtituted; becauſe the Apoſtles often did take journeys into other countries, for preaching Chriſt: but the city of Rome could not be without a biſhop.*

9. If St. Peter were biſhop of Rome, he thereby did offend againſt divers other good eccleſiaſtical rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at leaſt the reaſon of them was always good, upon which the Church did afterward enact them; ſo that either he did ill in

[y] Οἶδας ἀναγνὺς τὰς γραφὰς, ἥλικον ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν ἐπίσκοπον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ προμνίων. *Athan. Apol.* 1.

Having read the Scriptures, you know how great an offence it is for a biſhop to forſake his church, and to neglect the flocks of God.

Oportet enim epiſcopos curis ſecularibus expeditos curam ſuorum agere populorum, nec eccleſiis ſuis abeſſe diutius. *P. Paſchal. II.* Ep. 22.

For biſhops ought to be diſentangled from ſecular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long abſent from their churches.

[z] Præcipimus ne conductitiis miniſtris eccleſiæ committantur, et unaquæque eccleſia, cui facultas ſuppetit, proprium habeat facerdotem. *Conc. Lat.* 2. (*ſub Innoc. II.*) can. 10.

We enjoin that churches be not committed to hired miniſters, but that every church, that is of ability, have its proper prieſt.

Cum igitur eccleſia vel eccleſiaſticum miniſterium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc perſona quæratur, quæ reſidere in loco, et curam ejus per ſeipſum valet exercere; quod ſi aliter fuerit actum, et qui receperit, quod contra ſanctos canones accepit, amittat. *Conc. Lat.* 3. (*ſub Alexandro III.*) cap. 13.

Therefore when a church, or the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, be to be committed to any man, let ſuch a perſon be found out for this purpoſe, who can reſide upon the place, and diſcharge the cure by himſelf: but if it prove otherwiſe, then let him who has received, loſe that which he has taken contrary to the holy canons.

[a] Πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἢ ὅτως ἠδύνατο εἶτι περιόντων τῶν Ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Πέτρον ἢ Παῦλον, ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίσασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας παροίδας τὴν περοίαν ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι. *Epiph. Hær.* 27.

thwarting them, or the Church had done it in eſtabliſhing them, ſo as to condemn his practice.

Apoſt. Can. 14. 10. It was againſt rule, that any biſhop ſhould deſert one church, and transfer himſelf to another; and indeed againſt reaſon, ſuch a relation and endearment being contracted between a biſhop and his church, which cannot well be diſſolved.

But St. Peter is by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians reported (and by Romaniſts admitted) to have been biſhop of Antioch for ſeven years together [b].

He therefore did ill to relinquiſh that church, [c] *that moſt ancient and truly apoſtolic church of Antioch,* (as the Conſtantinopolitan Fathers called it,) and to place his ſee at Rome.

This practice was eſteemed bad, and of very miſchievous conſequence; earneſtly reproved, as heinouſly criminal, by great Fathers; ſeverely condemned by divers ſynods.

Particularly a tranſmigration from a leſſer and poorer to a greater and more wealthy biſhoprick, (which is the preſent caſe,) was checked by them, as rankly ſavouring of ſelfiſh ambition or avarice.

The Synod of Alexandria, (in Athanaſius,) in its Epiſtle to all Catholic biſhops, doth ſay, that Euſebius, by paſſing from Berytus to Nicomedia, *had annulled his epiſcopacy,* making it *an adultery,* worſe than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce; [d] *Euſebius,* ſay they, *did not conſider the Apoſtle's admonition, Art thou bound to a wife? do not ſeek to be looſed: for if it be ſaid of a woman, how much more of a church; of the ſame biſhoprick; to which one being tied, ought not to ſeek another, that he may not be found alſo an adulterer, according to the holy Scripture?* Surely when they ſaid this, they did

Ἀκυρώσας αὐτήν. *Athanaſ. Apol.* ii. p. 726.

[b] Τῷ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλόπολις ἔχει. *Theodor.* Ep. 86. The great city of the Antiochians hath the throne of the great St. Peter.

[c] Τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Theod.* v. 6.

[d] Οὐ συνορῶν τὸ παράγγελμα, δέδεσαι γυναικὶ, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ἢ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς παρὰ ταῖς θείαις ἐυρίσκηται γραφαῖς. *Syn. Alex. apud Athan.* p. 727.

forget what St. Peter was ſaid to have done in that kind; as did alſo the Sardican Fathers in their ſynodical letter, extant in the ſame Apology of Athanaſius, condemning *tranſlations from leſſer cities unto greater dioceſes* [c].

The ſame practice is forbidden by the ſynods of Nice I. of Chalcedon, of Antioch, of Sardica, of Arles I. &c. Syn. Nic. can. 15. Syn. Chalc can. 5. Syn. Ant. can. 21. Syn. Sard. can. 1. Syn. Arel. can. 22. Grat. Cauſ. viii. qu. 1. cap. 4.

In the ſynod under Mennas, it was laid to the charge of Anthimus, that having been biſhop of Trabiſond, he had [f] *adulterouſly ſnatched the ſee of Conſtantinople, againſt all eccleſiaſtical laws and canons.*

Yea, great Popes of Rome, (little conſidering how peccant therein their predeceſſor Pope Peter was,) Pope Julius and Pope Damaſus, did greatly tax this practice; whereof the latter in his ſynod at Rome did excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould commit it [g]. P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 744.

In like manner Pope Leo I [h].

Theſe laws were ſo indiſpenſable, that in reſpect to them Conſtantine M. who much loved and honoured Euſebius, (acknowledging him in the common judgment of the world deſerving to be biſhop of the whole Church,) did not like, that he ſhould accept the biſhoprick of Antioch, to which he was invited; and commended his waving it, as an act not only *conſonant to the eccleſiaſtical canons*, but *acceptable to God, and agreeable to apo-* Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. iii. 61.

[c] Τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παροικίας. *Ibid.* p. 765.

[f] ——ἡδυνήθη μοιχικῶς τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν ὑφαρπάσαι θρόνον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς ϗ κανόνας. *Conc. ſub. Menn.* p. 9.

[g] Τὸς δὲ ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἰτέρας ἐκκλησίας μετιλθόντας ἄχρι τοσούτου ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν, ἄχρι ἂ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπανέλθωσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήθησαν. *Theod.* v. 11.

Thoſe that paſs from their own churches to other churches, we eſteem ſo long excommunicate, (or ſtrangers from our communion,) till ſuch time as they return to the ſame cities where they were firſt ordained.

[h] Si quis epiſcopus, mediocritate civitatis ſuæ deſpecta, adminiſtrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, et ad majorem ſe plebem quacunque occaſione tranſtulerit, non ſolum a cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, ſed carebit et propria, &c. *P. Leo I.* Ep. lxxxiv. c. 4.

If any biſhop, deſpiſing the meanneſs of his city, ſeeks for the adminiſtration of a more eminent place, and upon any occaſion whatſoever transfers himſelf to a greater people, he ſhall not only be driven out of another's ſee, but alſo loſe his own, &c.

ſtolical tradition: ſo little aware was the good emperor, of St. Peter being tranſlated from Antioch to Rome.

In regard to the ſame law, Gregory Nazianzen (a perſon of ſo great worth, and who had deſerved ſo highly of the church at Conſtantinople) could not be permitted to retain his biſhoprick of that church, to which he had been called from that ſmall one of Safima. [i] *The ſynod,* ſaith Sozomen, *obſerving the ancient laws, and the eccleſiaſtical rule, did receive his biſhoprick from him, being willingly offered, nowiſe regarding the great merits of the perſon;* the which ſynod ſurely would have excluded St. Peter from the biſhoprick of Rome: and it is obſervable that Pope Damaſus did approve and exhort thoſe Fathers to that proceeding [k].

We may indeed obſerve, that Pope Pelagius II. did excuſe the tranſlation of biſhops by the example of St. Peter; [l] *For who ever dareth to ſay,* argueth he, *that St. Peter the prince of the Apoſtles did not act well, when he changed his ſee from Antioch to Rome?*

But I think it more adviſable to excuſe St. Peter from being author of a practice judged ſo irregular, by denying the matter of fact laid to his charge.

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, [m] *contrary,* ſaith St. Cyprian, *to the eccleſiaſtical diſpoſition, contrary to the evangelical law, contrary to the unity*

[i] Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ σύνοδος ᾧ τὰς πατρίους νόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάττουσα, ὁ δίδωκε παρ' ἑκόντος ἀπείληφε, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεῖσα τῶν τῷ ἀνδρὸς πλεονεκτημάτων. *Sozom.* vii. 7.

[k] Illud præterea commoneo dilectionem veſtram, ne patiamini aliquem contra ſtatuta majorum noſtrorum de civitate alia ad aliam tranſduci, et deſerere plebem ſibi commiſſam, &c. *P. Damaſ. Epiſt. apud Holſten.* p. 41. et *R. Marc.* v. 21.

Moreover this I adviſe you, that out of your charity you would not ſuffer any one, againſt the decrees of our anceſtors, to be removed from one city to another, and to forſake the people committed to his charge, &c.

[l] Quis enim unquam audet dicere S. Petrum Apoſtolorum principem non bene egiſſe, quando mutavit ſedem de Antiochia in Romam? *Pelag. II.* Ep. 1.

[m] Contra eccleſiaſticam diſpoſitionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra inſtitutionis Catholicæ unitatem—. *Cypr.* Ep. 44. (ut et Ep. 46, 52, 55, 58.)

of Catholic inſtitution; [n] *a ſymbol,* ſaith another ancient writer, *of diſſenſion, and diſagreeable to eccleſiaſtical law;* which therefore was condemned by the Synod of Nice, by Pope Cornelius, by Pope Innocent I. and others, that two biſhops ſhould preſide together in one city.

Syn. Nic. can. 8. Corn. ap. Euſ. vi. 43 Cypr. Ep. 46. P. Innoc. ap. Sozom viii. 26. Opt. I. Cathedra una

This was condemned with good reaſon; for this on the Church's part would be a kind of ſpiritual polygamy; this would render a church a monſter with two heads; this would deſtroy the end of epiſcopacy, which is unity and *prevention of ſchiſms.*

In remedium ſchiſmatis. *Hier*

But if St. Peter was biſhop of Rome, this irregularity was committed: for the ſame authority upon which St. Peter's epiſcopacy of Rome is built, doth alſo reckon St. Paul biſhop of the ſame; the ſame writers do make both founders and planters of the Roman church, and the ſame call both biſhops of it: wherefore if epiſcopacy be taken in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe, agreeable to this controverſy, that rule muſt needs be infringed thereby.

Irenæus ſaith, [o] *that the Roman church was founded and conſtituted by the two moſt glorious Apoſtles, Peter and Paul;* Dionyſius of Corinth calleth it [p] *the plantation of Peter and Paul;* Epiphanius ſaith, that [q] *Peter and Paul were firſt at Rome both apoſtles and biſhops;* ſo Euſebius implieth, ſaying, that Pope Alexander [r] *derived a ſucceſſion in the fifth place from Peter and Paul.*

Wherefore both of them were Roman biſhops, or neither of them: in reaſon and rule neither of them may be called ſo in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe; but in a larger and improper ſenſe both might be ſo ſtyled.

Indeed that St. Paul was in ſome acception biſhop of Rome (that is, had a ſupreme ſuperintendence or inſpection of it) is reaſonable to affirm; becauſe he did for a good time reſide there, and during that reſidence could

[n] Ὁ διχοστασίας σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ διαμῶ ἀλλότριον. *Soz.* iv. 15.

[o] ——a glorioſiſſimis duobus Apoſtolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et conſtituta eccleſia. *Iren.* iii. 3. iii. 1.

[p] Τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν——. *Dionyſ. Corinth. apud Euſeb.* ii. 25.

[q] Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἐπίσκοποι. *Epiph. Hær.* 27.

[r] Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν. *Euſeb.* iv. 1.

not but have the chief place, could be ſubject to no other;

Acts xxviii. 30. *He,* ſaith St. Luke, *did abide two whole years in his own hired houſe, and received all that entered in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt with all confidence, no man forbidding him.*

It may be inquired, if St. Peter was biſhop of Rome, how he did become ſuch? did our Lord appoint him ſuch? did the Apoſtles all or any conſtitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himſelf into it? Of none of theſe things there is any appearance, nor any probability. *Non conſtat.*

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, *That St. Peter did continue Biſhop of Rome after his tranſlation, and was ſo at his deceaſe.*

AGAINST which aſſertions we may conſider:

1. Eccleſiaſtical writers do affirm, that St. Peter (either alone, or together with St. Paul) did conſtitute other biſhops; wherefore St. Peter was never biſhop, or did not continue biſhop there.

Irenæus ſaith, that [s] *the Apoſtles founding and rearing that church, delivered the epiſcopal office into the hands of Linus;* if ſo, how did they retain it in their own hands or perſons? could they give, and have?

Tertullian ſaith, [t] that *St. Peter did ordain Clement.*

In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, (a very ancient book, and ſetting forth the moſt ancient traditions of the Church,) the Apoſtles ordering prayers to be made for all biſhops, and naming the principal, do reckon, not St. Peter, but Clement; *Let us pray for our biſhop James, for our biſhop Clemens, for our biſhop Euodius,* &c.

[s] Θεμελιώσαντες ὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. *Iren. apud Euſeb.* v. 6.

[t] Romanorum eccleſiæ Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit. *Tert. de Præſcr.* 32.

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,
Hac cathedra, Petrus qua federat ipſe, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum conſidere juſſit. *Tert. in Marc.* iii. 9.

Theſe reports are conſiſtent, and reconciled by that which the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions affirm; that [u] *Linus was firſt ordained biſhop of the Roman church by Paul; but Clemens after the death of Linus by Peter in the ſecond place.*

Others between Linus and Clemens do interpoſe Cletus, or Anacletus, (ſome taking theſe for one, others for two perſons,) which doth not alter the caſe [x].

Now hence we may infer, both that St. Peter never was biſhop; and upon ſuppoſition that he was, that he did not continue ſo. For,

2. If he had ever been biſhop, he could not well lay down his office, or ſubrogate another, either to preſide with him, or to ſucceed him; according to the ancient rules of diſcipline, and that which paſſed for right in the primitive Church.

This practice Pope Innocent I. condemned, as irregular, and never known before his time; [y] *We,* ſaith he in his Epiſtle to the clergy and people of Conſtantinople, *never have known theſe things to have been adventured by our fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for that none hath power given him to ordain another in the place of one living:* he did not (it ſeems) conſider, that St. Peter had uſed ſuch a power.

Accordingly the Synod of Antioch (to ſecure the tradition and practice of the Church, which began by ſome to be infringed) did make this ſanction, that [z] *it ſhould not*

[u] Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου διάτιρος κεχειροτόνηται. *Conſt. Apoſt.* vii. 46.

[x] Euſeb. iii. 4, 13. Aug. Ep. 165. Epiph. Hær. 27. Opt. 2. Tertull. poem. in Marc. iii. 9. Phot. Cod. 112. (p. 290.)

N. Euſebius (iii. 2.) ſaith, that Linus did ſit biſhop *after the martyrdom of St. Peter:* but this is not ſo probable, as that which the author of the Conſtitutions doth affirm, which reconcileth the diſſonancies of writers.

[y] Οὐδὲ γὰρ πώποτε παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ταῦτα πεπολεμῆσθαι ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κεκωλύσθαι, τῷ μηδενὶ εἰς τόπον ζῶντος χειροτονεῖν ἄλλον διδόσθαι ἐξουσίαν. *P. Inn. I. apud Soz.* viii. 26.

[z] Ἐπισκόπῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καθίσασθαι ἕτερον, κἂν πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου συγχάνῃ. *Syn. Ant.* Can. 23.

be lawful for any biſhop to conſtitute another in his room to ſucceed him; although it were at the point of death.

3. But ſuppoſing St. Peter were biſhop once, yet by conſtituting Linus or Clemens in his place, he ceaſed to be ſo, and diveſted himſelf of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue biſhop together with another.

That being, in St. Cyprian's judgment, the ordination of Linus had been void and null; for, [a] *Seeing*, ſaith that holy martyr, *there cannot after the firſt be any ſecond, whoever is after one, who ought to be ſole biſhop, he is not now ſecond, but none.*

Upon this ground, when the emperor Conſtantius would have procured Felix to ſit biſhop of Rome together with Pope Liberius, at his return from baniſhment, (after his compliance with the Arians) the people of Rome would not admit it, exclaiming, *One God, one Chriſt, one Biſhop;* and whereas Felix ſoon after that died, the hiſtorian remarketh it as [b] *a ſpecial providence of God, that Peter's throne might not ſuffer infamy, being governed under two prelates;* he never conſidered, that St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Peter and Linus, had thus governed that ſame church.

Upon this account St. Auſtin being aſſumed by Valerius with him to be biſhop of Hippo, did afterward diſcern and acknowledge his error [c].

In fine, to obviate this practice, ſo many canons of councils (both general and particular) were made, which we before did mention.

4. In ſum, when St. Peter did ordain others, (as ſtory doth accord in affirming,) either he did retain the epiſco-

[a] Cum poſt primum fecundus eſſe non poſſit; quiſquis poſt unum, qui ſolus eſſe debeat, non jam ſecundus ille, ſed nullus eſt. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[b] Theod. Hiſt. ii. 17. Ταύτῃ πη τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσαντος, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρου θρόνον μὴ ἀδοξεῖν ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰθυνόμενον.

[c] Adhuc in corpore poſito beatæ memoriæ patre et epiſcopo meo ſene Valerio epiſcopus ordinatus ſum, et ſedi cum illo, quod Concilio Niceno prohibitum fuiſſe neſciebam, nec ipſe ſciebat. *Aug.* Ep. 110.

While my father and biſhop of bleſſed memory, old Valerius, was yet living, I was ordained biſhop, and held the ſee with him: which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the Council of Nice.

pacy, and then (beſide need, reaſon, and rule) there were concurrently divers biſhops of Rome at one time; or he did quite relinquiſh, and finally divorce himſelf from the office, ſo that he did not die biſhop of Rome, the which overturneth the main ground of the Romiſh pretence [d]. Or will they ſay, that St. Peter, having laid aſide the office for a time, did afterward before his death reſume it? then what became of Linus, of Cletus, of Clemens? were they diſpoſſeſſed of their place, or depoſed from their function? would St. Peter *ſucceed them in it?* [e] This in Bellarmine's own judgment *had been plainly intolerable.*

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the caſe, and perplexities in ſtory, it is reaſonable to underſtand thoſe of the ancients, who call Peter biſhop of Rome, and Rome the place, the chair, the ſee of Peter, as meaning that he was biſhop or ſuperintendent of that church, in a large ſenſe; becauſe he did found the church by converting men to the Chriſtian faith; becauſe he did erect the chair by ordaining the firſt biſhops; becauſe he did, in virtue both of his apoſtolical office and his ſpecial parental relation to that church, maintain a particular inſpection over it, when he was there: which notion is not new; for of old Ruffinus affirmeth that he had it, not from his own invention, but from tradition of others; [f] *Some,* ſaith he, *inquire how, ſeeing Linus and Cletus were biſhops in the city of Rome before Clement, Clement himſelf, writing to James, could ſay, that the ſee was delivered to him by Peter:*

[d] Ipſe ſublimavit ſedem, in qua etiam quieſcere, et præſentem vitam finire dignatus eſt. *Greg. I. Ep.* vi. 37. *Innoc. I. Ep.* 21. *P. Nic. I. Ep.* ix. p. 509. *Grat. Cauſ.* viii. q. i. cap. 1.

He advanced that ſee, wherein he vouchſafed both to ſet up his reſt, and alſo to end this preſent life.

Bell. ii. 12. §. At vero——.

[e] Petrum Apoſtolum ſucceſſiſſe in epiſcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex diſcipulis, quod eſt plene intolerandum. *Bell.* ii. 6.

[f] Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus et Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint epiſcopi, ipſe Clemens ad Jacobum ſcribens, ſibi dicat a Petro docendi cathedram traditam; cujus rei hanc accepimus eſſe rationem, quod Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem epiſcopi in urbe Roma, ſed ſuperſtite Petro; videlicet ut illi epiſcopatus curam gererent, ipſe vero apoſtolatus impleret officium. *Ruffin. in Præf. ad Clem. Recogn.*

whereof this reaſon has been given us; viz. *that Linus and Cletus were indeed biſhops of Rome before Clement, but Peter being yet living;* viz. *that they might take the epiſcopal charge, but he fulfilled the office of the apoſtleſhip.*

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers obſervations.

Conſt. Apoſt. vii. 46 Iren. iii. 3. Tertull. It is obſervable that the moſt ancient writers, living neareſt the fountains of tradition, do not expreſsly ſtyle St. Peter Biſhop of Rome, but only ſay, that he did found that church, inſtituting and ordaining biſhops there; as the other Apoſtles did in the churches which they ſettled ſo that the biſhops there in a large ſenſe did ſucceed him as deriving their power from his ordination, and ſupplying his room in the inſtruction and governance of that great church. [g] Yea their words, if we well mark them, do exclude the Apoſtles from the epiſcopacy. Which words the later writers (who did not foreſee the conſequence, nor what an exorbitant ſuperſtructure would be raiſed on that ſlender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the Roman biſhops, affecting by all means to reckon St. Peter for their predeceſſor) did eaſily catch, and not well diſtinguiſhing, did call him biſhop, and St. Paul alſo, ſo making two heads of one church.

7. It is alſo obſervable, that in the recenſions of the Roman biſhops, ſometimes the Apoſtles are reckoned in, ſometimes excluded.

Euſeb. iii. 4, 13, 15. Iren. iii. 3. So Euſebius calleth Clemens *the third biſhop of Rome,* yet before him he reckoneth Linus and Anacletus.

And of Alexander he ſaith, that [h] *he deduced his ſucceſſion in the fifth place from Peter and Paul,* that is, excluding the Apoſtles.

Iren. i. 28. iii. 3, 4. Euſeb. iv. 10. And Hyginus is thus accounted ſometime the eighth, ſometime the ninth biſhop of Rome.

The ſame difference in reckoning may be obſerved in other churches; for inſtance, although St. Peter is called

[g] Fundantes igitur, et inſtruentes beati Apoſtoli eccleſiam Lino epiſcopatum adminiſtrandæ eccleſiæ tradiderunt. *Iren.* iii. 3.

The bleſſed Apoſtles therefore founding and inſtructing the Church, delivered the epiſcopal power of ordering and governing the church to Linus.

[h] Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν. *Euſeb.* iv. 1.

no leſs biſhop of Antioch, than of Rome, by the ancients, yet Euſebius ſaith, that [i] *Euodius was firſt biſhop of Antioch;* and another *bids the Antiocheans remember Euodius, who was firſt intruſted with the preſidency over them by the Apoſtles.*

Other inſtances may be ſeen in the notes of Cotelerius upon the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, where he maketh this general obſervation.

[k] *It is an uſual cuſtom with the Apoſtles, according to their power, ordinary or extraordinary, epiſcopal or apoſtolical, to prefix,* &c.: but it was needleſs to ſuppoſe theſe two powers, when one was ſufficient, it virtually containing the other.

This is an argument that the ancients were not aſſured in opinion, that the apoſtles were biſhops, or that they did not eſteem them biſhops in the ſame notion with others.

8. It is obſervable, that divers churches did take denomination from the Apoſtles, and were called *apoſtolical thrones,* or *chairs,* not becauſe the Apoſtles themſelves did ſit biſhops there, but becauſe they did exerciſe their apoſtleſhip, in teaching; and [l] *in conſtituting biſhops there,* who, as Tertullian ſaith, *did propagate the apoſtolical ſeed.* Apoſtolical Eccleſiæ. *Tert. de Præſcr.* 32. Ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι. *Soz.* i. 17. 2 Tim. i. 6.

[m] So was Epheſus eſteemed, becauſe St. Paul did found

[i] Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Εὔοδιος ἐχειροτόνησε. *Euſeb. Chron.* p. 7. *Hiſt.* iii. 22.

Μνημονεύετε Εὐοδίου, ὃς πρῶτον ἐνεχειρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁμετέρων προεστασίαν. *Pſeud. Ignat. ad Ant.*

Euſebius counteth Annianus the firſt biſhop of Alexandria. iii. 21.

[k] Celebris mos eſt Apoſtolos pro poteſtate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, epiſcopali vel apoſtolica, indiculis antiſtitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere. *Cotel. Not.* p. 299.

[l] In canonicis autem Scripturis eccleſiarum Catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem ſequatur, inter quas ſane illæ ſunt, quæ apoſtolicas ſedes habere, et epiſtolas accipere meruerunt. *Aug. de Doctr. Ch.* ii. 8.

Let him follow the authority of thoſe many Catholic churches in the canonical Scriptures, among which ſurely are thoſe which had the honour to have apoſtolical ſees, and to receive epiſtles from the Apoſtles.

Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab Apoſtolis in epiſcopatum conſtitutos apoſtolici ſeminis traduces habent. *Tertull. de Præſcr.* 32.

[m] Sed et quæ eſt Epheſi eccleſia a Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos uſque ad Trajani tempora, &c. *Iren.* iii. 3.

it, and ordained Timothy there; and becauſe St. John did govern and appoint biſhops there.

So was Smyrna accounted, becauſe Polycarpus [n] *was ſettled there by the Apoſtles,* or *by St. John.*

So Cyril, biſhop of Jeruſalem, [o] *had a controverſy about metropolitical rights with Acacius biſhop of Cæſarea, as preſiding in an apoſtolical ſee.*

So Alexandria was deemed, becauſe St. Mark was ſuppoſed by the appointment of St. Peter to ſit there.

Tertull. de Præſcr. 36. So were Corinth, Theſſalonica, Philippi called by Tertullian, becauſe St. Paul did found them, and furniſh them with paſtors; in which reſpect peculiarly the biſhops of thoſe places were called ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles.

So Conſtantinople did aſſume the title of an apoſtolical church [p], probably becauſe, according to tradition, St Andrew did found that church, although Pope Leo I would not allow it that appellation.

Upon the ſame account might Rome at firſt be called

And alſo the church of Epheſus, which was founded by St. Paul, St. John continuing with them till the time of Trajan, &c.

Ordo epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Johannem ſtabit auctorem *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

Τῆς δὲ Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεος μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου. *Apoſt. Conſt.* vii. 46.

[n] Ab Apoſtolis in ea quæ eſt Smyrnis eccleſia conſtitutus epiſcopus. *Iren.* iii. 3.

Smyrnæorum eccleſia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum. *Tertull. de Præſcr.* 32. *Euſeb.* iii. 36.

Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν, καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. *Euſeb.* iii. 36.

[o] Περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς Ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγούμενος. *Sozom.* iv. 25.

[p] Ἀποστολικοῦ τούτου θρόνου καταφρονεῖς. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* x. p. 379, 284.

Thou deſpiſeſt this apoſtolical throne.

——Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν θεῖον Στάχυν καταστήσας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣν ἐκεῖνος πρῶτος οὗτος ἐπήξατο. *Niceph.* ii. 39.

Foraſmuch as having appointed holy Stachys the firſt biſhop, in the church which he firſt ſettled there.

Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam apoſtolicam non poteſt facere ſedem—. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

Let him not diſdain the royal city, which he cannot make an apoſtolick ſee.

an apoſtolical ſee; although afterward the Roman biſhops did rather pretend to that denomination, upon account of St. Peter being biſhop there: and the like may be ſaid of Antioch [q].

9. It is obſervable, that the author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, reciting the firſt biſhops conſtituted in ſeveral churches, doth not reckon any of the Apoſtles; particularly not Peter, or Paul, or John. Conſt. Apoſt. vii. 46

10. Again, any Apoſtle wherever he did reſide by virtue of his apoſtolical office, without any other deſignation or aſſumption of a more ſpecial power, was qualified to preſide there, exerciſing a ſuperintendency comprehenſive of all epiſcopal functions; ſo that it was needleſs, that he ſhould take upon himſelf the character or ſtyle of a biſhop. [r]This (beſide the tenor of ancient doctrine) doth appear from the demeanour of St. John, who never was reckoned *biſhop of Epheſus*; nor could be, without diſplacing Timothy, who by St. Paul was conſtituted biſhop there, or ſucceeding in his room; yet he abiding at Epheſus, did there diſcharge the office of a metropolitan; [s]*governing the churches, and in the adjacent churches here conſtituting biſhops, there forming whole churches, otherwhere allotting to the clergy perſons deſigned by the Spirit.*

Such functions might St. Peter execute in the parts of Rome or Antioch, without being a biſhop; and as the biſhops of Aſia did, ſaith Tertullian, [t]*refer their original to St. John*, ſo might the biſhops of Italy, upon the like ground, *refer their original to St. Peter.*

[q] Memento quia apoſtolicam ſedem regis—— *Greg. M.* Ep. iv. 37.
Remember you rule an apoſtolick ſee.

[r] Ἀπὸ τῦ ἁγίυ Τιμοθέυ μέχρι νῦν κϛ΄ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο· πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονήθησαν. *Syn. Chal. Act.* 11. 2 Tim. i. 6.
From holy Timothy till now there have been ſeven and twenty biſhops, and all ordained at Epheſus.
Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c. *Iren.* iii. 3.

[s] Τὰς αὐτόθι διέπειν ἐκκλησίας —— ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων· ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων· ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἵνα γε τινὰ κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τῦ πνεύματος σημαινόντων. *Euſeb. Hiſt.* iii. 23.

[t] Ordo epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

An. Ch. 39. Baron. §. 8. Acts ix. 32. xi. 20.

It is obſervable, that whereas St. Peter is affirmed to have been biſhop of Antioch ſeven years before his acceſs to Rome, that is, within the compaſs of St. Luke's ſtory, yet he paſſeth over a matter of ſo great moment; as St. Jerome obſerveth [r].

I cannot grant, that if St. Luke had thought Peter ſovereign of the Church, and his epiſcopacy of a place a matter of ſuch conſequence, he would have ſlipped it over, being ſo obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his ſtory.

He therefore, I conceive, was no biſhop of Antioch, although a biſhop at Antioch [s].

11. If in objection to ſome of theſe diſcourſes it be alleged, that St. James, our Lord's near kinſman, although he was an Apoſtle, was made biſhop of Jeruſalem; and that for the like reaſon St. Peter might aſſume the biſhoprick of Rome;

I anſwer:

1. It is not certain, that St. James the biſhop of Jeruſalem was an Apoſtle, (meaning an Apoſtle of the primary rank;) for Euſebius (the greateſt antiquary of the old times) doth reckon him *one of the ſeventy diſciples* [t].

So doth the author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions in divers places ſuppoſe [u].

Hegeſippus (that moſt ancient hiſtorian) was of the ſame mind, who ſaith, that *there were many of this name*, and that this *James did undertake the church with the Apoſtles* [x].

[r] Denique primum epiſcopum Antiochenæ eccleſiæ Petrum fuiſſe accepimus, et Romam exinde tranſlatum, quod Lucas penitus omiſit. *Hier. in Gal.* 2.

Laſtly, we have received by tradition that Peter was the firſt biſhop of Antioch, and from thence tranſlated to Rome: which Luke has altogether omitted.

[s] It is the diſtinction of a Pope. Rex Etruriæ, et Rex in Etruria.

[t] Εἷς δὲ ἐξ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἦν. *Euſeb.* i. 12.

[u] Apoſt. Conſt. vi. 12. 14. ii. 55. vii. 46, &c. Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ——vi. 12. We the twelve Apoſtles together with James.

[x] Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος. *Euſeb.* ii. 23.

Of the ſame opinion was Epiphanius, who ſaith, that St. James was the ſon of Joſeph by another wife. Epiph. Hær. 78.

The whole Greek Church doth ſuppoſe the ſame, keeping three diſtinct ſolemnities for him and the two Apoſtles of the ſame name.

Gregory Nyſſen, St. Jerome, and divers other ancient writers, do concur herein, whom we may ſee alleged by Grotius, Dr. Hammond, (who themſelves did embrace the ſame opinion,) Valeſius, Blondel, &c. Grot. in Jac i. 1. Hamm. Differt. Ignat. iv. 3. Valeſ. in Euſeb. i. 12 Blondel. in Epiſt. Clem. ad Jacob.

Salmaſius (after his confident manner) ſaith, [y] *it is certain, that he was not one of the twelve:* I may at leaſt ſay, it is not certain that he was, and conſequently the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

2. Granting that St. James was one of the Apoſtles, (as ſome of the ancients ſeem to think[z], calling him an Apoſtle; and as divers modern divines conceive, grounding chiefly upon theſe words of St. Paul, *But other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave James the Lord's brother,* and taking apoſtles there in the ſtricteſt ſenſe,) I anſwer, Gal. i. 19.

That the caſe was peculiar, and there doth appear a ſpecial reaſon, why one of the Apoſtles ſhould be deſigned to make a conſtant reſidence at Jeruſalem, and conſequently to preſide there like a biſhop. For Jeruſalem was the metropolis, the fountain, the centre of the Chriſtian religion, where it had birth, where was greateſt matter and occaſion of propagating the Goſpel, moſt people diſpoſed to embrace it reſorting thither; where the church was very numerous, conſiſting, as St. Luke (or St. James in him) doth intimate, *of divers myriads of believing Jews;* whence it might ſeem expedient, that a perſon of greateſt authority ſhould be fixed there for the confirming and improving that church, together with the propagation of religion among the people, which reſorted thither; the which might induce the Apoſtles to ſettle St. James there, both Acts xxi. 20.

[y] Certum eſt non fuiſſe unum ex duodecim. *Sal. Meſſ.* p. 20.

[z] Hieroſolymitanam, quam primus Apoſtolus Jacobus epiſcopatu ſuo rexit. *Aug. cont. Creſc.* ii. 37.

The church of Jeruſalem, which James the Apoſtle firſt governed by his epiſcopal power.

for diſcharging the office of an apoſtle, and the ſupplying the room of a biſhop there.

According to him, ſaith Euſebius, [a]*The epiſcopal throne was committed by the Apoſtles;* or, [b]*Our Lord,* ſaith Epiphanius, *did intruſt him with his own throne.*

But there was no need of fixing an apoſtle at other places; nor doth it appear that any was ſo fixed; eſpecially St. Peter was uncapable of ſuch an employment, requiring ſettlement and conſtant attendance, who, beſide his general apoſtleſhip, had a peculiar apoſtleſhip of the diſperſed Jews committed to him; who therefore was much engaged in travel for propagation of the faith, and edifying his converts everywhere.

3. The greater conſent of the moſt ancient writers making St. James not to have been one of the twelve Apoſtles, it is thence accountable, why (as we before noted) St. James was called by ſome ancient writers, *the biſhop of biſhops, the prince of biſhops,* &c. becauſe he was the firſt biſhop of the *firſt ſee,* the mother church; the Apoſtles being excluded from the compariſon.

Upon theſe conſiderations we have great reaſon to refuſe the aſſertion or ſcandal caſt on St. Peter, that he took on him to be Biſhop of Rome, in a ſtrict ſenſe, as it is underſtood in this controverſy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A farther aſſertion is this, ſuperſtructed by conſequence on the former, *That the Biſhops of Rome,* (*according to God's inſtitution, and by original right derived thence,*) *ſhould have an univerſal ſupremacy and juriſdiction* (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly deſcribed) *over the Chriſtian Church.*

THIS aſſertion to be very uncertain, yea, to be moſt falſe, I ſhall by divers conſiderations evince.

a Ὡι πρὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἠγκιχείρισε θρόνος. *Euſeb.* ii. 23.
b Ὡι πιστίσυκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. *Epiph. Hær.* 78.

1. If any of the former Suppoſitions be uncertain, or falſe, this aſſertion, ſtanding on thoſe legs, muſt partake of thoſe defects, and anſwerably be dubious or falſe. If either Peter was not monarch of the Apoſtles, or if his privileges were not ſucceſſive, or if he were not properly Biſhop of Rome at his deceaſe, then farewell the Romiſh claim; if any of thoſe things be dubious, it doth totter; if any of them prove falſe, then down it falleth.

But that each of them is falſe, hath, I conceive, been ſufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain, hath at leaſt been made evident.

The ſtructure therefore cannot be firm which relieth on ſuch props.

2. Even admitting all thoſe Suppoſitions, the inference from them is not aſſuredly valid. For St. Peter might have an univerſal juriſdiction, he might derive it by ſucceſſion, he might be Biſhop of Rome; yet no ſuch authority might hence accrue to the Roman biſhop, his ſucceſſor in that ſee.

For that univerſal juriſdiction might be derived into another channel, and the Biſhop of Rome might in other reſpects be ſucceſſor to him, without being ſo in this.

As for inſtance in the Roman empire, before any rule of ſucceſſion was eſtabliſhed therein, the emperor was ſovereign governor, and he might die conſul of Rome, having aſſumed that place to himſelf; yet when he died, the ſupreme authority did not lapſe into the hands of the conſul, who ſucceeded him, but into the hands of the ſenate and people; his conſular authority only going to his ſucceſſor in that office. So might St. Peter's univerſal power be transferred unto the eccleſiaſtical college of biſhops, and of the Church; his epiſcopal inferior authority over the ſingular παροικία, or province of Rome, being tranſmitted to his followers in that chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the authority of St. Peter, and of all other Apoſtles, was devolved to the Church, and to the repreſentative body thereof, the Fathers did ſuppoſe; affirming the Church to have received from our Lord a ſovereign power.

[c] *This,* ſaith St. Cyprian, *is that one Church, which holdeth and poſſeſſeth all the power of its Spouſe and Lord; in this we preſide; for the honour and unity of this we fight*——ſaith he, in his Epiſtle to Jubianus, wherein he doth impugn the proceedings of Pope Stephanus; the which ſentence St. Auſtin appropriateth to himſelf, ſpeaking it abſolutely, without citing St. Cyprian. To this authority of the Church, St. Baſil would have all that confeſs the faith of Chriſt to ſubmit; [d] *To which end we exceedingly need your aſſiſtance, that they who confeſs the apoſtolick faith, would renounce the ſchiſms which they have deviſed, and ſubmit themſelves henceforth to the authority of the Church.*

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don. iv. 1.

They (after the holy Scripture, which ſaith, that *each biſhop hath a care of God's Church,* and is *obliged to feed the Church of God*——and *is appointed to edify the body of Chriſt*) do ſuppoſe the adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical affairs concerning the public ſtate of the Church, the defence of the common faith, the maintenance of order, peace, and unity jointly to belong unto the whole body of paſtors; according to that of St. Cyprian to Pope Stephanus himſelf, [e] *Therefore, moſt dear brother, the body of prieſts is copious, being joined together by the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity, that if any of our college ſhould attempt to make hereſy, and to tear or waſte the flock of Chriſt, the reſt may come to ſuccour; and like uſeful and merciful ſhepherds may re-collect the ſheep into the flock.* And again, [f] *Which thing it concerns us to look*

1 Tim. iii. 5, 15. Act. xx. 28. Eph. iv. 12.

Collegium Sacerdotum. *Cypr.* Ep. lxvii. 52.

Τὴν πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον. *Apoſt. Conſt.* viii. 10.

[c] Hæc eſt una quæ tenet et poſſidet omnem ſponſi ſui et Domini poteſtatem, in hac præſidemus, pro honore ejus et unitate pugnamus——. *Cypr.* Ep. 73.

[d] Ἐφ' ἅπερ μάλιστα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χρήζομεν βοηθείας, ὥστε τοὺς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, ἅπερ ἐκινήσαν, σχίσματα διαλύσαντας, ὑποταγῆναι τοῦ λοιπῦ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. *Baſ. Epiſt.* 69.

[e] Idcirco enim, frater chariſſime, copioſum corpus eſt ſacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut ſiquis ex collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, et gregem Chriſti lacerare et vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri, et quaſi paſtores utiles et miſericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[f] Cui rei noſtrum eſt conſulere, et ſubvenire, frater chariſſime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, et gubernandæ Eccleſiæ libram tenentes, &c. *Ibid.*

after and redreſs, moſt dear brother, who bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the ſcales of the Church-government, &c.

So even the Roman clergy did acknowledge, [g] *For we ought all of us to watch for the body of the whole Church, whoſe members are digeſted through ſeveral provinces.*

[h] *Like the Trinity, whoſe power is one and undivided, there is one prieſthood among divers biſhops.*

So in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, the Apoſtles tell the biſhops, that [i] *an univerſal epiſcopacy is intruſted to them.*

So the Council of Carthage with St. Cyprian—[k] *Clear and manifeſt is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſending his Apoſtles, and affording to them alone the power given him of the Father; in whoſe room we ſucceeded, governing the Church of God with the ſame power.*

[l] *Chriſt our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his ſpouſe to us.*

A very ancient inſtance of which adminiſtration is the proceeding againſt Paulus Samoſatenus; when [m] *the paſtors of the churches, ſome from one place, ſome from another, did aſſemble together againſt him as a peſt of Chriſt's flock, all of them haſtening to Antioch;* where they depoſed, exterminated, and deprived him of communion, warning the whole Church to reject and diſavow him.

[n] *Seeing the paſtoral charge is common to us all, who*

[g] Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſque provincias membra digeſta ſunt, excubare. *Cler. Rom. apud Cypr.* Ep. 30.

[h] Ad Trinitatis inſtar, cujus una eſt atque individua poteſtas, unum eſſe per diverſos antiſtites ſacerdotium. *P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.*

[i] Εἰς ἐπισκηψιγμὸν ὑμῶν, τῶν τὴν καθόλου ἐπισκοπὴν πεπιστευμένων. *Conſt. Apoſt.* vi. 14.

[k] Manifeſta eſt ſententia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Apoſtolos ſuos mittentis, et ipſis ſolis poteſtatem a Petro ſibi datam permittentis, quibus nos ſucceſſimus, eadem poteſtate Eccleſiam Domini gubernantes. *Conc. Carth. apud Cypr.* p. 405.

[l] Chriſtus Dominus et Deus noſter ad Patrem proficiſcens, ſponſam ſuam nobis commendavit——. *Ibid.* p. 404.

[m] Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνίσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν συνέσαντες. *Euſeb.* vii. 27.

[n] Cum communis ſit omnibus nobis, qui fungimur epiſcopatus officio, quamvis

bear the epiſcopal office, although thou ſitteſt in a higher and more eminent place.

[o] *Therefore for this cauſe the holy Church is committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be ſlack in yielding help and aſſiſtance to all.*

Hence St. Chryſoſtom ſaid of Euſtathius his biſhop; [p] *For he was well inſtructed and taught by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a preſident or biſhop of a church ought not to take care of that church alone, wherewith he is intruſted by the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo of the whole Church diſperſed throughout the world.*

They conſequently did repute ſchiſm, or eccleſiaſtical rebellion, to conſiſt in [q] *a departure from the conſent of the body of the prieſthood*, as St. Cyprian in divers places doth expreſs it, in his epiſtles to Pope Stephen and others.

They deem all biſhops to partake of the apoſtolical authority, according to that of St. Baſil to St. Ambroſe; [r] *The Lord himſelf hath tranſlated thee from the judges of the earth unto the prelacy of the Apoſtles.*

They took themſelves all to be vicars of Chriſt, and judges in his ſtead; according to that of St. Cyprian; [s] *For hereſies are ſprung up, and ſchiſms grown from no other ground nor root but this, becauſe God's prieſt was not obeyed, nor was there one prieſt or biſhop for a time in the*

quamvis ipſe in eo præmineas celſiore faſtigio, ſpecula paſtoralis——. *Aug. ad Bonif. contra duas Epiſt. Pelag.* i. 1.

[o] Hujus ergo rei gratia vobis et nobis ſancta commiſſa eſt Eccleſia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, et cunctis opem ferre non negligamus——. *P. Joh. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Zachar.*) *apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.

[p] Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα ἐκ ἐκείνης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τῷ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης. *Chryſ.* tom. v. Or. 93.

[q] A corpore noſtri, et ſacerdotii conſenſione diſceſſerit——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

Qui ſe ab Eccleſiæ vinculo, atque a ſacerdotum collegio ſeparat. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[r] Αὐτός σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν. *Baſil.* Ep. 56.

Neque enim aliunde hæreſes obortæ ſunt, aut nata ſunt ſchiſmata, quam inde quod ſacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus in Eccleſia ad tempus ſacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Chriſti cogitatur. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

church, nor a judge thought on for a time to ſupply the room of Chriſt. Where that by church is meant any particular church, and by prieſt a biſhop of ſuch church, any one not bewitched with prejudice by the tenor of St. Cyprian's diſcourſe will eaſily diſcern[t].

They conceive that our Saviour did promiſe to St. Peter the keys in behalf of the Church, and as repreſenting it. Cypr. Ep. 27.

They ſuppoſe the combination of biſhops in peaceable conſent and mutual aid, to be the *rock* on which the Church is built.

They allege the authority granted to St. Peter as a ground of claim to the ſame in all biſhops jointly, and in each biſhop ſingly, according to his *rata pars*, or allotted proportion.

[u] *Which may eaſily be underſtood by the words of our Lord, when he ſays to bleſſed Peter, whoſe place the biſhops ſupply, Whatſoever*, &c.

[x] *I have the ſword of Conſtantine in my hands, you of Peter*, ſaid our great King Edgar.

They do therefore in this regard take themſelves all to be ſucceſſors of St. Peter, that his power is derived to them all, and that the whole epiſcopal order *is the chair by the Lord's voice founded on St. Peter:* thus St. Cyprian in divers places (before touched) diſcourſeth; and thus Firmilian from the keys granted to St. Peter inferreth, diſputing againſt the Roman biſhop; [y] *Therefore*, ſaith he, *the power of remitting ſins is given to the Apoſtles, and to the churches, which they being ſent from Chriſt did conſtitute, and to the biſhops, which do ſucceed them by vicarious ordination.*

[t] Epiſcopus perſonam habet Chriſti, et vicarius Domini eſt. *Ambr. in* 1 *Cor.* 11.

The biſhop ſuſtains the perſon of Chriſt, and is the vicar of our Lord.

[u] Quod ex verbis Domini facile intelligi poteſt, quibus B. Petro, cujus vicem epiſcopi gerunt, ait, Quodcunque, &c. *Capit. Caroli M.* lib. v. cap. 163.

[x] Ego Conſtantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus.

[y] Poteſtas ergo remittendorum peccatorum Apoſtolis data eſt, et eccleſiis quas illi a Chriſto miſſi conſtituerunt, et epiſcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria ſuccedunt. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

4. The biſhops of any other churches founded by the Apoſtles, in the Fathers' ſtyle are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, in the ſame ſenſe, and to the ſame intent, as the biſhop of Rome is by them accounted ſucceſſor of St. Peter; the apoſtolical power, which in extent was univerſal, being in ſome ſenſe, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but tranſmitted by ſucceſſion: yet the biſhops of apoſtolical churches did never claim, nor allowedly exerciſe, apoſtolical juriſdiction beyond their own precincts; according to thoſe words of St. Jerome, [z] *Tell me, what doth Paleſtine belong to the biſhop of Alexandria?*

This ſheweth the inconſequence of their diſcourſe; for in like manner the Pope might be ſucceſſor to St. Peter, and St. Peter's univerſal power might be ſucceſſive, yet the Pope have no ſingular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular church.

5. So again, for inſtance, St. James (whom the Roman Church, in her liturgies, doth avow for an Apoſtle) was biſhop of Jeruſalem more unqueſtionably than St. Peter was biſhop of Rome; Jeruſalem alſo was the root, and [a] *the mother of all churches*, (as the Fathers of the Second General Synod, in their letter to Pope Damaſus himſelf, and the occidental biſhops did call it, forgetting the ſingular pretence of Rome to that title.)

Yet the biſhops of Jeruſalem, ſucceſſors of St. James, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extenſive juriſdiction; yea, notwithſtanding their ſucceſſion, they did not ſo much as obtain a metropolitical authority in Paleſtine, which did belong to Cæſarea, (having been aſſigned thereto, in conformity to the civil government,) and was by ſpecial proviſion *reſerved thereto* in the Synod of Nice [b]; whence St. Jerome did not ſtick to affirm,

[z] Reſponde mihi, ad Alexandrinum epiſcopum Palæſtina quid pertinet? *Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi. 15.

[a] Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. *Theodor.* v. 9.

Mater Chriſtiani nominis. *Imper. Juſt. ad P. Hormiſd. apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 794.

The mother of the Chriſtian name.

[b] Τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένῃ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀξιώματος. *Conc. Nic.* can. 7.

[c] that the biſhop of Jeruſalem was ſubject to the biſhop of Cæſarea; for ſpeaking to John biſhop of Jeruſalem, who for compurgation of himſelf from errors imputed to him had appealed to Theophilus, biſhop of Alexandria, he ſaith, [d] *Thou hadſt rather cauſe moleſtation to ears poſſeſſed, than render honour to thy metropolitan*, that is, to the biſhop of Cæſarea.

By which inſtance we may diſcern what little conſideration ſometimes was had of perſonal or topical ſucceſſion to the Apoſtles in determining the extent of juriſdiction: and why ſhould the Roman biſhop upon that ſcore pretend more validity than others?

6. St. Peter probably ere that he came at Rome did found divers other churches, whereof he was paramount biſhop, or did retain a ſpecial ſuperintendency over them; particularly [e] *Antioch was anciently called his ſee*, and he is acknowledged to have ſat there ſeven years, before he was biſhop of Rome. Hier. ad Galat. 2. P. Pelag. I Ep. 1.

Why therefore may not the biſhop of Antioch pretend to ſucceed St. Peter in his univerſal paſtorſhip, as well as his younger brother of Rome? why ſhould Euodius, ordained by St. Peter at Antioch, yield to Clemens, afterward by him ordained at Rome?

Antioch was the firſt-born of Gentile churches, where the name of Chriſtians was firſt heard; Antioch was (as the Conſtantinopolitan Fathers called it) [f] *the moſt ancient and truly apoſtolical church.* Acts xi. 2

Antioch, by virtue of St. Peter's ſitting there [g], or peculiar relation to it, was (according to their own conceits) the principal ſee.

Why therefore ſhould St. Peter be ſo unkind to it, as

[c] Ibi decernitur, ut Paleſtinæ metropolis Cæſarea ſit. *Hier.* Ep. lxi. 15.
It is there decreed, that Cæſarea ſhould be the metropolis of Paleſtine.

[d] Maluiſti occupatis auribus moleſtias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere. *Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi. 15.

[e] ——Θρόνου τῆς Ἀντιοχέων μητροπόλεως, τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. *Syn. Chalced. Act.* vii. p. 264.

[f] Πρεσβυτάτη ἡ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *Theod.* v. 9.

[g] Ubi imperator, ibi Roma.
Where the emperor is, there is Rome.

not only to relinquiſh it, but to debaſe it; not only tranſferring his ſee from it, but diveſting it of the privilege which it had got?

Why ſhould he prefer before it the city of Rome, the
Rev. xvii. 5. myſtical Babylon, *the mother of abominations of the earth,* the throne of Satan's empire, the place which did then
Rev. xvii. 6. moſt perſecute the Chriſtian faith, and *was drunk with the blood of the ſaints?* [h]

Bell. ii. 12. 7. The ground of this preference was, ſay they, St. Peter's will: and they have reaſon to ſay ſo; for otherwiſe if St. Peter had died inteſtate, the elder ſon of Antioch would have had the beſt right to all his goods and dignities [i].

But how doth that will appear? in what tables was it written? in what regiſters is it extant? in whoſe preſence did he nuncupate it? It is nowhere to be ſeen or heard of.

Neither do they otherwiſe know of it, than by reaſoning it out; and in effect they ſay only that it was fit he ſhould will it: but they may be miſtaken in their divinations; and perhaps notwithſtanding them St. Peter might will as well to his former ſee of Antioch, as to his latter of Rome.

8. Indeed Bellarmine ſometimes poſitively and briſkly enough doth affirm, that *God did command St. Peter to fix his ſee at Rome:* but his proofs of it are ſo ridiculouſly fond and weak, that I grudge the trouble of reciting them; and he himſelf ſufficiently confuteth them, by ſaying otherwhere, [k] *It is not unprobable, that our Lord gave*

Jubente Domino, ii. 1. Deus ipſe juſſit Romæ figi apoſtolicam Petri ſedem. iv. 4.

[h] Sic et Babylon apud Joannem noſtrum Romanæ urbis figura eſt, proinde et magnæ et regno ſuperbæ, et ſanctorum debellatricis. *Tertull. adv. Jud.* cap. 9.

So alſo Babylon in our St. John is a type of the city of Rome, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud city, and a ſubduer of the ſaints.

[i] Potuiſſet Petrus nullam ſedem particularem ſibi unquam eligere, ſicut fecit primis quinque annis——. *Ibid.*

Peter might have choſen to himſelf no particular city, as he did the firſt five years.

[k] Non eſt improbabile Dominum etiam aperte juſſiſſe, ut ſedem ſuam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus epiſcopus abſolute ei ſuccederet. *Bell.* ii. 12. §. Et quoniam.

an expreſs command, that Peter ſhould ſo fix his ſee at Rome, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould abſolutely ſucceed him.

He ſaith it is not improbable; if it be no more than ſo, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not unprobable, that if God had commanded it, there would have been ſome aſſurance of a command ſo very important.

9. Antioch hath at leaſt a fair plea for a ſhare in St. Peter's prerogatives; for it did ever hold the repute of an apoſtolical church, and upon that ſcore ſome deference was paid to it: why ſo, if St. Peter did carry his ſee with all its prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his prerogative, leaving ſome part behind at Antioch, how much then, I pray, did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave leſs than half? If perchance he did leave half, the biſhop of Antioch is equal to him of Rome.

10. Other perſons alſo may be found, who according to equal judgment might have a better title to the ſucceſſion of Peter in his univerſal authority than the Pope; having a nearer relation to him than he, (although his ſucceſſor in one charge,) or upon other equitable grounds.

For inſtance, St. John, or any other Apoſtle, who did ſurvive St. Peter: for if St. Peter was the father of Chriſtians, (which title yet our Saviour forbiddeth any one to aſſume,) St. John might well claim to be his eldeſt ſon; and it had been a very hard caſe for him to have been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion; it had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his ſpecial affection, a diſparagement of the apoſtolical office, for him to be ſubjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The biſhop of Jeruſalem might with much reaſon have put in his claim thereto, as being ſucceſſor of our Lord himſelf, who unqueſtionably was the High-prieſt of our profeſſion, and Archbiſhop of all our ſouls; whoſe ſee was the mother of all churches; wherein St. Peter himſelf did at firſt reſide, exerciſing his vicarſhip: if our Lord, upon ſpecial accounts out of courſe, had put the ſove-

reignty into St. Peter's hands, yet after his deceaſe it might be fit, that it ſhould return into its proper channel.

This may ſeem to have been the judgment of the times, when the author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions did write, who reporteth the Apoſtles to have ordered prayers to be made firſt for James, then for Clement, then for Euodius.

12. Equity would rather have required, that one ſhould by common conſent and election of the whole Church be placed in St. Peter's room, than that the biſhop of Rome, by election of a few perſons there, ſhould ſucceed into it.

As the whole body of paſtors was highly concerned in that ſucceſſion, ſo it was reaſonable that all of them ſhould concur in deſignation of a perſon thereto; it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that either God would inſtitute, or St. Peter by will ſhould deviſe a courſe of proceeding in ſuch a caſe ſo unequal and unſatisfactory.

If therefore the Church, conſidering this equity of the caſe, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, ſhould undertake to chooſe for itſelf another monarch, (the biſhop of another ſee, who ſhould ſeem fitter for the place,) to ſucceed into the prerogatives of St. Peter, that perſon would have a fairer title to that office than the Pope; for ſuch a perſon would have a real title, grounded on ſome reaſon of the caſe; whenas the Pope's pretence doth only ſtand upon a poſitive inſtitution, whereof he cannot exhibit any certificate. This was the mind of a great man among themſelves; who ſaith, that [l] *if poſſibly the biſhop of Triers ſhould be choſen for head of the Church. For the Church has free power to provide itſelf a head.*

Bellarmine himſelf confeſſeth, that [m] *if St. Peter* (as he

[l] Quod ſi per poſſibile Trevirenſis eligeretur pro capite Eccleſiæ. Habet enim Eccleſia poteſtatem liberam ſibi de capite providendi——. *Card. Cuſ. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13——.

[m] Nam potuiſſet Petrus nullam ſedem particularem ſibi unquam eligere, ſicut fecit primis quinque annis, et tunc moriente Petro, non epiſcopus Romanus, neque Antiochenus ſucceſſiſſet, ſed is quem Eccleſia ſibi elegiſſet. *Bell.* ii. 12.

might have done if he had pleaſed) *ſhould have choſen no particular ſee, as he did not for the firſt five years, then after Peter's death, neither the biſhop of Rome nor of Antioch had ſucceeded, but he whom the Church ſhould have choſen for itſelf.* Now if the Church upon that ſuppoſition would have had ſuch a right, it is not probable, that St. Peter *by his fact* would have deprived it thereof, or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it; there being apparently ſo much equity, that the Church ſhould have a ſtroke in deſignation of its paſtor.

In ancient times there was not any ſmall church which had not a ſuffrage in the choice of its paſtor; and was it fitting that all the Church ſhould have one impoſed on it without its conſent [n]?

If we conſider the manner in ancient time of electing and conſtituting the Roman biſhop, we may thence diſcern, not only the improbability, but iniquity of this pretence: how was he then choſen? was it by a general ſynod of biſhops, or by delegates from all parts of Chriſtendom, whereby the common intereſt in him might appear, and whereby the world might be ſatisfied that one was elected fit for that high office? No; he was choſen, as uſually then other particular biſhops were, by the clergy and people of Rome; none of the world being conſcious of the proceeding, or bearing any ſhare therein.

Now was it equal that ſuch a power of impoſing a ſovereign on all the grave biſhops, and on all the good people of the Chriſtian world, ſhould be granted to one city?

Was it fitting, that ſuch a charge, importing advance-

[n] Nulla ratio finit, ut inter epiſcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis ſunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a comprovincialibus epiſcopis cum metropolitani judicio conſecrati. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 92.

No reaſon will admit, that they ſhould be eſteemed biſhops, who are neither choſen by the clergy, nor deſired by the people, nor conſecrated by the biſhops of the ſame province, with the conſent of the metropolitan.

Nullus invitis detur epiſcopus: cleri, plebis, et ordinis conſenſus requiratur. *P. Celeſt. I.* Ep. 2. *Grat. Diſt.* 61. cap. 13.

Let there be no biſhop impoſed on any againſt their wills: let the conſent of the clergy and people, and his own order be required.

ment above all paſtors, and being intruſted with the welfare of all ſouls in Chriſtendom, ſhould be the reſult of an election liable to ſo many defects and corruptions; which aſſuredly often, if not almoſt conſtantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery, or partiality; would be managed by popular faction and tumults?

It was obſerved generally of ſuch elections by Nazianzen, that [p] *prelacies were not got rather by virtue than by naughtineſs; and that epiſcopal thrones did not rather belong to the more worthy, than to the more powerful.*

And declaring his mind or wiſh, that elections of biſhops ſhould [q] *reſt only or chiefly in the beſt men; not in the wealthieſt and mightieſt; or in the impetuouſneſs and unreaſonableneſs of the people, and among them in thoſe who are moſt eaſily bought and bribed;* whereby he intimateth the common practice, and ſubjoineth, *But now I can hardly avoid thinking, that the popular (or civil) governances are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them.*

And that the Roman elections in that time were come into that courſe, we may ſee by the relation and reflections of an honeſt Pagan hiſtorian concerning the election of Pope Damaſus, (contemporary of Gregory Nazianzen;) [r] *Damaſus,* ſaith he, *and Urſinus, above human meaſure burning with deſire to ſnatch the epiſcopal ſee, did, with divided parties, moſt fiercely conflict;* in which conflict upon one day, in the very church, an hundred and thirty perſons were ſlain; ſo did that great Pope get into the chair: thus, as the hiſtorian reflecteth, the [s] *wealth*

Sozom. vi. 23.

[p] Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ πανουργίας ἡ προεδρία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι. *Naz.* Or. xx. p. 335.

[q] Ἐφ' οἷς ἴδει τὰς τοιαύτας προβολὰς κεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα—ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς εὐωνοτάτοις· νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐσεπτωτέρας ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἡμετέρων, αἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφημίζεται. *Greg. Naz.* Or. xix. p. 310.

[r] Damaſus et Urſinus ſupra humanum modum ad rapiendam epiſcopalem ſedem ardentes ſciſſis ſtudiis acerrime conflictabantur—. *Am. Marcell.* lib. 27.

[s] Neque ego ab uno oſtentationem rerum conſiderans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos, &c. *Id. ibid.*

and pomp of the place naturally did provoke ambition by all means to ſeek it, and did cauſe fierce contentions to ariſe in the choice; whence commonly, wiſe and modeſt perſons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man, who had the art or the luck to pleaſe the multitude, would by violence obtain it: which was a goodly way of conſtituting a ſovereign to the Church.

Thus it went within three ages after our Lord: and afterwards, in the declenſions of Chriſtian ſimplicity and integrity, matters were not like to be mended, but did indeed rather grow worſe; as beſide the reports and complaints of hiſtorians, how that commonly by ambitious prenſations, by ſimoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of ſiniſter ways, men crept into the place, doth appear by thoſe many diſmal ſchiſms, which gave the Church many pretended heads, but not one certain one; as alſo by the reſult of them, being the choice of perſons very unworthy and horribly flagitious[t].

[t] Damaſus II. pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo cleri populique conſenſu; adeo enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambitioſo liceret Petri ſedem invadere. *Plat.* (p. 314.)

Damaſus II. invades the popedom by force, without any conſent of the clergy and people; for ſo was it now grown into cuſtom, that any ambitious man might invade Peter's ſee.

Eo enim tum pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione et ambitione, non dico ſanctitate vitæ et doctrina valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppreſſis et rejectis obtineret: quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuiſſent noſtra tempora. *Plat. in Silv.* 3.

For the buſineſs of the papacy was come to that paſs, that whoever by bribery and ambition, I ſay not by holineſs of life and learning, got the ſtart of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the mean being depreſſed and rejected: which cuſtom I would to God our times had not retained.

Cum jam eo deveniſſent eccleſiaſtici, ut non coacti ut antea, ſed ſponte et largitionibus pontificium munus obirent. *Plat. in Steph.* 6. *Baron.* ann. 112. §. 8.

Whenas now eccleſiaſtical perſons are come to that paſs, that they execute the papal office, not being compelled unto it, as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it.

Videbat enim Imperator eo licentiæ factioſum quemque et potentem, quam-

If it be ſaid, that the election of a pope in old times was wont to be approved by the conſent of all biſhops in the world, according to the teſtimony of St. Cyprian, who ſaith of Cornelius, that [u] *he was known by the teſtimony of his fellow biſhops, whoſe whole number through all the world did with peaceful unanimity conſent:*

I anſwer, that this conſent was not in the election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by letters or meſſages declaring the election, according to that of St. Cyprian [x]; that it was not anywiſe peculiar to the Roman biſhop, but ſuch as was yielded to all catholic biſhops, each of whom [y] *was to be approved,* as St. Cyprian ſaith, *by the teſtimony and judgment of his colleagues;* that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correſpondence, ſignifying that ſuch a biſhop was duly elected by his clergy and people, was rightly ordained by his neighbour biſhops, did profeſs the Catholic faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his brethren: ſuch a conſent to the election of any biſhop of old was given, (eſpecially upon occaſion, and when any queſtion

vis ignobilem deveniſſe, ut corruptis ſuffragiis tantam dignitatem conſequeretur, &c. *Plat. in Clem.* ii. (p. 313.)

For the Emperor ſaw, that every factious and powerful perſon, though baſe and ignoble, was grown to that height of licentiouſneſs, that he obtained ſo great dignity by corruption and buying of ſuffrages.

Omne papale negotium manus agunt: quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit, pretio ſeu ſpe pretii non interveniente? *Bern. de Conſid.* iv. 2.

The whole buſineſs of making a pope is managed by gifts: whom can you ſhew me, in all this great city, who took you into the papacy without being bribed and corrupted with reward, or at leaſt with hope of it?

[u] ——co-epiſcoporum teſtimonio, quorum numerus univerſus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate conſentit—. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

Cum Fabiani locus, id eſt cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ ſacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium noſtrum conſentione——. *Ibid.*

When Fabianus's place, i. e. when the place of Peter, and the degree of the ſacerdotal chair was vacant, which being obtained by the will of God, and all our conſents——.

[x] Satis erat ut tu te epiſcopum factum literis nunciares, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 42.

It was enough that you declared by letters that you were made biſhop.

[y] Epiſcopo ſemel facto, et collegarum ac plebis teſtimonio et judicio comprobato—. *Cypr.* Ep. 41.

concerning the right of a biſhop did intervene,) whereof now in the election of a pope no footſtep doth remain.

We may alſo note, that the election of Cornelius being conteſted, he did more ſolemnly acquaint all the biſhops of the world with his caſe, and ſo did obtain their approbation in a way more than ordinary. Euſeb.

13. If God had deſigned this derivation of univerſal ſovereignty, it is probable that he would have preſcribed ſome certain, ſtanding, immutable way of election, and imparted the right to certain perſons, and not left it at ſuch uncertainty to the chances of time, ſo that the manner of election hath often changed, and the power of it toſſed into divers hands.

[z] *And though in ſeveral times there have been obſerved ſeveral ways as to the election of the Roman pontiffs, according as the neceſſity and expediency of the church required.*

Of old it was (as other elections) managed by nomination of the clergy, and ſuffrage of the people.

Afterward the emperors did aſſume to themſelves the nomination, or approbation of them.

[a] *For then nothing was done by the clergy in the choice of the Pope, unleſs the emperor had approved his election.*

[b] *But he, ſeeing the prince's conſent was required, ſent meſſengers with letters, to entreat Mauritius, that he would not ſuffer the election made by the clergy and people of Rome in that caſe to be valid.*

[c] *Leo VIII. being tired out with the inconſtancy of the Romans, transferred the whole power and authority of*

[z] Et licet diverſis temporibus diverſi modi ſuper electione Romanorum pontificum obſervati ſunt, prout neceſſitas, et utilitas Eccleſiæ expoſcebat——. *Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. xxxvii. p. 98. Vide *Grat. Diſt.* 63. per tot.

[a] Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat, niſi ejus electionem imperator approbaſſet. *Plat. in Pelag. II.*

[b] Is autem, cum principis conſenſus requireretur, nuncios cum literis miſerat, qui Mauritium obſecrarent, ne pateretur electionem cleri et populi Romani ea in re valere. *Plat. in Greg. M.* Vide *Grat. diſt.* 63.——

[c] Conc. tom. vii. p. 182. Leo VIII. Romanorum inconſtantiam pertæſus, auctoritatem omnem eligendi Pontificis a clero, populoque Romano ad imperatorem tranſtulit. *Plat. in Leo VIII.* (p. 291.)

chooſing the Pope from the clergy and people of Rome, to the emperor.

At ſome times the clergy had no hand in the election; but popes were intruded by powerful men or women at their pleaſure [d].

Grat. Diſt. xxiii. cap. 1. Plat. in Nic. II.

Afterwards the cardinals (that is, ſome of the chief Roman clergy) did appropriate the election to themſelves; by the decree of Pope Nicholas II. in his Lateran ſynod.

Sometimes, out of courſe, general ſynods did aſſume the choice to themſelves; as at Conſtance, Piſa, and Baſil.

14. From the premiſes, to conclude the Pope's title to St. Peter's authority, it is requiſite to ſhew the power demiſed by him to be according to God's inſtitution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for power built upon the like, but far more certain principles, hath in courſe of times, and by worldly changes, been quite loſt, or conveyed into other channels, than thoſe wherein it was firſt put; and that irrecoverably, ſo that it cannot anywiſe be retrieved, or reduced into the firſt order.

For inſtance, Adam was by God conſtituted univerſal ſovereign of mankind; and into that power his eldeſt ſon of right did ſucceed; and ſo it of right ſhould have been continually propagated.

Yet ſoon did that power fail, or was diverted into other courſes; the world being cantonized into ſeveral dominions; ſo that the *heir at law* among all the deſcendents of Adam cannot ſo eaſily be found, as *a needle in a bottle of hay*; he probably is a ſubject, and perhaps is a peaſant.

So might St. Peter be monarch of the Church, and the Pope might ſucceed him; yet by revolutions of things, by ſeveral defaults and incapacities in himſelf, by divers obſtructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other men's rights, according to that maxim of a great

[d] Nuſquam cleri eligentis, vel poſtea conſentientis aliqua mentio. *Baron.* ann. 112. §. 8. ann. 131. §. 1.

There was nowhere any mention of the clergy electing, or afterward conſenting.

pope, *He loſeth his own, who coveteth more than his due,* his power might be clipped, might be tranſplanted, might utterly decay and fail; to ſuch fatalities other powers are ſubject; nor can that of the Pope be exempt from them, as otherwhere we ſhall more largely declare. Propria perdit qui indebita concupiſcit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

15. Indeed that God did intend his Church ſhould perpetually ſubſiſt united in any one political frame of government, is a principle which they do aſſume and build upon, but can nowiſe prove. Nor indeed is it true. For,

If the unity of the Church deſigned and inſtituted by God were only an unity of faith, of charity, of peace, of fraternal communion and correſpondence between particular ſocieties and paſtors, then in vain it is to ſeek for the ſubject and ſeat of univerſal juriſdiction. Now that God did not intend any other unity, than ſuch as thoſe ſpecified, we have good reaſon to judge, and ſhall, we hope, otherwhere ſufficiently prove.

16. We may conſider, that really the ſovereign power (ſuch as it is pretended) hath often failed, there having been for long ſpaces of time no Roman biſhops at all, upon ſeveral accounts; which is a ſign that the Church may ſubſiſt without it.

As, 1. When Rome was deſolated by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

2. In times, when the Romans would not ſuffer popes to live with them. Vide Bern. Ep. 242, 243.

3. In caſe of diſcontinuance from Rome, when the popes (ſo calling themſelves) did for above ſeventy years abide in France; when they indeed, not being choſen by the Roman people, nor exerciſing paſtoral care over them, were only titular, not real biſhops of Rome; (they were popes of Avignon, not of Rome; and ſucceſſors of God knows who, not of St. Peter;) no more than one continually living in England can be biſhop of Jeruſalem. Bell. iv. 4.

4. In times of many long ſchiſms, (twenty-two ſchiſms,) when either there was no true pope, or, which in effect was the ſame, no certain one. —Inopem me copia fecit.

5. When popes were intruded by violence, whom Ba- Baron. ad an. 112. §. 8.

ronius himſelf poſitively affirmeth to have been no popes: how then could a ſucceſſion of true popes be continued from them, by the clergy, which they in virtue of their papal authority did pretend to create?

6. When elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical, and ſo null.

7. When popes were ſimoniacally choſen; who by their own rules and laws are no true popes; being heretics, hereſiarchs [e].

The which was done for long courſes of time very commonly, and in a manner conſtantly [f].

8. When popes have been depoſed; (as ſome by the emperors, others by general councils;) in which caſe, according to papal principles, the ſucceſſors were illegal; for the Pope being ſovereign, he could not be judged or depoſed; and his ſucceſſor is an uſurper.

9. When popes were heretical, that is (ſay they) no popes.

10. When atheiſts, ſorcerers,——

Elections in ſome of theſe caſes being null, and therefore the acts conſequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to poſterity [g].

And probably therefore there is now no true pope.

For (upon violent intruſion, or ſimoniacal choice, or

[e] P. Greg. VII. Ep. iii. 7. P. Jul. in Conc. Lat. Seſſ. v. p. 57. Non ſolum hujuſmodi electio vel aſſumptio eo ipſo nulla exiſtat——&c. *Vide ſup.* §. 12.

Such an election or aſſumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null.

[f] Vide quæſo quantum iſti degeneraverint a majoribus ſuis; illi enim utpote viri ſanctiſſimi dignitatem ultro oblatam contemnebant, orationi et doctrinæ Chriſtianæ vacantes; hi vero largitione et ambitione pontificatum quærentes, et adepti, poſthabito divino cultu, &c. *Plat. in Serg.* 3. (p. 279.) Vid. —— *in Bened. IV.* p. 277.

See, I beſeech you, how much they have degenerated from their anceſtors; for they as being very holy men did contemn that dignity when freely offered, giving themſelves wholly to prayer and the doctrine of Chriſt; but theſe by bribery and ambition ſeek and obtain the papacy.

[g] Plat. in Joh. x. (p. 275.) Pontifices ipſi a Petri veſtigiis diſceſſerant.

The popes had ſwerved from the examples of Peter.

Poſſeſſor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præſcribit. *Reg. Jur.* 2. *in Sexto.*

He that has no right to the thing he poſſeſſes, cannot preſcribe or plead any length of time to make his poſſeſſion lawful.

any uſurpation) the cardinals, biſhops, &c. which the pope createth, are not truly ſuch; and conſequently their votes not good in the choice of another pope; and ſo ſucceſſively.

Theſe conſiderations may ſuffice to declare the inconſequence of their diſcourſes, even admitting their aſſertions, which yet are ſo falſe, or ſo apparently uncertain.

I ſhall in the next place level ſome arguments directly againſt their main concluſion itſelf.

I. My firſt argument againſt this pretence ſhall be, that it is deſtitute of any good warrant, either from divine or human teſtimony; and ſo is groundleſs. As will appear by the following conſiderations.

1. If God had deſigned the biſhop of Rome to be for the perpetual courſe of times ſovereign monarch of his Church, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that he would expreſsly have declared his mind in the caſe[h]; it being a point of greateſt importance of all that concern the adminiſtration of his kingdom in the world. Princes do not uſe to ſend their viceroys unfurniſhed with patents, clearly ſignifying their commiſſion, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excuſably may refuſe compliance; and in all equity promulgation is requiſite to the eſtabliſhment of any law, or exacting obedience. But in all the pandects of Divine Revelation the biſhop of Rome is not ſo much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by probable intimation; they cannot hook him in otherwiſe, than by ſtraining hard, and framing a long chain of conſequences; each of which is too ſubtle for to conſtrain any man's perſuaſion: they have indeed found the Pope in the firſt chapter of Geneſis; for (if we believe Pope Innocent III.) he is one of the *two great luminaries* there[i]; and he is as plainly there, as any where elſe in the Bible.

[h] Nec vero ſimile ſit, ut rem tam neceſſariam ad Eccleſiæ unitatem continendam Chriſtus Dominus Apoſtolis ſuis non revelarit. *Melch.* can. vi. 8.

Neither is it likely that our Lord Chriſt would not have revealed to his Apoſtles a thing ſo neceſſary for preſerving the unity of the Church.

[i] Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc eſt univerſalis Eccleſiæ, fecit Deus duo

Wherefore if upon this account we ſhould reject this pretence, we might do it juſtly; and for ſo doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of doctrine, or rule of manners, which is not in expreſs words, or in terms equivalent, contained in holy Scripture; or which at leaſt might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference: this their manner of diſputing with heretics and heterodox people doth ſhew; this appeareth by their way of defining and ſettling doctrines of faith; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our caſe: for, [k] *If*, ſaith St. Auſtin, *about Chriſt, or about his Church, or about any other thing, which concerneth our faith and life, I will not ſay we, who are nowiſe comparable to him, who ſaid, Although we; but even as he going on did add, If an angel from heaven ſhould tell you, beſide what you have received in the legal and evangelical Scriptures, let him be anathema:* in which words we have St. Auſtin's warrant, not only to refuſe, but to deteſt this doctrine, which being nowhere extant in law or Goſpel, is yet obtruded on us, as nearly relating both to Chriſt and his Church, as greatly concerning both our faith and practice.

2. To enforce this argument, we may conſider, that the Evangeliſts do ſpeak about the propagation, ſettlement, and continuance of our Lord's kingdom; that the Apoſtles do often treat about the ſtate of the Church and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the diſtinction of its officers and members, about the qualifications, duties,

magna luminaria, id eſt, duas inſtituit dignitates, quæ ſunt pontificalis auctoritas, et regalis poteſtas; ſed illa quæ præeſt diebus, id eſt, ſpiritualibus, major eſt; quæ vero carnalibus, minor, &c. *Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg. I.* xxxiii. 6.

For the firmament therefore of heaven, i. e. of the univerſal Church, God made two great lights; i. e. he ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority, and the regal power: but that which rules the days, i. e. ſpiritual matters, is the greater; but that which governs carnal things, is the leſſer, &c.

[k] Proinde ſive de Chriſto, ſive de ejus Eccleſia, ſive de quacunque alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque noſtram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet ſi nos*, ſed omnino quod ſequutus adjecit, *Si angelus de cælo vobis annunciaverit*, præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus ac evangelicis accepiſtis, anathema ſit. *Aug. contr. Petil.* iii. 6.

graces, privileges of ſpiritual governors and guides; about prevention and remedy of hereſies, ſchiſms, diſorders: upon any of which occaſions how is it poſſible, that the mention of ſuch a ſpiritual monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of thoſe particulars) ſhould wholly eſcape them, if they had known ſuch an one inſtituted by God.

In the Levitical law all things concerning the high-prieſt, not only his deſignation, ſucceſſion, conſecration, duty, power, maintenance, privileges, but even his garments, marriage, mourning, &c. are punctually determined and deſcribed: and is it not wonderful, that in the many deſcriptions of the new law no mention ſhould be made concerning any duty or privilege of its high-prieſt, whereby he might be directed in the adminiſtration of his office, and know what obſervance to require? Exod. xxviii. 1, 4. Levit. xxi.

3. Whereas alſo the Scripture doth inculcate duties of all ſorts, and doth not forget frequently to preſs duties of reſpect and obedience toward particular governors of the Church; is it not ſtrange, that it never ſhould beſtow one precept, whereby we might be inſtructed and admoniſhed to pay our duty to the univerſal Paſtor; eſpecially conſidering, that God, who directed the pens of the Apoſtles, and who intended that their writings ſhould continue for the perpetual inſtruction of Chriſtians, did foreſee how requiſite ſuch a precept would be to ſecure that duty? for if but one ſuch precept did appear, it would do the buſineſs, and void all conteſtation about it.

4. They who ſo carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal ſovereignty, how come they ſo wholly to wave urging the no leſs needful obligations to obey the ſpiritual monarch? while they are ſo mindful of the Emperor, why are they ſo neglectful of the Pope; inſomuch, that divers popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow thoſe precepts which command obedience to princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themſelves? P. Nic. I. Ep. 10. P. Leo IX. Ep. 1. P. Greg. VII. Ep. 1, 22.

5. Particularly St. Peter, one would think, who doth ſo earneſtly enjoin to obey *the king as ſupreme*, and *to honour him*, ſhould not have been unmindful of his ſuc- 1 Pet. ii. 13—17.

ceſſors; or quite have forborne to warn Chriſtians of the reſpect due to them: ſurely the popes afterward do not follow him in this reſervedneſs; for in their Decretal Epiſtles they urge nothing ſo much as obedience to the apoſtolical ſee.

6. One might have expected ſomething of that nature from St. Paul himſelf, who did write ſo largely to the Romans, and ſo often from Rome; that at leaſt ſome word, or ſome intimation ſhould have dropped from him concerning theſe huge rights and privileges of this *ſee*, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he profeſſedly doth enumerate the offices, inſtituted by God, for ſtanding uſe and perpetual duration; *for the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt; till we all come in the unity of faith,* &c.[k]

Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

Rom. i. 8. He commendeth them for their faith, which *was ſpoken of through the whole world;* yet [l]*giving them no advantage above others;* as St. Chryſoſtom obſerveth on Rom. i. 5. thoſe words, *for obedience to the faith among all nations, among whom alſo are ye.* [m]*This,* ſaith St. Chryſoſtom, *he ſaith, to depreſs their conceit, to void their haughtineſs of mind, and to teach them, (to deem others equal in dignity with them.)*

(Vid. Chryſ. Theo. Hier.) Baron. an. 58. §. 46, &c. Rom. i. 7, 8. Rom. xvi. 19. When he writeth to that church, (which was ſome time after St. Peter had ſettled the popedom,) he doth only ſtyle them κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, (*called ſaints,*) and ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ, (*beloved of God,*) which are common adjuncts of all Chriſtians; he ſaith, their faith was ſpoken of generally, but of the fame of their authority being ſo ſpread he taketh no notice; that *their obedience had come abroad to all men,* but their commands had not (it ſeemeth) come anywhere.

[k] Quarum laudum et gloriæ degenerem fuiſſe, maximum crimen eſt. *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

To degenerate from which praiſe and glory is an exceeding great crime.

[l] Οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

[m] Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

He wrote divers Epiſtles from Rome, wherein he reſolveth many caſes debated, yet never doth urge the authority of the Roman church for any point, which now is ſo ponderous an argument.

7. But however ſeeing the Scripture is ſo ſtrangely reſerved, how cometh it to paſs, that tradition is alſo ſo defective, and ſtaunch in ſo grand a caſe? We have in divers of the Fathers (particularly in Tertullian, in St. Baſil, in St. Jerome) catalogues of traditional doctrines and obſervances, which they recite to aſſert tradition in ſome caſes ſupplemental to Scripture; in which their purpoſe did require, that they ſhould ſet down thoſe of principal moment; and they are ſo punctual, as to inſert many of ſmall conſideration: how then came they to neglect this, concerning the papal authority over the whole Church, which had been moſt pertinent to their deſign, and in conſequence did vaſtly ſurpaſs all the reſt which they do name? Tertull. de Cor. Mil. 3. Baſil. de Sp. S. 27. Hier. adverſ. Lucif. 4.

8. The deſignation of the Roman biſhop by ſucceſſion to obtain ſo high a degree in the Church, being above all others a moſt remarkable and noble piece of hiſtory, which it had been a horrible fault in an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to ſlip over, without careful reporting and reflecting upon it; yet Euſebius, that moſt diligent compiler of all paſſages relating to the original conſtitution of the Church, and to all tranſactions therein, hath not one word about it; who yet ſtudiouſly doth report the ſucceſſions of the Roman biſhops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this doctrine is pretended to be a point of faith, of vaſt conſequence to the ſubſiſtence of the Church and to the ſalvation of men, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that it ſhould not be inſerted into any one ancient ſummary of things to be believed, (of which ſummaries divers remain, ſome compoſed by public conſent, others by perſons of eminency in the Church,) nor by fair and forcible conſequence ſhould be deducible from any article in them; eſpecially conſidering that ſuch ſummaries were framed Conſt. Apoſt. vii. 41. (a full Creed, at baptiſm.)

upon occaſion of hereſies ſpringing up, which diſregarded the Pope's authority, and which by aſſerting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to Pope Innocent III. and his Lateran ſynod, for firſt ſynodically defining this point, together with other points no leſs new and unheard of before. The Creed of Pope Pius IV. formed the other day, is the firſt, as I take it, which did contain this article of faith.

Conc. Lat. iv. cap. 5. an. 1215.

10. It is much that this point of faith ſhould not be delivered in any of thoſe ancient expoſitions of the Creed (made by St. Auſtin, Ruffin, &c.) which enlarge it to neceſſary points of doctrine, connected with the articles therein, eſpecially with that of the Catholic Church, to which the Pope's authority hath ſo cloſe a connection; that it ſhould not be touched in the catechetical diſcourſes of Cyril, Ambroſe, &c.; that in the ſyſtems of divinity compoſed by St. Auſtin, Lactantius, &c.; it ſhould not be treated on: the world is now changed; for the Catechiſm of Trent doth not overlook ſo material a point; and it would paſs for a lame body of theology which ſhould omit to treat on this ſubject.

11. It is more wonderful, that this point ſhould never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient ſynod; it being ſo notoriouſly in thoſe old times oppoſed by divers who diſſented in opinion, and diſcorded in practice from the Pope; it being alſo a point of that conſequence, that ſuch a ſolemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular errors and ſchiſms, which were maintained then in oppoſition to the Church.

12. Indeed had this point been allowed by the main body of orthodox biſhops, the Pope could not have been ſo drowſy or ſtupid, as not to have ſolicited for ſuch a definition thereof; nor would the biſhops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being, in our adverſaries' conceit, ſo compendious and effectual a way of ſuppreſſing all hereſies, ſchiſms, and diſorders; (although indeed later experience hath ſhewed it no leſs available to ſtifle truth, juſtice, and piety:) the popes after Luther were

better adviſed, and ſo were the biſhops adhering to his opinions.

13. Whereas alſo it is moſt apparent, that many perſons diſclaimed this authority, not regarding either the doctrines or decrees of the popes; it is wonderful, that ſuch men ſhould not be reckoned in the large catalogues of heretics, wherein errors of leſs obvious conſideration, and of far leſs importance, did place men; if Epiphanius, Theodoret, Leontius, &c. were ſo negligent or unconcerned, yet St. Auſtin, Philaſtrius, — weſtern men, ſhould not have overlooked this ſort of deſperate heretics: Aërius, for queſtioning the dignity of biſhops, is ſet among the heretics; but who got that name for diſavowing the Pope's ſupremacy, among the many who did it? (it is but lately, that ſuch as we have been thruſt in among heretics.)

14. Whereas no point avowed by Chriſtians could be ſo apt to raiſe offence and jealouſy in Pagans againſt our religion as this, which ſetteth up a power of ſo vaſt extent and huge influence; whereas no novelty could be more ſurpriſing or ſtartling, than the erection of an univerſal empire over the conſciences and religious practices of men; whereas alſo this doctrine could not but be very conſpicuous and glaring in ordinary practice; it is prodigious, that all Pagans ſhould not loudly exclaim againſt it.

It is ſtrange, that Pagan hiſtorians (ſuch as Marcellinus, who often ſpeaketh of popes, and blameth them for their luxurious way of living, and pompous garb[n]; as Zozimus, who bore a great ſpite at Chriſtianity; as all the writers of the imperial hiſtory before Conſtantine) ſhould not report it, as a very ſtrange pretence newly ſtarted up.

It is wonderful, that the eager adverſaries of our reli-

[n] —— procedantque vehiculis inſidentes, circumſpecte veſtiti, epulas curantes profuſas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales ſuperent menſas. *Marcell.* lib. xxvii. p. 336.

They travel ſitting in chariots, curiouſly apparelled, procuring profuſe dainties, inſomuch as their meals exceed the feaſts of kings.

gion (ſuch as Celſus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian himſelf) ſhould not particularly level their diſcourſe againſt it, as a moſt ſcandalous poſition and dangerous pretence, threatening the government of the empire.

It is admirable, that the emperors themſelves, inflamed with emulation and ſuſpicion of ſuch an authority, (the which hath been ſo terrible even to Chriſtian princes,) ſhould not in their edicts expreſsly decry and impugn it; that indeed every one of them ſhould not with extremeſt violence implacably ſtrive to extirpate it.

In conſequence of theſe things it may alſo ſeem ſtrange, that none of the advocates of our faith (Juſtin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Auſtin) ſhould be put to defend it, or ſo much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate apologies for the doctrines and practices which were reprehended by any ſort of adverſaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them in their [o] apologies and repreſentations concerning Chriſtianity would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconſiderate, when they profeſs for their common belief aſſertions repugnant to that doctrine; as when Tertullian ſaith, [p] *We reverence the emperor as a man ſecond to God, and leſs only than God;* when Optatus affirmeth, that [q] *above the emperor there is none beſide God, who made the emperor;* and, that [r] *Donatus by extolling himſelf* (as ſome now do) *above the emperor, did in ſo doing, as it were, exceed the bounds of men, that he did eſteem himſelf as God,*

[o] Sentiunt enim Deum eſſe ſolum, in cujus ſolius poteſtate ſunt, a quo ſunt feeundi, poſt quem primi, ante omnes et ſuper omnes deos. Quidni? cum ſuper omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, et mortuis antiſtant. *Tertull. Apolog.* cap. 30.

For they think it is God alone in whoſe power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and ſurpaſs the dead.

[p] Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo ſecundum, et ſolo Deo minorem. *Tertull. ad Scap.* 2.

[q] Cum ſuper imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus qui fecit imperatorem. *Opt.* lib. 3.

[r] ——dum ſe Donatus ſuper imperatorem extollit, jam quaſi hominum exceſſerat modum, ut ſe ut Deum, non hominem æſtimaret. *Id. ibid.*

not as a man. When St. Chryſoſtom aſſerteth [s] *the emperor to be the crown and head of all men upon earth;* and ſaith, that [t] *even Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, any men whoever,* are to be ſubject to the temporal powers; when St. Cyril calleth the emperor [u] *the ſupreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable differences,* &c. When even popes talk at this rate; as Pope Gregory I. calling the emperor his [x] *lord, and lord of all;* telling the emperor, that his competitor, by aſſuming the title of univerſal biſhop, *did ſet himſelf above the honour of his imperial majeſty;* which he ſuppoſeth a piece of great abſurdity and arrogance: and even Pope Gregory II. doth call that emperor (againſt whom he afterward rebelled) [y] *the head of Chriſtians.* Whereas, indeed, if the Pope be monarch of the Church, endowed with the regalities which they now aſcribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living, in real power and dignity: wherefore the modern doctors of Rome are far more ſincere or conſiderate in their heraldry, than were thoſe old fathers of Chriſtendom; who

[s] Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. *Chryſ. ἀνδρ.* ii. p. 463.

[t] Κἂν Ἀπόστολος ᾖς, κἂν Εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν Προφήτης, κἂν ὁτισοῦν, &c. *Chryſ. in Rom.* xiii. 1.

Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ἰσότιμόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ——. *Chryſ.* ſupra.

For he that is thus wronged has not his equal upon earth, for he is king, &c.

[u] Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφορᾶις τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὑπερηχὸς καὶ ὑπερκείμενον, ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς, καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαίρετός τε καὶ περίωπτος παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ὑπάσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς. *Cyril. ad Theod. in Conc. Eph.* part. i. cap. 3. p. 20.

[x] P. Greg. M. Ep. ii. 62. Quia Sereniſſ. Domine ex illo jam tempore Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras——Ego quidem juſſioni ſubjectus——. *Ibid.*

Ad hoc enim poteſtas dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data eſt ſuper omnes homines, &c. *Ibid.*

Ego indignus famulus veſter. *Ibid.*

Qui honori quoque imperii veſtri ſe per privatum vocabulum ſuperponit. *P. Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 32.

[y] Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. *P. Greg. II. in Epiſt.* 1. *ad Leon. Iſaur. apud Bin.* tom. v. p. 502.

As king and head of Chriſtians.

now ſtick not downrightly to prefer the Pope before all princes of the world; not only in doctrine and notion, but in the ſacred offices of the Church [z]: for in the very canon of their maſs, the Pope (together with the biſhop of the dioceſe, one of his miniſters) is ſet before all Chriſtian princes; every Chriſtian ſubject being thereby taught to deem the Pope ſuperior to his prince. [a] Now we muſt believe (for one pope hath written it, another hath put it in his decretals, and it is current law) that the papal authority doth no leſs ſurpaſs the royal, than the ſun doth outſhine the moon.

Now it is abundantly [b] *declared* by papal *definition, as a point neceſſary to ſalvation,* that *every human creature* (neither king nor Cæſar excepted) *is ſubject to the Roman high-prieſt.*

Now the myſtery is diſcovered, why popes, when ſummoned by emperors, declined to go in perſon to general ſynods; becauſe [c] *it was not tolerable that the Emperor* (who ſometime would be preſent in ſynods) *ſhould ſit above the Pope;* as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit Bellarmine had of Leo I. and other popes, that they did forbear coming at ſynods out of their villanous pride and haughtineſs.)

15. One would admire, that Conſtantine, if he had

[z] ——una cum famulo tuo Papa noſtro N. et antiſtite noſtro N. et rege noſtro N. et omnibus orthodoxis, &c.

Together with thy ſervant our Pope N. and our biſhop N. and our king N. and all orthodox, &c.

[a] Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate regia poſt orationem factam pro Papa, quia poteſtas ſuprema ſacerdotalis excedit regiam antiquitate, dignitate, et utilitate, &c. *Gab. Biel. in Can. miſ.*

Let prayer be made for the King after prayer made for the Pope; becauſe the ſupreme ſacerdotal power exceeds the kingly in antiquity, dignity, and utility, &c.

[b] Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis. *P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. com.* lib. i. tit. 38.

[c] At quamvis utcunque tolerabile ſit, ut principes ſeculares in concilio ſedeant ante alios epiſcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipſum ſummum Pontificem, &c. *Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

ſmelt this doctrine, or any thing like it in Chriſtianity, ſhould be ſo ready to embrace it; or that ſo many emperors ſhould in thoſe times do ſo; ſome princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any ſuperior to them.

It is at leaſt much, that emperors ſhould with ſo much indulgence foſter and cheriſh popes, being their ſo dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it ſhould be true, which Pope Nicholas doth affirm, that [d] *the emperors had extolled the Roman ſee with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits;* had done I know not how many things more for it: ſurely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent competitor for honour and power; one who pretended to be a better man than themſelves. Bellarmine (in his Apology againſt King James) ſaith, that *the pope was (vellet, nolet) conſtrained to be ſubject to the emperors, becauſe his power was not known to them;* it was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a doctrine commonly avowed by Chriſtians? it is hard keeping ſo practical a doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this conſideration. Apoll. Bel p. 202.

Furthermore, we have divers ancient writings, the ſpecial nature, matter, ſcope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving atteſtation to this power, if ſuch an one had been known and allowed in thoſe times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The Apoſtolical Canons, and the Conſtitutions of Clement, which deſcribe the ſtate of the Church, with its laws, cuſtoms, and practices current in the times of thoſe who compiled them, (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the leſs ancient the more it is to our purpoſe,) wherein eſpecially the ranks, duties, and privileges of Conſt. Apoſt. viii. 1 &c.

[d] Quapropter attendat clementia veſtra; quantus fuerit erga ſedis apoſtolicæ reverentiam anteceſſorum veſtrorum, piorum duntaxat imperatorum——amor, et ſtudium; qualiter eam diverſis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis ſuis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c. *P. Nich. I. Epiſt.* 8. *ad Mich. Imp.*

all eccleſiaſtical perſons are declared or preſcribed, do not yet touch the prerogatives of this univerſal head, or the ſpecial reſpects due to him, nor mention any laws or conſtitutions framed by him: which is no leſs ſtrange, than that there ſhould be a body of laws, or deſcription of the ſtate of any kingdom, wherein nothing ſhould be ſaid concerning the king, or the royal authority: it is not ſo in our modern Canon Law, wherein the Pope doth make *utramque paginam;* we read little beſide his authority, and decrees made by it.

The Apoſtolical Canons particularly do preſcribe, that [e] *the biſhops of each nation ſhould know him that is firſt among them, and ſhould eſteem him the head, and ſhould do nothing conſiderable* (or extraordinary) *without his advice;* as alſo that *each one* (of thoſe head biſhops) *ſhould only meddle with thoſe affairs which concerned his own precinct, and the places under it:* alſo, that *no ſuch primate ſhould do any thing without the opinion of all; that ſo there may be concord.* Now what place could be more opportune to mention the Pope's ſovereign power? How could the canoniſt without ſtrange neglect paſs it over? Doth he not indeed exclude it, aſſigning the ſupreme diſpoſal (without farther reſort) of all things to the arbitration of the whole body of paſtors, and placing the maintenance of concord in that courſe?

17. So alſo the old writer, under the name of Dionyſius the Areopagite, [f] treating in ſeveral places about the degrees of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, was monſtrouſly overſeen in omitting the ſovereign thereof: in the fifth chapter of his eccleſiaſtical hierarchy he profeſſeth carefully to ſpeak of thoſe orders, but hath not a word of this

[e] Τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι περάττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτῷ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώραις· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται. *Apoſt. Can.* 34.

[f] Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις πρώτη μέν ἐστι τῶν θειοτικῶν τάξεων, ἀκροτάτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχάτη ἡ αὐτή· καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ ἀποκληροῦται πᾶσα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας διακόσμησις. *Dionyſ. de Hier. Eccl.* cap. 5.

ıverreth [g] *epiſcopacy to be the firſt* *ers, in which the hierarchy is con-* Epiſtle to Demophilus there is a re- erein he could hardly have avoided , had there been then one in ſuch vogue ing that monk to gentleneſs and obſerv- ſuperiors, he thus ſpeaketh: [h] *Let paſſion governed by you; but you by the holy dea- ſe by the prieſts, and the prieſts by the biſhops, hops by the Apoſtles, or by their ſucceſſors;* (that Maximus, thoſe which we *now call patriarchs;*) *erhaps any one of them ſhall fail of his duty, let corrected by thoſe holy perſons who are coordinate m.* Why not in this caſe let him be corrected by the pe, his ſuperior? But he knew none of an order ſuperior to the Apoſtles' ſucceſſors.

18. Likewiſe, Ignatius in many epiſtles frequently deſcribeth the ſeveral ranks of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, extolleth their dignity and authority to the higheſt pitch, mightily urgeth the reſpect due to them, yet never doth he ſo much as mention or touch this ſovereign degree, wherein the majeſty of the clergy did chiefly ſhine.

In his very Epiſtle to the Romans he doth not yield any deference to their biſhop, nor indeed doth ſo much as take notice of him. Is it not ſtrange he ſhould ſo little mind the ſovereign of the Church? or was it, for a ſly reaſon, becauſe being biſhop of Antioch he had a pique to his brother Jacob, who had ſupplanted him, and got away his birthright?

The counterfeiter therefore of Ignatius did well perſonate him, when he ſaith, that [i] *in the Church there is no-*

[g] Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱερατικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀποπληρώσεις, δυνάμεις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεργείας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν. *De Eccl. Hier.* cap. 5.

[h] Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφόριζε· σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτουργοί· καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι· καὶ εἴπου τις καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀποσφαλείη, παρὰ τῶν ὁμοταγῶν ἁγίων ἐπανορθωθήσεται, &c. *Dionyſ. Ar.* Ep. 8.

Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς νῦν πατριάρχους ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. *Max. Schol.* ibid.

[i] Οὔτε Θεοῦ τις κρείττων, ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μεῖζον. *Pſeud. Ignat. ad Smyrn.*

thing greater than a biſhop; and that [k] *a biſhop is beyond all rule and authority;* for in the time of Ignatius there was no domineering Pope over all biſhops.

19. We have ſome letters of popes, (though not many; for popes were then not very ſcribatious, or not ſo pragmatical; whence, to ſupply that defect, leſt popes ſhould ſeem not able to write, or to have ſlept almoſt 400 years, they have forged divers for them, and thoſe ſo wiſe ones, that we who love the memory of thoſe good popes diſdain to acknowledge them authors of ſuch idle ſtuff; we have yet ſome letters of,) and to popes, to and from divers eminent perſons in the Church, wherein the former do not aſſume, nor the latter aſcribe any ſuch power; the popes do not expreſs themſelves like ſovereigns, nor the biſhops addreſs themſelves like ſubjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way, like brethren and equals: this is ſo true, that it is a good mark of a ſpurious epiſtle, (whereof we have good ſtore, deviſed by colloguing knaves, and fathered on the firſt popes,) when any of them talketh in an imperious ſtrain, or arrogateth ſuch a power to himſelf.

20. Clemens, biſhop of Rome, in the apoſtolical times unto the church of Corinth, then engaged in diſcords and factions, wherein the clergy was much affronted, (divers preſbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themſelves, were ejected from their office, in a ſeditious manner,) did write a very large Epiſtle; [l] wherein like a good biſhop, and charitable Chriſtian brother, he doth earneſtly by manifold inducements perſuade them to charity and peace; but nowhere doth he ſpeak imperiouſly, like their prince: in ſuch a caſe one would think, if ever, for quaſhing ſuch diſorders and quelling ſo *perverſe folks*, who

Πρόσωπα πρωτεῖα καὶ αὐθάδη. p. 2.

[k] Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ὑπάνω, &c. *Id. ad Trall.*

[l] Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι τινὲς ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. *Clem. ad Corinth.* Ep. i. p. 58. Jun.

For we ſee that you have removed ſome, who behaved themſelves well in their office, out of their miniſtry blamelеſsly diſcharged by them.

Στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

ſpurned the clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his authority, and to ſpeak like himſelf, challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril. How would a modern pope have ranted in ſuch a caſe? how thundering a bull would he have diſpatched againſt ſuch outrageous contemners of the eccleſiaſtical order? how often would he have ſpoken of the apoſtolic ſee and its authority? We ſhould infallibly have heard him ſwagger in his wonted ſtyle, [m] *Whoever ſhall preſume to croſs our will, let him know that he ſhall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul.* But our popes, it ſeemeth, have more wit or better mettle than Pope Clement; that good pope did not know his own ſtrength, or had not the heart to uſe it.

21. Among the epiſtles of St. Cyprian, there are divers epiſtles of him to ſeveral popes, (to Cornelius, to Lucius, to Stephanus,) in the which, although written with great kindneſs and reſpect, yet no impartial eye can diſcern any ſpecial regard to them, as to his ſuperiors in power, or paſtors in doctrine, or judges of practice; [n] he reporteth matters to them, he conferreth about points with all freedom; he ſpeaketh his ſenſe and giveth his advice without any reſtraint or awe; he ſpareth not upon occaſion to reprove their practices, and to reject their opinions; he in his addreſſes to them and diſcourſes of them ſtyleth them *brethren* and *colleagues;* and he continually treateth them as ſuch, upon even terms: [o] *When,* ſaith he to the clergy of Rome, *deareſt brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour concerning the deceaſe of the good man my colleague, Fabianus:* upon which words Rigaltius had Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

[m] Si quis voluntati noſtræ contraire præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apoſtoli ſe noverit incurſurum. In ſuch terms uſually the Pope's bulls do end.

[n] Et quamquam ſciam, frater chariſſime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentiſſimo illic clero tecum præſidenti, &c. *Ep.* 55.

And although I know, moſt dear brother, out of the mutual love and reſpect which we owe and yield one to another, &c.

[o] Cum de exceſſu boni viri collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus eſſet, collega chariſſimi——. *Cypr.* Ep. 4.

cauſe to remark; [p] *How like an equal and fellow-citizen doth the biſhop of Carthage mention the biſhop of Rome, even to the Roman clergy!* But would not any man now be deemed rude and ſaucy, who ſhould talk in that ſtyle of the Pope?

Cypr. Ep. 46, 48. Pope Cornelius alſo to St. Cyprian hath ſome epiſtles, wherein no glimpſe doth appear of any ſuperiority aſſumed by him. But of St. Cyprian's judgment and demeanour toward popes we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely, in a way more poſitively oppoſite to the Roman pretences.

Euſeb. vi. 43. Euſebius citeth divers long paſſages out of an epiſtle of Cornelius to Fabius, biſhop of Antioch, againſt Novatus; wherein no mark of this ſupremacy doth appear; although the magnitude and flouriſhing ſtate of the Roman church is deſcribed, for aggravation of Novatus's ſchiſm and ambition.

Pope Julius hath a notable long epiſtle, extant in one of Athanaſius's Apologies, unto the biſhops aſſembled at Antioch; wherein he had the faireſt occaſion that could be to aſſert and inſiſt upon this ſovereign authority, they flatly denying and impugning it; queſtioning his proceedings as ſingular, ſuppoſing him ſubject to the laws of the Church no leſs than any other biſhop; and downrightly affirming each of themſelves to be his equal: about which point he thought good not to contend with them; but waving pretences to ſuperiority, he juſtifieth his actions by reaſons, grounded on the merit of the cauſe, ſuch as any other biſhop might allege: but this epiſtle I ſhall have more particular occaſion to diſcuſs.

Pope Liberius hath an epiſtle to St. Athanaſius, wherein he not only (for his direction and ſatisfaction) doth inquire his opinion about the point; but profeſſeth, in compliment perchance, that he ſhall obediently follow it; [q] *Write*, ſaith he, *whether you do think as we do, and juſt*

[p] Quam ex æquo, et civilis mentio epiſcopi Romani ab epiſcopo Carthaginis apud clerum? *Rigalt.* ibid.

[q] Γράψον, εἰ ὕτω φρονεῖς καθὼ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἀληθινῇ πίστει· ἵνα κἀγὼ πιστεύσω ὃ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς πειθύειν μοι. *Liber. ad Ath.* tom. i. p. 243.

ſo, about the true faith; that I may be undoubtedly aſſured about what you think good to command me. Was not that ſpoken indeed like a courteous ſovereign, and an accompliſhed judge in matters of faith? The ſame pope in the head of the weſtern, doth write to a knot of eaſtern biſhops, whom they call *their beloved brethren and fellow miniſters;* and in a brotherly ſtrain, not like an emperor. Socr. iv. 12.

In the time of Damaſus, ſucceſſor to Liberius, St. Baſil hath divers epiſtles to the weſtern biſhops [r], wherein, having repreſented and bewailed the wretched ſtate of the eaſtern churches, then overborne with hereſies, and unſettled by factions, he craveth their charity, their prayers, *their ſympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid;* by affording to the orthodox and ſound party the countenance of their communion, by joining with them in contention for truth and peace; for that the communion of ſo great churches would be of mighty weight to ſupport and ſtrengthen their cauſe; giving credit thereto among the people, and inducing the emperor to deal fairly with them, in reſpect to ſuch a multitude of adherents; eſpecially of thoſe which were at ſuch a diſtance, and not ſo immediately ſubject to the eaſtern emperor; for, [s] *If,* ſaith he, *very many of you do concur unanimouſly in the ſame opinion, it is manifeſt, that the multitude of conſenters will make the doctrine to be received without contradiction;* Ep. 61, 69, 70, 74, 182.

[r] Ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν συμπαθεῖσαι ἡμῶν ταῖς διαιρέσεσι. *Ep.* 61.

Εἴτι ἔν παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴτις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴτινα σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, κινήθητε πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν. *Ibid.*

We beſeech you to have a fellow-feeling of our diſtractions.

If there be any comfort of love, any fellowſhip of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, be ye moved with pity and commiſeration to help us.

Δότε χεῖρα τοῖς εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσι, συγκινηθήτω ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὰ ἀδελφικὰ ὑμῶν σπλάγχνα, προχυθήτω δάκρυα συμπαθείας. *Ep.* 69.

Ἐπιδεησάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν. *Ep.* 70.

Ἐλθεῖν τινὰς παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παραμυθίαν τῶν θλιβομένων. *Ibid.*

Vide Ep. 74. (εἰ μὲν διορθοῦντο, εἶναι κοινωνικοὺς, &c.)

[s] Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὑμῖν τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀναντίῤῥητον πᾶσι τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τῷ δόγματος. *Ep.* 74. (Ep. 293.)

and, [t] *I know*, ſaith he again, writing to Athanaſius about theſe matters, *but one way of redreſs to our churches, th conſpiring with us of the weſtern biſhops;* the which being obtained, [u] *would probably yield ſome advantage to th public, the ſecular power revering the credibility of th multitude, and the people all about following them with repugnance:* and, [x] *You*, ſaith he to the weſtern biſhop *the farther you dwell from them, the more credible you wi be to the people.*

This indeed was according to the ancient rule an practice in ſuch caſes, that any church being oppreſſ with error, or diſtracted with contentions, ſhould fro the biſhops of other churches receive aid to the remov of thoſe inconveniences. That it was the rule doth ap pear from what we have before ſpoken, and of the practi there be many inſtances: for ſo did St. Cyprian ſend tw of his clergy to Rome, to compoſe the ſchiſm then moved by Novatian againſt Cornelius; [y] ſo was St. Chry oſtom called to Epheſus, (although out of his juriſdiction to ſettle things there; ſo (to omit divers inſtances occu

t —— *μίαν ἐπιγνὺς ὁδὸν βοηθείας ταῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν παρὰ τ δυτικῶν ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοιαν——. Ep.* 48.

u *Τάχα ἂν τι γένοιτο τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος, τῶν τι κρατούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῷ πλ θυς δυσκινήτων, καὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν λαῶν ἀπολυθέντων αὐτοῖς ἀναστρήτως. Ibi*

x *Τιμῆς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτον πλέον παρὰ τ λαοῖς ἀξιόπιστον ἔχετε. Ep.* 74.

y Quod ſervis Dei, et maxime ſacerdotibus juſtis et pacificis congruebat frater chariſſime, miſeramus nuper collegas noſtros Caldonium et Fortunatum, ut non tantum perſuaſione literarum noſtrarum, ſed præſentia ſua, conſilio omnium veſtrum eniterentur, quantum poſſent, et elaborarent, ut Catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitatem ſciſſi corporis membra componeret——. *Cyp* Ep. 42. *ad Cornel. Pallad.*

As it becomed the ſervants of God, eſpecially righteous and peaceab prieſts, moſt dear brother, we lately ſent our colleagues Caldonius and Fort natus, that they might, not only by the perſuaſion of our letters, but alſo b their preſence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmoſt and ſtri to reduce the members of that divided body to the unity of the Cathol Church.

Αὕτη καλεῖ σε ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὥστε αὐτῇ δῦναι ἐπίσκοπον. Baſ. Ep. 8.

Ἀπόλυθεν ἦν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν γνησίων τινὰς ἀποσίλλεσθαι σε ἰχῶς, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τῶν κατακεκυμένων. Ep. 77.

ring in history) St. Basil himself was called by the Church of Iconium, *to visit it, and to give it a bishop;* although it did not belong to his ordinary inspection; and he doth tell the bishops of the * coasts, that they should have done well *in sending* some to *visit* and assist his churches *in their distresses.*

* παραλιώται.

But now how, I pray, cometh it to pass, that in such a case he should not have a special recourse to the Pope; but in so many addresses should only wrap him up in a community? Why should he not humbly petition him to exert his sovereign authority for the relief of the eastern churches, laying his charge, and inflicting censures on the dissenters? Why should he lay all the stress of his hopes on the consent of the western bishops? Why doth he not say a word of the dominion resident in them over all the church? These things are unconceivable, if he did take the Pope to be the man our adversaries say he is.

But St. Basil had other notions: for indeed, being so wise and good a man, if he had taken the Pope for his sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he doth, and so complain of him: when speaking of the western bishops, (whereof the Pope was *the ringleader*, and most concerned,) he hath these words, (occasioned, as I conceive, by the bishop of Rome's rejecting that excellent person, Meletius, Bishop of Antioch;) [z] *What we should write, or how to join with those that write, I am in doubt—for I am apt to say that of Diomedes, You ought not to request, for he is a haughty man; for in truth observance doth render men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwise they are.* [a] *For if the Lord be propitious to us, what other addition do we need? but if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the western superciliousness? who in truth neither know, nor endure to learn; but being*

Vid. Epist. 272, 273, 321, 325, 349.

[z] Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεραπευόμενα τὰ ὑπερήφανα ἤθη ἑαυτῶν ὑπεροπτικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. *Bas.* Ep. 10. *ad Euseb. Samos.* Ep.

[a] —— Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς ὔτε ἴσασιν ὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι, ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκίλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. *Ibid.*

prepoſſeſſed with falſe ſuſpicions, do now do thoſe things which they did before in the cauſe of Marcellus; affecting to contend with thoſe who report the truth to them; and eſtabliſhing hereſy by themſelves. Would that excellent perſon (the greateſt man of his time in reputation for wiſdom and piety) have thus, unbowelling his mind in an epiſtle to a very eminent biſhop, ſmartly reflected on the qualities and proceedings of the weſtern clergy, charging them with pride and haughtineſs, with a ſuſpicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance, and indiſpoſition to learn; if he had taken him, who was the leader in all theſe matters, to have been his ſuperior and ſovereign? Would he have added the following words, immediately touching him; [b] *I would in the common name have written to their ringleader, nothing indeed about eccleſiaſtical affairs, except only to intimate, that they neither do know the truth of things with us, nor do admit the way by which they may underſtand it; but in general about their being bound not to ſet upon thoſe who were humbled with afflictions; nor ſhould judge themſelves dignified by pride, a ſin which alone ſufficeth to make one God's enemy.* Surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners, than in ſuch rude terms to accoſt his ſovereign: nor would he have given him that character, which he doth otherwhere: where ſpeaking of his brother, St. Gregory Nyſſen, he ſaith he was an unfit agent to Rome, becauſe [c] *although his addreſs with a ſober man would find much reverence and eſteem; yet to a haughty and reſerved man, ſitting I know not where above, and thence not able to hear thoſe below ſpeaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the public from the con-*

[b] Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνευ τῆ κοινῆ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ πε-ρυφαίῳ, πιρὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παραινίξασθαι, ὅτι ὔτε ἴσασιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μάθοιεν καταδίχονται· καθόλε δὲ πιρὶ τῆ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πιρασμῶν ταπινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπιρηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα, ᾧ μόνον ἀρκῶν ἴχθραν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς Θεόν. *Ibid.*

[c] Καὶ εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτῆ καὶ πολλῆ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν· ὑψηλῷ δὲ ᾧ μετεώρῳ, ἄνω πε καθημένῳ ᾧ διὰ τῦτο ἀκύειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, παρὰ τῆς τῆ τοιύτε ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ὅς ἀλλότριον ἴχει θρασείας ἀνελευθέρε τὸ ἦθος; *Baſ.* Ep. 250.

verse of such a man, whose disposition is averse from illiberal flattery? But these speeches suit with that conceit which St. Basil (as Baronius, I know not whence, reporteth) expressed by saying, *I hate the pride of that church;* which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of fostering by too much obsequiousness.

Anast. ad Joh. Hier. apud Hier.

St. Chrysostom, having by the practices of envious men combined against him, in a packed assembly of bishops, upon vain surmises, been sentenced and driven from his see, did thereupon write an epistle to Pope Innocent I. bishop of Rome, together with his brethren the bishops of Italy; therein representing his case, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocency, displaying the iniquity of the proceedings against him, together with the mischievous consequences of them toward the whole Church, then requiring his succour for redress: yet (although the sense of his case, and care of his interest, were likely to suggest the greatest deference that could be) neither the style, which is very respectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, do imply any acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy: he doth not address to him as to a governor of all, who could by his authority command justice to be done, but as to a brother, and a friend of innocence, from whose endeavour he might procure relief; he had *recourse*, not to his sovereign power, but *to his* brotherly *love;* he *informed his charity*, not appealed to his bar; he in short did no more than implore his assistance in an ecclesiastical way; that he would express his resentment of so irregular dealings; that he would avow communion with him, as with an orthodox bishop innocent and abused; that he would procure his cause to be brought to a fair trial in a synod of bishops, lawfully called and indifferently affected[d]. Had the good man had

Tom. vii. Epist. 122.

Vid. Laun. Epist. 1, 3.

Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

Διδάξομεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην.

[d] ——Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ἁλόντας, οὐκ ἐλεγχομένους, οὐκ ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπευθύνους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαύειν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὧνπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν.

But as for us, we who are not condemned, nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your letters, and love, and all other things as before.

any conceit of the Pope's ſupremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his addreſs in other terms, and ſued for another courſe of proceeding in his behalf: but it is plain enough, that he had no ſuch notion of things, nor had any ground for ſuch a one. For indeed Pope Innocent, in his anſwer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another, to his clergy and people, could only comfort them, declare his diſlike of the adverſaries' proceedings and grounds; ſignify his intentions to procure a general ſynod, with hopes of a redreſs thence; his ſovereign power, it ſeems, not availing to any ſuch purpoſes; [e] *But what, ſaith he, can we do in ſuch caſes? A ſynodical cognizance is neceſſary, which we heretofore did ſay ought to be called; the which alone can allay the motions of ſuch tempeſts.*

It is true, that the later popes, (Siricius, Anaſtaſius, Innocent, Zozimus, Bonifacius, Celeſtinus, &c.) after the Sardican Council, in their epiſtles to the weſtern biſhops, over whom they had encroached, and who were overpowered by them, &c. do ſpeak in ſomewhat more lofty ſtrain; but are more modeſt toward thoſe of the eaſt, who could not bear, &c.

22. Farther; It is moſt prodigious, that in the diſputes managed by the Fathers againſt heretics, (the Gnoſtics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Montaniſts, Manichees, Paulianiſts, Arians, &c.) they ſhould not, even in the firſt place, allege and urge the ſentence of the univerſal paſtor and judge, as a moſt evidently concluſive argument, as the moſt efficacious and compendious method of convincing and ſilencing them. Had this point been well proved and preſſed, then without any more concertations from Scripture, tradition, reaſon, all heretics had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more eaſily have been proved, if it had been true, when the light of tradition did ſhine ſo brightly; nothing indeed had been to

[e] Ἀλλὰ τί κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων νῦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαία ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδικὴ ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἔφημεν συναθροιστέαν· μόνη γάρ ἐστιν, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τῶν τοιούτων καταστέλλει καταιγίδων——. *Soz.* viii. 26.

ſenſe more conſpicuous, than the continual exerciſe of ſuch an authority.

We ſee now among thoſe who admit ſuch an authority, how ſurely, when it may be had, it is alleged, and what ſway it hath, to the determination of any controverſy: and ſo it would have been then, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas divers of the Fathers purpoſely do treat on methods of confuting heretics, it is ſtrange they ſhould be ſo blind or dull, as not to hit on this moſt proper and obvious way of referring debates to the deciſion of him, to whoſe office of univerſal paſtor and judge it did belong: particularly one would wonder at Vincentius Lirinenſis; that he on ſet purpoſe, with great care, diſcourſing about the means of ſettling points of faith, and of overthrowing hereſies, ſhould not light upon this notable way, by having recourſe to the Pope's magiſterial ſentence; yea, that indeed he ſhould exclude it; for he ([f] *after moſt intent ſtudy, and diligent inquiry, conſulting the beſt and wiſeſt men*) could find but two ways of doing it: [g] *I*, ſaith he, *did always, and from almoſt every one, receive this anſwer; That if either I or any other would find out the frauds and avoid the ſnares of upſtart heretics, and continue ſound and upright in the true faith, he ſhould guard and ſtrengthen his faith, God helping him, by theſe two means*; viz. *firſt, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the Catholic Church.* And again, [h] *We before have ſaid, that this hath always been, and is at preſent, the cuſtom of Catholics, that they prove their faith*

[f] Sæpe igitur magno ſtudio, et ſumma attentione perquirens a quamplurimis ſanctitate et doctrina præſtantibus viris, &c. p. 316. (in edit. *Baluſ.*)

[g] Hujuſmodi ſemper reſponſum ab omnibus fere retuli, quod ſive ego, ſive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueoſque vitare, et in fide ſana ſanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem ſuam Domino adjuvante deberet; primo ſcilicet divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde Eccleſiæ Catholicæ traditione. p. 317.

[h] Diximus in ſuperioribus hanc fuiſſe ſemper et eſſe hodie Catholicorum conſuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; primum divini canonis auctoritate, deinde Eccleſiæ Catholicæ traditione. p. 364.

by theſe two ways; firſt, by authority of the divine canon; then by the tradition of the univerſal Church.

Is it not ſtrange, that he (eſpecially being a weſtern man, living in thoſe parts where the Pope had got much ſway, and who doth expreſs great reverence to the apoſtolic ſee) ſhould omit that way of determining points, which of all (according to the modern conceits about the Pope) is moſt ready and moſt ſure?

24. In like manner Tertullian profeſſeth the Catholics in his time to uſe ſuch compendious methods of confuting heretics; [i] *We*, ſaith he, *when we would diſpatch againſt heretics for the faith of the Goſpel, do commonly uſe theſe ſhort ways, which do maintain both the order of times preſcribing againſt the lateneſs of impoſtors, and the authority of the churches patronizing apoſtolical tradition.* [k] But why did he ſkip over a more compendious way, than any of thoſe; namely, ſtanding to the judgment of the Roman biſhop?

The like diſcourſe againſt heretics doth Clemens Alexandrinus uſe. *Strom.* vii. p. 549.

25. It is true, that both he, and St. Irenæus before him, diſputing againſt the heretics of their times, who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own deviſing, when they allege the general conſent of churches (planted by the Apoſtles, and propagated by continual ſucceſſions of biſhops from thoſe whom the Apoſtles did ordain) in doctrines and practices oppoſite to thoſe devices, as a good argument (and ſo indeed it then was, next to a demonſtration) againſt them, do produce the Roman church, as a principal one among them, upon ſeveral obvious accounts; and this indeed argueth the Roman church to have been then one competent witneſs, or credible retainer of tradition; as alſo were the other apoſtolical churches, to whoſe teſtimony they likewiſe appeal: but

[i] His fere compendiis utimur, quum de Evangelii fide adverſus hæreticos expedimur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem poſteritati falſariorum præſcribentem, et auctoritatem eccleſiarum traditioni apoſtolorum patrocinantem. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

[k] Solemus hæreticis compendii gratia de poſteritate præſcribere. *Tertull. contra Hermog.* cap. 1.

what is this to the Roman biſhop's judicial power in ſuch caſes? why do they not urge that in plain terms? They would certainly have done ſo, if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation; [l] *When*, ſaith Irenæus, *we do again* (after allegation of Scripture) *appeal to that tradition, which is from the Apoſtles, which by ſucceſſions of preſbyters is preſerved in the churches:* and, [m] *That*, ſaith Tertullian, *will appear to have been delivered by the Apoſtles, which hath been kept as holy in the apoſtolical churches: let us ſee what milk the Corinthians did draw from Paul; what the Philippians, the Theſſalonians, the Epheſians do read: what alſo the Romans, our nearer neighbours, do ſay, to whom both Peter and Paul did leave the Goſpel ſealed with their blood: we have alſo the churches nurſed by John*, &c. Again, [n] *It is therefore manifeſt*, ſaith he, in his Preſcriptions againſt Heretics, *that every doctrine, which doth conſpire with thoſe apoſtolical churches, in which the faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true; as undoubtedly holding that which the churches did receive from the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles from Chriſt, and Chriſt from God; but all other doctrine is to be prejudged falſe, which doth think againſt the truth of the churches, and of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſt, and of God.* Their argumentation then, in ſhort, is plainly this; that the conſpiring of the churches in doctrines contrary to thoſe which the heretics vented, did

[l] Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis, quæ per ſucceſſores preſbyterorum in eccleſiis cuſtoditur, provocamus——. *Iren.* iii. 2.

[m] Conſtabit id eſſe ab Apoſtolis traditum quod apud eccleſias apoſtolicas fuerit ſacroſanctum; videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauſerint; quid legant Philippenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, Epheſii; quid etiam Romani de proximo ſonent; quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus ſanguine quoque ſuo ſignatum reliquerunt; habemus et Johannis alumnas eccleſias, &c. *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

[n] Conſtat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis eccleſiis apoſtolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conſpiret, veritati deputandam, id ſine dubio tenentem quod eccleſiæ ab Apoſtolis, Apoſtoli a Chriſto, Chriſtus a Deo ſuſcepit; reliquam vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ ſapiat contra veritatem eccleſiarum, et Apoſtolorum, et Chriſti, et Dei. *Tert. de Præſcr.* 21.

irrefragably ſignify thoſe doctrines to be apoſtolical: which diſcourſe doth nowiſe favour the Roman pretences, but indeed, if we do weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing, that Chriſtian doctors then in the canvaſſing of points and aſſuring tradition had no peculiar regard to the Roman church's teſtimony, no deference at all to the Roman biſhop's authority; (not otherwiſe at leaſt than to the authority of one ſingle biſhop yielding atteſtation to tradition.)

26. It is odd, that even old popes themſelves in elaborate tracts diſputing againſt heretics, (as Pope Celeſtine againſt Neſtorius and Pelagius, Pope Leo againſt Eutyches——,) do content themſelves to urge teſtimonies of Scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alleging their own definitive authority, or uſing this parlous argumentation; *I, the ſupreme doctor of the Church, and judge of controverſies, do aſſert thus; and therefore you are obliged to ſubmit your aſſent.*

27. It is matter of amazement, if the Pope were ſuch as they would have him to be, that in ſo many bulky volumes of ancient Fathers, living through many ages after Chriſt, in thoſe vaſt treaſuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all ſorts of truth are diſplayed, all ſorts of duty are preſſed; this momentous point of doctrine and practice ſhould nowhere be expreſſed in clear and peremptory terms; (I ſpeak ſo, for that by wreſting words, by impertinent application, by ſtraining conſequences, the moſt ridiculous poſitions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.)

It is ſtrange, that ſomewhere or other, at leaſt incidentally, in their commentaries upon the Scripture, wherein many places concerning the Church and its hierarchy do invite to ſpeak of the Pope; in their treatiſes about the prieſthood, about the unity and peace of the Church, about hereſy and ſchiſm; in their epiſtles concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs; in their hiſtorical narrations about occurrences in the Church; in their concertations with heterodox adverſaries, they ſhould not frequently touch it, they ſhould not ſometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that Origen, St. Hilary, St. Cyril, St. Chryſoſtom, St. Jerome, St. Auſtin, in their commentaries and tractates upon thoſe places of Scripture [*Tu es Petrus. Paſce oves*] whereon they now build the papal authority, ſhould be ſo dull and drowſy, as not to ſay a word concerning the Pope?

That St. Auſtin, in his ſo many elaborate tractates againſt the Donatiſts, (wherein he diſcourſeth ſo prolixly about the Church, its unity, communion, diſcipline,) ſhould never inſiſt upon the duty of obedience to the Pope, or charge thoſe ſchiſmatics with their rebellion againſt him, or allege his authority againſt them?

If we conſider, that the Pope was biſhop of the imperial city, the metropolis of the world; that he thence was moſt eminent in rank, did abound in wealth, did live in great ſplendour and reputation; had many dependencies, and great opportunities to gratify and relieve many of the clergy; that of the Fathers, whoſe volumes we have, all well affected towards him, divers were perſonally obliged to him, for his ſupport in their diſtreſs, (as Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Theodoret;) or as to their patrons and benefactors, (as St. Jerome;) divers could not but highly reſpect him, as patron of the cauſe wherein they were engaged, (as Baſil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Gregory Nyſſen, Ambroſe, Auſtin;) ſome were his partiſans in a common quarrel, (as Cyril;) divers of them lived in places and times wherein he had got much ſway, (as all the weſtern biſhops;) that he had then improved his authority much beyond the old limits; [o] that all the biſhops of the weſtern or Latin churches had a peculiar dependence on him, (eſpecially after that by advantage of his ſtation, by favour of the court, by colour of the Sardican Canons, by voluntary deferences and ſubmiſſions, by ſeveral tricks, he had wound himſelf to meddle in moſt of their chief affairs;) that hence divers biſhops were tempt-

[o] Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πόρρω τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. *Socr.* vii. 11.

The biſhoprick of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of power above and beyond the prieſthood.

ed to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aſpiring popes were apt to encourage the commenders of their authority, which they themſelves were apt to magnify and inculcate; conſidering, I ſay, ſuch things, it is a wonder, that in ſo many voluminous diſcourſes ſo little ſhould be ſaid favouring this pretence, ſo nothing that proveth it, [ſo much that croſſeth it, ſo much indeed, as I hope to ſhew, that quite overthroweth it.]

If it be aſked how we can prove this, I anſwer, that (beſide who carefully peruſeth thoſe old books will eaſily ſee it) we are beholden to our adverſaries for proving it to us, when they leaſt intended us ſuch a favour: for that no clear and cogent paſſages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is ſufficiently evident from the very allegations, which after their moſt diligent raking in old books they produce; the which are ſo few, and fall ſo very ſhort of their purpoſe, that without much ſtretching they ſignify nothing.

28. It is monſtrous, that in the code of the Catholic church (conſiſting of the decrees of ſo many ſynods, concerning eccleſiaſtical order and diſcipline) there ſhould not be one canon directly declaring his authority; nor any mention made of him, except thrice accidentally; once upon occaſion of declaring the authority of the Alexandrine biſhop, the other upon occaſion of aſſigning to the biſhop of Conſtantinople the *ſecond place of honour*, and *equal privileges* with him.

Conc. Nic. can 6.
Conc. Conſt. can. 2.
Conc. Chalc. can. 28.

If it be objected, that theſe diſcourſes are negative, and therefore of ſmall force; I anſwer, that therefore they are moſt proper to aſſert ſuch a negative propoſition: for how can we otherwiſe better ſhew a thing not to be, than by ſhewing it to have no footſtep there, where it is ſuppoſed to ſtand? How can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the laws grounding ſuch right; not taught by the maſters who profeſs to inſtruct in ſuch things; not teſtified in records concerning the exerciſe of it? Such arguments indeed in ſuch caſes are not merely negative, but rather privative; proving things not to be, becauſe not

affirmed there, where in reaſon they ought to be affirmed; ſtanding therefore upon poſitive ſuppoſitions, that holy Scripture, that general tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their deſign; that ancient writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could not conſpire in perpetual ſilence about things, of which they had often fair occaſion and great reaſon to ſpeak: in fine, ſuch conſiderations, however they may be deluded by ſophiſtical wits, will yet bear great ſway, and often will amount near to the force of demonſtration, with men of honeſt prudence. However we ſhall proceed to other diſcourſes more direct and poſitive againſt the popiſh doctrine.

II. Secondly, we ſhall ſhew that this pretence, upon ſeveral accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of holy Scripture.

1. This pretence doth thwart the holy Scripture, by aſſigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The Scripture aſſerteth him to be our only Sovereign Lord and King: *To us*, ſaith it, *there is one Lord*; and, *One King ſhall be king over them*; who *ſhall reign over the houſe of David for ever*; *and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end*; who is *the only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords*; the *one Lawgiver, who is able to ſave and to deſtroy*. 1 Cor. viii. 6. xii. 3. Eph. iv. 5. Ez. xxxvii. 22. Luke i. 33. 1 Tim. vi. 15. James iv. 12.

The Scripture ſpeaketh of one *Arch-paſtor*, and *great Shepherd of the ſheep*, excluſively to any other; for, *I will*, ſaid God in the Prophet, *ſet up one ſhepherd over them, and he ſhall feed the ſheep*; and, *There*, ſaith our Lord himſelf, *ſhall be one fold, and one ſhepherd*: who that ſhall be he expreſſeth, adding, *I am the good ſhepherd: the good ſhepherd giveth his life for the ſheep*: (by Pope Boniface's good leave, who maketh St. Peter or himſelf this ſhepherd.) 1 Pet. v. 4. ii. 25. Heb. xiii. 20. Ezek. xxxiv. 23. John x. 16, 11, 14. Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 8. c. 1.

The Scripture telleth us, that we have *one High Prieſt of our profeſſion*, anſwerable to that *one* in the Jewiſh Church, his type. Heb. iii. 1. ix. 7, 24.

The Scripture informeth us, that there is but one ſu-

preme Doctor, Guide, Father of Chriſtians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for ſuch; *Ye are all brethren: and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven: neither be ye called maſters; for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt.* Good Pope Gregory (not the ſeventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for, [p] *What therefore, deareſt brother,* ſaid he to John of Conſtantinople, *wilt thou ſay in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who doſt affect to be called not only Father, but general Father in the world?*

Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.

The Scripture repreſenteth the Church as *a building whereof Chriſt himſelf is the chief corner-ſtone;* as a family, whereof he being the *Pater-familias,* all others are fellow-ſervants; as *one body,* having *one head;* whom *God hath given to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body.*

Eph. ii. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 4. Heb. iii. 6. Matt. x. 25. Eph. iv. 4. ii. 16. Rom. xii. 5. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Eph. i. 22. iv. 15. v. 23. Col. i. 18. Hoſ. i. 11. One head. John iii. 29. Eph. v. 23. 2 Cor. xi. 2.

He is the one ſpouſe of the Church; which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord; there being no vice-huſbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that, * as may be ſeen in the Conſtitutions of Pope Gregory X. in one of their general ſynods.

ἐπὶ ἀνδρί.

It ſeemeth therefore a ſacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's honour) for any man to aſſume or admit thoſe titles of *Sovereign of the Church, Head of the Church, our Lord, Arch-paſtor, Higheſt Prieſt, chief Doctor, Maſter, Father, Judge of Chriſtians;* upon what pretence, or under what diſtinction ſoever: theſe *pompatick, fooliſh, proud, perverſe, wicked, profane words;* theſe *names of ſingularity, elation, vanity, blaſphemy,* (to borrow the epithets with which Pope Gregory I. doth brand the titles of *Univerſal Biſhop,* and *Œcumenical Patriarch,* no leſs modeſt in ſound, and far more innocent in meaning, than thoſe now aſcribed to the Pope,) are therefore to be rejected; not only becauſe they are injurious to all other paſtors, and to the people of God's heritage, but

* Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. 3. Baron. an. 34. §. 208. Vid. Greg. I. Epiſt. lib. iv. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. lib. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31. lib. vii. Ep. 70.

[p] Quid ergo, frater chariſſime, in illo terribili examine venientis judicis dicturus es, qui non ſolum Pater, ſed etiam generalis Pater in Mundo vocari appetis? *Greg. M. Epiſt.* iv. 38.

becauſe they do encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they do only belong; much more to uſurp the things which they do naturally ſignify, is a horrible invaſion upon our Lord's prerogative.

Thus hath that great Pope taught us to argue, in words expreſsly condemning ſome, and conſequently all of them, together with the things which they ſignify; [q] *What* (ſaith he, writing to the biſhop of Conſtantinople, who had admitted the title of Univerſal Biſhop or Patriarch) *wilt thou ſay to Chriſt, the head of the univerſal Church, in the trial of the laſt judgment, who by the appellation of* Univerſal *doſt endeavour to ſubject all his members to thee? Whom, I pray, doſt thou mean to imitate in ſo perverſe a word, but him who, deſpiſing the legions of angels conſtituted in fellowſhip with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the top of ſingularity, that he might both be ſubject to none, and alone be over all? who alſo ſaid, I will aſcend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the ſtars—— for what are thy brethren, all the biſhops of the univerſal Church, but the ſtars of heaven; to whom while by this haughty word thou deſireſt to prefer thyſelf, and to trample on their name in compariſon to thee, what doſt thou ſay, but, I will climb into heaven?——*

And again, in another Epiſtle to the biſhops of Alexandria and Antioch, he taxeth the ſame patriarch for [r] *aſſuming to boaſt ſo that he attempteth to aſcribe all things to himſelf, and ſtudieth by the elation of pompous ſpeech to*

[q] Tu quid Chriſto univerſalis Eccleſiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris univerſalis appellatione ſupponere? quis rogo in hoc tam perverſo vocabulo niſi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui deſpectis angelorum legionibus ſecum ſocialiter conſtitutis ad culmen conatus eſt ſingularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli ſubeſſe, et ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur? qui etiam dixit, In cœlum conſcendam, ſuper aſtra cœli exaltabo ſolium meum——quid enim fratres tui omnes univerſalis Eccleſiæ epiſcopi, niſi aſtra cœli ſunt? quibus dum cupis temetipſum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare——. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 38.

[r] Jactantiam ſumpſit ita ut univerſa ſibi tentet adſcribere, et omnia quæ ſoli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Chriſto, per elationem pompatici ſermonis ejuſdem Chriſti ſibi ſtudeat membra ſubjugare. *Gr. M.* Ep. iv. 36.

The

ſubject to himſelf all the members of Chriſt, which do cohere to one ſole head, namely, to Chriſt.

Again, [s] *I confidently ſay, that whoever doth call himſelf Univerſal Biſhop, or deſireth to be ſo called, doth in his elation forerun Antichriſt, becauſe he pridingly doth ſet himſelf before all others.*

If theſe argumentations be found, or ſignify any thing, what is the pretence of *univerſal ſovereignty and paſtorſhip*, but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance?* Who can imagine, that even this pope could approve, could aſſume, could exerciſe it? If he did, was he not monſtrouſly ſenſeleſs, and above meaſure impudent, to uſe ſuch diſcourſes, which ſo plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him; which are built upon ſuppoſitions, that it is unlawful and wicked to aſſume ſuperiority over the Church, over all biſhops, over all Chriſtians; the which indeed (ſeeing never pope was of greater repute, or did write in any caſe more ſolemnly and ſeriouſly) have given to the pretences of his ſucceſſors ſo deadly a wound, that no balm of ſophiſtical interpretation can be able to heal it.

Vid. P. Pelag. Ep. 3.

We ſee that according to St. Gregory M. our Lord Chriſt is *the one only head of the Church*; to whom for company let us adjoin St. Baſil M. (that we may have both Greek and Latin for it,) who ſaith, that (according to St. Paul) *we are the body of Chriſt, and members one of another, becauſe it is manifeſt, that the one and ſole truly head, which is Chriſt, doth hold and connect each one to another unto concord* [t].

The ſame words we have in the Epiſtle of Pope Pelagius (predeceſſor of St. Gregory) to the biſhops of Conſtantinople. (P. Pelagii Ep. 3.)

[s] Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quiſquis ſe univerſalem ſacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit. (*Greg. I.* lib. vi. Ep. 30.) Nec diſpari ſuperbia ad errorem ducitur; quia ſicut perverſus ille Deus videri vult ſuper omnes homines; ita quiſquis eſt, qui ſolus ſacerdos appellari appetit, ſuper cæteros ſacerdotes ſe extollit. (*ad Mauric. Aug.*)

[t] Κρατύσης δηλονότι καὶ συναπτύσης ἕκαστον τῷ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης ἀληθῶς κεφαλῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. *Baſ. M. de Jud. Div.* tom. ii. p. 261.

Totus Chriſtus caput et corpus eſt; caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus

To decline theſe allegations of Scripture, they have forged diſtinctions, of ſeveral kinds of churches, and ſeveral ſorts of heads; the which evaſions I ſhall not particularly diſcourſe, ſeeing it may ſuffice to obſerve in general, that no ſuch diſtinctions have any place or any ground in Scripture, nor can well conſiſt with it; which ſimply doth repreſent the Church as one kingdom, *a kingdom of heaven, a kingdom not of this world*; all the ſubjects whereof have *their* πολίτευμα *in heaven*, or are conſidered as members of a city there; ſo that it is vain to ſeek for a ſovereign thereof in this world: the which alſo doth to the Catholic church ſojourning on earth uſually impart the name and attributes properly appertaining to the Church moſt univerſal, (comprehenſive of all Chriſtians in heaven and upon earth,) becauſe that is a viſible repreſentative of this, and we by joining in offices of piety with that do communicate with this; whence that which is ſaid of one (concerning the unity of its king, its head, its paſtor, its prieſt) is to be underſtood of the other; eſpecially conſidering that our Lord, according to his promiſe, is ever preſent with the Church here, governing it by the efficacy of his Spirit and grace, ſo that no other corporeal or viſible head of this ſpiritual body is needful[u].

a John xviii. 36. Phil. iii. 20. Heb. xii. 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 28. xv. 9. Gal. i. 13. Matt. xxviii. 20.

It was to be ſure a viſible headſhip which St. Gre-

ejus Eccleſiæ, ſponſus et ſponſa, duo in carne una. Quicunque de ipſo capite ab Scripturis ſanctis diſſentiunt, etiamſi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus Eccleſia deſignata eſt, non ſunt in Eccleſia, &c. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 4. Vid. contra *Petil.* iii. 42.

Whole Chriſt is the head and the body; the head the only-begotten Son of God, and his body the Church, the bridegroom and the ſpouſe, two in one fleſh. Whoever diſagree about the head itſelf from the holy Scriptures, though they are found in all places, in which the Church is deſigned, they are not in the Church, &c.

It was unhappily expreſſed by Bellarmine——Eccleſia ſecluſo etiam Chriſto unum caput habere debet. *De Pont. R.* i. 9. §. Ac ne forte.

The Church, even Chriſt himſelf being ſet aſide, ought to have one head.

[u] Chriſtus arbitrio et nutu ac præſentia ſua et præpoſitos ipſos, et Eccleſiam cum præpoſitis gubernat. *Cypr.* Ep. 69.

Chriſt by his own arbitrement, and power, and preſence, governs both the biſhops themſelves, and the Church with the biſhops.

gory did ſo eagerly impugn and exclaim againſt; for he could not apprehend the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſo wild, as to affect a juriſdiction over the Church myſtical, or inviſible.

John xviii. 36.

2. Indeed upon this very account the Romiſh pretence doth not well accord with holy Scripture, becauſe it transformeth the Church into another kind of body, than it was conſtituted by God, according to the repreſentation of it in Scripture: for there it is repreſented as a ſpiritual and heavenly ſociety, compacted by the bands of *one faith, one hope, one ſpirit* of charity: but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the ſame bands of intereſt and deſign; managed in the ſame manner, by terror and allurement; ſupported by the ſame props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and ſplendour, as all other ſecular corporations are[x].

Eph. iv. 4, 5. 2 Cor. x. 4.

You may call it what you pleaſe; but it is evident, that in truth the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; ſuch as our Lord did never mean to inſtitute: ſo that the ſubjects thereof may with far more reaſon, than the people of Conſtantinople had, when their biſhop Neſtorius did ſtop ſome of their prieſts from contradicting him, ſay, [y] *We have a king; a biſhop we have not:* ſo that upon every pope we may charge that, whereof Anthimus was accuſed, in the ſynod of Conſtantinople, under Menas; [z] *That he did account the greatneſs and dignity of the prieſthood to be, not a ſpiritual charge of ſouls, but as a kind of politic rule.*

This was that which ſeeming to be affected by the biſhop of Antioch, in encroachment upon the Church of

[x] Caput noſtrum, quod Chriſtus eſt, ad hoc ſua eſſe membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in ſe corpus efficeret. *Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111.

Our head, which is Chriſt, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith he might make us to be one body.

[y] Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν. *Conc. Eph. Part.* cap. 30.

[z] Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα ὑ πνευματικὴν ψυχῶν ἐπισασίαν εἶναι λογισάμενος, ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. *Conc. ſub Men. Act.* i. pag. 9.

...he Epheſine Synod did endeavour
...inſt all ſuch invaſions, [a] *leſt*
pride of worldly autho-
...t pride of that kind could
...n now the popes do claim
...y, after that the papal empire
...ik: whereas ſo long ago, when
...d ſtripling age, it was obſerved of
...iſtorian, [c] *that the Roman epiſcopacy*
...nced into a high degree of power beyond

...ence doth thwart the Scripture by deſtroy-
...therly coordination and equality, which our
...ppoint among the biſhops and chief paſtors of
...ch: he did (as we before ſhewed) prohibit all his
...es to aſſume any domination, or authoritative ſu-
...ority over one another; the which command, toge-
...er with others concerning the paſtoral function, we
may well ſuppoſe to reach their ſucceſſors: ſo did St. Je-
ome ſuppoſe, collecting thence that all biſhops by ori-
ginal inſtitution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's
order may challenge ſuperiority over another; [d] *Where-*
ever, ſaith he, *a biſhop is, whether at Rome or at Eugu-*
bium, at Conſtantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or
at Thanis, he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame prieſt-
hood; the power of wealth or lowneſs of poverty do not
make a biſhop higher or lower; but all are ſucceſſors of the
Apoſtles. Where doth not he plainly deny the biſhop of

[a] Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερωσύνης προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύνεται. *Can. Epb.* i. can. 8.

[b] This was that which, about the ſame time, the fathers of the African ſynod do requeſt P. Celeſtine to forbear;——nec permittere, ut fumoſum mundi faſtum Chriſti Eccleſiæ inducere videamur. *Conc. Afr. ad P. Celeſt.* 1.

[c] Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλει τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυνατείαν πάλαι προελθούσης. *Socr.* vii. 11.

[d] Ubicunque fuerit epiſcopus ſive Romæ, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, ſive Rhegii, ſive Alexandriæ, ſive Thanis, ejuſdem meriti, ejuſdem et ſacerdotii; potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel ſublimiorem vel inferiorem epiſcopum non facit; cæterum omnes Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt. *Hier.* Ep. 85. (*ad Evagr.*)

gory did ſo eagerly impugn and exclaim againſt; for he could not apprehend the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſo wild, as to affect a juriſdiction over the Church myſtical, or inviſible.

John xviii. 36. 2. Indeed upon this very account the Romiſh pretence doth not well accord with holy Scripture, becauſe it transformeth the Church into another kind of body, than it was conſtituted by God, according to the repreſentation of it in Scripture: for there it is repreſented as a ſpiritual and heavenly ſociety, compacted by the bands of *one faith, one hope, one ſpirit* of charity: but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the ſame bands of intereſt and deſign; managed in the ſame manner, by terror and allurement; ſupported by the ſame props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and ſplendour, as all other ſecular corporations are [x].

Eph. iv. 4, 5. 2 Cor. x. 4.

You may call it what you pleaſe; but it is evident, that in truth the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; ſuch as our Lord did never mean to inſtitute: ſo that the ſubjects thereof may with far more reaſon, than the people of Conſtantinople had, when their biſhop Neſtorius did ſtop ſome of their prieſts from contradicting him, ſay, [y] *We have a king; a biſhop we have not:* ſo that upon every pope we may charge that, whereof Anthimus was accuſed, in the ſynod of Conſtantinople, under Menas; [z] *That he did account the greatneſs and dignity of the prieſthood to be, not a ſpiritual charge of ſouls, but as a kind of politic rule.*

This was that which ſeeming to be affected by the biſhop of Antioch, in encroachment upon the Church of

[x] Caput noſtrum, quod Chriſtus eſt, ad hoc ſua eſſe membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in ſe corpus efficeret. *Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111.

Our head, which is Chriſt, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith he might make us to be one body.

[y] Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν. *Conc. Eph. Part.* cap. 30.

[z] Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ πνευματικὴν ψυχῶν ἐπισκοπὴν εἶναι λογισάμενος, ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. *Conc. ſub Men. Act.* i. pag. 9.

Cyprus, the fathers of the Epheſine Synod did endeavour to nip; enacting a canon againſt all ſuch invaſions, [a] *leſt under pretext of holy diſcipline the pride of worldly authority ſhould creep in.* [b] And what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which now the popes do claim and exerciſe? Now, do I ſay, after that the papal empire hath ſwollen to ſuch a bulk: whereas ſo long ago, when it was but in its bud and ſtripling age, it was obſerved of it by a very honeſt hiſtorian, [c] *that the Roman epiſcopacy had long ſince advanced into a high degree of power beyond the prieſthood.*

3. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture by deſtroying that brotherly coordination and equality, which our Lord did appoint among the biſhops and chief paſtors of his Church: he did (as we before ſhewed) prohibit all his Apoſtles to aſſume any domination, or authoritative ſuperiority over one another; the which command, together with others concerning the paſtoral function, we may well ſuppoſe to reach their ſucceſſors: ſo did St. Jerome ſuppoſe, collecting thence that all biſhops by original inſtitution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's order may challenge ſuperiority over another; [d] *Whereever,* ſaith he, *a biſhop is, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Conſtantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the ſame worth, and of the ſame prieſthood; the power of wealth or lowneſs of poverty do not make a biſhop higher or lower; but all are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles.* Where doth not he plainly deny the biſhop of

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Eugubium to be inferior to him of Rome, as being no leſs a ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles than he? Doth he not ſay theſe words in way of proof, that the authority of the Roman biſhop or church was of no validity againſt the practice of other biſhops and churches? (upon occaſion of deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as cardinal deacons do now;) which excludeth ſuch diſtinctions, as ſcholaſtical fancies have deviſed, to ſhift off his teſtimony; the which he uttered ſimply, never dreaming of ſuch diſtinctions.

Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major eſt urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

This conſequence St. Gregory did ſuppoſe, when he therefore did condemn the title of Univerſal Biſhop, becauſe it did [c] *imply an affectation of ſuperiority* and dignity in one biſhop above others; of *abaſing the name of other biſhops in compariſon of his own*, of extolling *himſelf above the reſt of prieſts*, &c.

This the ancient popes did remember, when uſually in their compellation of any biſhop they did ſtyle them *brethren, colleagues, fellow-miniſters, fellow-biſhops*, not intending thereby compliment or mockery, but to declare their ſenſe of the original equality among biſhops; notwithſtanding ſome differences in order and privileges, which their ſee had obtained. And that this was the general ſenſe of the Fathers we ſhall afterward ſhew.

(Invigiletur ergo ut omnibus coepiſcopis noſtris et fratribus innoteſcat. *P. Corn. apud Cyp.* Ep. 48.)

Hence, when it was objected to them, that they did affect ſuperiority, they did ſometimes diſclaim it: ſo did Pope Gelaſius I. [f] (a zealous man for the honour of his ſee.)

4. This pretence doth thwart the holy Scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of biſhops, (which

[c] Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur. *Gr.* Ep. iv. 34.
Quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit. *Ep.* vi. 38.
Super cæteros ſacerdotes ſe extollit. *Ibid.*
Cupis epiſcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare. *Ep.* iv. 38.
Cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris ſupponere. *Ibid.*

[f] Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis, (ſicut prædicas,) quam cum fidelibus cunctis ſanctum et Deo placitum habere conſortium. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 9. (*ad Euphem.* Ep. CP.)
Here we do not ſo much deſire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a conſort holy and well-pleaſing to God.

according to St. Gregory doth imply great pride and preſumption,) but as really infringing the rights granted by our Lord to his Church, and the governors of it s.

For to each church our Lord hath impoſed a duty, and imparted a power of maintaining divine truth, and ſo approving itſelf *a pillar and ſupport of truth:* of deciding controverſies poſſible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately without farther reſort; for that he, who will not obey or acquieſce in its deciſion, is to be *as a heathen or publican:* of cenſuring and rejecting offenders; (in doctrine or demeanour;) *Thoſe within,* ſaith St. Paul to the Church of Corinth, *do not ye judge? But them that are without God judgeth: wherefore put away from among yourſelves that wicked perſon:* of preſerving order and decency, according to that rule preſcribed to the Church of Corinth, *Let all things be done decently and in order:* of promoting edification: of deciding cauſes.

Rev. ii. et iii. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Matt. xviii. 17. ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ, &c. Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; 1 Cor. v. 12. ὃ ἐξαίρετε— Vid. v. 4, 5. Rev. ii. 20. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 1 Theſſ. v. 14. Rom. xiv. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 1.—

All which rights and privileges the Roman biſhop doth bereave the churches of, ſnatching them to himſelf; pretending that he is the ſovereign doctor, judge, regulator of all churches; overruling and voiding all that is done by them, according to his pleaſure.

The Scripture hath enjoined and empowered all biſhops to feed, guide, and rule their reſpective churches, as the *miniſters, ſtewards, ambaſſadors, angels of God; for the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edification of the body of Chriſt:* to whom God hath committed the care of their people, ſo that they are reſponſible for their ſouls.

Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Tit. i. 7. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. Rev. ii. &c. Eph. iv. 12. Heb. xiii. 17.

All which rights and privileges of the epiſcopal office the Pope hath invaded, doth obſtruct, cramp, fruſtrate, deſtroy; pretending (without any warrant) that their autho-

s ——Vobis ſubtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur. *Greg.* vii. 30. (p. 451.)

What is yielded to another more than reaſon requires, is taken from you.

Πρᾶγμα——τῆς πάντων ἰλευθερίας ἀντόμενον. *Syn. Eph. I.* can. 8.

A thing that entrencheth upon the freedom of all others.

rity is derived from him; forcing them to exerciſe it no otherwiſe, than as his ſubjects, and according to his pleaſure [h]. But of this point more afterward.

5. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture, by robbing all Chriſtian people of the liberties and rights with which by that divine charter they are endowed [i], and which they are obliged to preſerve inviolate.

Gal. v. 1. St. Paul enjoineth the Galatians to *ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* There is therefore a liberty which we muſt maintain, and a power to which we muſt not ſubmit: and againſt whom can we have more ground to do this, than againſt him who pretendeth to dogmatize, to define points of faith, to impoſe doctrines (new and ſtrange enough) on our conſciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding aſſent to them; to preſcribe laws, as divine and neceſſary to be obſerved, without warrant, as thoſe dogmatiſts did, againſt whom

Gal. v. 1. Col. ii. 16, 18. St. Paul biddeth us to maintain our liberty? (ſo that if he ſhould declare *virtue to be vice, and white to be black, we muſt believe him*, ſome of his adherents have ſaid, conſiſtently enough with his pretences:) for,

Againſt ſuch tyrannical invaders we are bound to maintain our liberty, according to that precept of St. Paul;

P. Leo I. Ep. 28. the which if a Pope might well allege againſt the proceedings of a general ſynod, with much more reaſon may we thereby juſtify our non-ſubmiſſion to one man's exorbitant domination.

[h] Dei et apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia. *Vid. poſt.* Superbum nimis eſt et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius creſcat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55.

It is too proud and unreaſonable a thing, for one to ſtretch himſelf beyond his bounds, and maugre all antiquity to ſnatch away other men's right; and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppoſe the primacies of ſo many metropolitans.

[i] Sanctæ Eccleſiæ univerſali injuriam facit. *Greg. I.* Ep. i. 24.

It does wrong to the holy Catholic Church.

Plebis Majeſtas. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn. P.*) p. 117.

This is a power, which the Apoſtles themſelves did not challenge to themſelves; for, *We*, ſaith St. Paul, *have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.* 2 Cor. i. 24.

They did not pretend, that any Chriſtian ſhould abſolutely believe them in caſes wherein they had not revelation (general or ſpecial) from God; in ſuch caſes referring their opinion to the judgment and diſcretion of Chriſtians. 1 Cor. x. 15. vii. 12, 25, 40.

They ſay, *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Goſpel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed: If any man*, &c. Gal. i. 8. which precept, with many others of the like purport, (enjoining us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties,) doth ſignify nothing, if every Chriſtian hath not allowed to him a judgment of diſcretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another.

St. Auſtin (I am ſure) did think this liberty ſuch, that without betraying it no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon canonical authority: for to a Donatiſt, his adverſary, citing the authority of St. Cyprian againſt him, he thus replieth; [k] *But now ſeeing it is not canonical which thou reciteſt, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive the opinion, differing from Scripture, of that man whoſe praiſe I cannot reach, to whoſe great learning I do not compare my writings, whoſe wit I love, in whoſe ſpeech I delight, whoſe charity I admire, whoſe martyrdom I reverence.*

This liberty, not only the ancients, but even divers popes have acknowledged to belong to every Chriſtian; as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, when we ſhall prove, that we may lawfully reject the Pope, as a patron of error and iniquity.

6. It particularly doth thwart Scripture by wronging

[k] Nunc vero quoniam canonicum non eſt quod recitas, *ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus*, ejus viri, cujus laudem conſequi non valeo, cujus multis literis ſcripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter ſapuit non accipio. *Aug. contr. Creſc.* ii. 32.

princes, in exempting a numerous ſort of people from ſubjection to their laws and judicature; whereas by God's ordination and expreſs command *every ſoul is ſubject* to them; not excepting the popes themſelves; (in the opinion of St. Chryſoſtom, except they be greater than any Apoſtle.)

Rom. xiii. 1.

By pretending to govern the ſubjects of princes without their leave; to make laws without his permiſſion or confirmation; to cite his ſubjects out of their territories, &c. which are encroachments upon the rights of God's unqueſtionable miniſters.

III. Farther, becauſe our adverſaries do little regard any allegation of Scripture againſt them, (pretending themſelves to be the only maſters of its ſenſe, or of common ſenſe, judges and interpreters of them,) we do allege againſt them, that this pretence doth alſo croſs tradition, and the common doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common uſage and practice is a good interpreter of right; and that ſheweth no ſuch right was known in the primitive Church.

2. Indeed the ſtate of the primitive Church did not admit it.

3. The Fathers did ſuppoſe no order in the Church, by original right, or divine inſtitution, ſuperior to that of a biſhop; whence they commonly did ſtyle a biſhop the higheſt prieſt, and epiſcopacy the top of eccleſiaſtical orders [l].

[m] *The chief prieſt*, ſaith Tertullian, *that is, the biſhop, hath the right of giving baptiſm.*

[n] *Although*, ſaith St. Ambroſe, *the preſbyters alſo do it, yet the beginning of the miniſtry is from the higheſt prieſt.*

Optatus calleth biſhops [o] *the tops and princes of all.*

[l] Ἀπὸ τῦ Κυρίε διδαχθέντες ἀκολυθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν ἐπισκόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐνείμαμεν, &c. *Conſt. Apoſt.* viii. 46.

[m] Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus ſacerdos, qui eſt epiſcopus. *Tert. de Bapt.* cap. 17.

[n] Licet enim et preſbyteri faciant, tamen exordium miniſterii eſt a ſummo ſacerdote. *Ambr. de Sacr.* iii. 1.

Suſcepiſti gubernacula ſummi ſacerdotii. *Id.* Ep. 5.

[o] Apices et principes omnium ſacerdotes. *Opt.* 1.

Eccleſiæ

[p] *The divine order of biſhops,* ſaith Dionyſius, *is the firſt of divine orders; the ſame being alſo the extreme and laſt of them; for into it all the frame of our hierarchy is reſolved and accompliſhed.*

This language is common even among popes themſelves, complying with the ſpeech then current; for, [q] *Preſbyters,* ſaith Pope Innocent I. *although they are prieſts, yet have they not the top of high-prieſthood.*

[r] *No man,* ſaith Pope Zoſimus I. *againſt the precepts of the Fathers, ſhould preſume to aſpire to the higheſt prieſthood of the Church.*

[s] *It is decreed,* ſaith Pope Leo I. *that the chorepiſcopi, or preſbyters, who figure the ſons of Aaron, ſhall not preſume to ſnatch that which the princes of the prieſts (whom Moſes and Aaron did typify) are commanded to do.* (Note, by the way, that ſeeing according to this Pope's mind (after St. Jerome) Moſes and Aaron did in the Jewiſh

Eccleſiæ ſalus in ſummi ſacerdotis dignitate pendet. *Hier. contr. Lucif.* 4. The ſafety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the high prieſt.

Ego dignus ſummo ſacerdotio decernebar. *Id.* Ep. 99. (*ad Aſell.*)

In epiſcopo omnes ordines ſunt, quia primus ſacerdos eſt, hoc eſt princeps ſacerdotum, et propheta et evangeliſta, et cætera adimplenda officia Eccleſiæ in miniſterio fidelium. *Ambr. in Eph.* iv. 11.

In the biſhop there are all orders, becauſe he is the firſt prieſt; i. e. the prince of prieſts, and prophet, and evangeliſt, and all other offices of the Church, to be fulfilled in the miniſtry of the faithful.

[p] Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις, &c. ſupr. Pontifex princeps ſacerdotum eſt, quaſi via ſequentium; ipſe et ſummus ſacerdos, ipſe et pontifex maximus nuncupatur. *Iſid. Hiſp. apud Grat. Diſt.* xxi. cap. 1.

[q] Nam preſbyteri, licet ſint ſacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent. *P. Innoc. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Decent.*)

——dum facile imponuntur manus, dum negligenter ſummus ſacerdos eligitur. *Id.* Ep. 12. (*ad Aurel.*)

[r] Ne quis contra patrum præcepta —— ad ſummum Eccleſiæ ſacerdotium aſpirare præſumeret. *P. Zoſ. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Heſych.*)

[s] Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus ſacerdotum juſſum eſt, quorum typum Moſes et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum eſt, ut chorepiſcopi vel preſbyteri qui filiorum Aaron geſtant figuram, arripere non præſumant. *P. Leo.* Ep. 88.

Pontificatus apicem non habent. *Ibid.* Vid. Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 5.

S. Hier. ad Evagr. Ut ſciamus traditiones apoſtolicas ſumptas de Veteri Teſtamento, Quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi epiſcopi, preſbyteri et diaconi vindicant in Eccleſia. Or. xix. p. 309.

policy repreſent biſhops, there was none there to prefigure the Pope.)

In thoſe days the biſhop of Nazianzum (a petty town in Cappadocia) was an high-prieſt, (ſo Gregory calleth his father [t].) And the biſhop of a poor city in Africk is ſtyled [u] *Sovereign Pontiff of Chriſt, moſt bleſſed Father, moſt bleſſed Pope;* and the very Roman clergy doth call St. Cyprian [v] *moſt bleſſed and moſt glorious Pope:* which titles the Pope doth now ſo charily reſerve and appropriate to himſelf.

But innumerable inſtances of this kind might be produced: I ſhall only therefore add two other paſſages, which ſeem very obſervable, to the enforcement of this diſcourſe.

St. Jerome, reprehending the diſcipline of the Montaniſts, hath theſe words; [w] *With us the biſhops do hold the places of the Apoſtles; with them, a biſhop is in the third place: for they have for the firſt rank the patriarchs of Pepuſa in Phrygia; for the ſecond, thoſe whom they call cenones; ſo are biſhops thruſt down into the third, that is, almoſt the laſt place; as if thence religion became more ſtately, if that which is firſt with us be the laſt with them.* Now doth not St. Jerome here affirm, that every biſhop hath the place of an Apoſtle, and the firſt rank in the Church? Doth not he tax the advancement of any order above this? May not the popiſh hierarchy moſt patly be compared to that of the Montaniſts, and is it not equally liable to the cenſure of St. Jerome? Doth it not place the Roman Pope in the firſt place, and the cardinals in the ſecond, detruding the biſhops into a third place? Could the Pepuſian patriarch, or his cenones, either

[t] A biſhop called ἀρχιερεύς. *Apoſt. Conſt.* viii. 10, 12.

[u] Summus Chriſti Pontifex Auguſtinus. (*Paulin. apud Aug.* Ep. 36.) *Aug.* Ep. 35. Beatiſſimo Papæ Auguſtino. *Hieron.* (*Aug.* Ep. 11, 13, 14, &c.)

[v] Optamus te beatiſſ. et glorioſiſſime papa in Domino ſemper valere. *Ep.* 31.

[w] Apud nos Apoſtolorum locum epiſcopi tenent, apud eos epiſcopus tertius eſt; habent enim primos de Pepuſa Phrygiæ patriarchas, ſecundos quos appellant cenones; atque ita in tertium, id eſt pene ultimum locum epiſcopi devolvuntur; quaſi exinde ambitioſior religio fiat, ſi quod apud nos primum eſt, apud illos noviſſimum ſit. *Hier.* (*ad Marcellam*) Ep. 54.

more overtop in dignity, or ſway by power over biſhops, than doth the Roman patriarch and his cardinals?

Again, St. Cyprian telleth Pope Cornelius, that in epiſcopacy doth reſide [x] *the ſublime and divine power of governing the Church;* it being *the ſublime top of the prieſthood.* [y] *He,* ſaith the bleſſed man concerning Pope Cornelius, *did not ſuddenly arrive to epiſcopacy; but being through all eccleſiaſtical offices promoted, and having in divine adminiſtrations often merited of God, did by all the ſteps of religion mount to the ſublimeſt pitch of prieſthood.* Where it is viſible, that St. Cyprian doth not reckon the papacy, but the epiſcopacy of Cornelius to be that top of prieſthood, (above which there was nothing eminent in the Church,) unto which he paſſing through the inferior degrees of the clergy had attained.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived, that the ancients conſtantly would have ſpoken in this manner, if they had allowed the papal office to be ſuch, as now it doth bear itſelf; the which indeed is an order no leſs diſtant from epiſcopacy, than the rank of a king differeth from that of the meaneſt baron in his kingdom.

Neither is it prejudicial to this diſcourſe, (or to any preceding,) that in the primitive Church there were ſome diſtinctions and ſubordinations of biſhops, [z] (as of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, common biſhops,) for,

Theſe were according to prudence conſtituted by the Church itſelf for the more orderly and peaceable adminiſtration of things.

Theſe did not import ſuch a difference among the biſhops, that one ſhould domineer over others, to the infringing of primitive fraternity, or common liberty: but a

[x] —— actum eſt de epiſcopatus vigore, et de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ ſublimi ac divina poteſtate. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad P. Cornel.*)

[y] Non iſte ad epiſcopatum ſubito pervenit, ſed per omnia eccleſiaſtica officia promotus, et in divinis adminiſtrationibus Dominum ſæpe promeritus, ad ſacerdotii ſublime faſtigium cunctis religionis gradibus aſcendit. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[z] The Africans had a particular care, that this primacy ſhould not degenerate into tyranny.

precedence in the ſame rank, with ſome moderate advantages for the common good.

Theſe did ſtand under authority of the Church; and might be changed or corrected, as was found expedient, by common agreement.

By virtue of theſe the ſuperiors of this kind could do nothing over their ſubordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of canons, eſtabliſhed by conſent in ſynods; by which their influence was amplified or curbed [a].

When any of theſe did begin to domineer, or exceed his limits, he was liable to account and correction; he was exclaimed againſt as tyrannical [b].

When primates did begin to ſwell and encroach, good men declared their diſpleaſure at it, and wiſhed it removed; as is known particularly by *the famous wiſh of* [c] *Gregory Nazianzen.*

But we are diſcourſing againſt a ſuperiority of a different nature, which foundeth itſelf in the inſtitution of Chriſt, impoſeth itſelf on the Church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or control, pretendeth to be endowed with an abſolute power to act without or againſt the conſent of the Church, is limited by no certain bounds but its own pleaſure [d], &c.

IV. Farther, this pretence may be impugned by many arguments ſpringing from the nature and reaſon of things abſtractedly conſidered; according to which the exerciſe

[a] Conc. Ant. can. 9. Vid. Apoſt. can. 34. Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. Cod. Afr. can. 39. Neſtorius, Dioſcorus.

[b] Οἷά τι τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διακδικοῦντες. *Euſeb.* viii. 1.

So Euſebius complaineth of the biſhops in his time.

So Iſidor. Peluſiot. *Ep.* xx. 125. iv. 219.

[c] Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἦν πρωτοδρία, μηδὲ τις τόπῳ πρωτίμησις, ἢ τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 28.

O that there were not at all any preſidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative!

[d] So Socrates of the biſhop (not only of Rome, but) Alexandria. Lib. vii. cap. 11.

So St. Chryſoſtom in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Ep. Orat. 11.

So Greg. Naz. complained of τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. *Ibid.*

of ſuch an authority may appear unpracticable, without much iniquity, and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Chriſtian ſtates and people, to the intereſts of religion and piety, to the peace and welfare of mankind: whence it is to be rejected, as a peſt of Chriſtendom.

1. Whereas all the world in deſign and obligation is Chriſtian, (the *utmoſt parts of the earth* being granted *in poſſeſſion* to our Lord; and his Goſpel extending *to every creature under heaven,*) and may in effect become ſuch, when God pleaſeth, by acceptance of the Goſpel; whereas it may eaſily happen, that the moſt diſtant places on the earth may embrace Chriſtianity; whereas really Chriſtian churches have been and are diſperſed all about the world; it is thence hugely incommodious, that all the Church ſhould depend upon an authority reſident in one place, and to be managed by one perſon: the Church being ſuch, is too immenſe, boundleſs, uncircumſcribed, unwieldy a bulk, to be guided by the inſpection, or managed by the influence of one ſuch authority or perſon. Pſal. ii. 8. Col. i. 23. Luke xxiv. 47. Matt. xxviii. 19.

If the whole world were reduced under the government of one civil monarch, it would neceſſarily be ill governed, as to policy, to juſtice, to peace: the ſkirts, or remoter parts from the metropolis or centre of the government, would extremely ſuffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from majeſty ſhining at ſuch a diſtance: they would live under ſmall awe of that power, which was ſo far out of ſight: they muſt have very difficult recourſe to it, for redreſs of grievances, and relief of oppreſſions; for final deciſion of cauſes, and compoſure of differences; for correction of offences, and diſpenſation of juſtice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition: it would be hard to preſerve peace, or quell ſeditions, and ſuppreſs inſurrections, that might ariſe in diſtant quarters.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful ſkilfully and juſtly to give laws or adminiſter judgment to ſo many nations different in humour, in language, in cuſtoms? What mind of man, what induſtry, what leiſure could ſerve to ſuſtain the burden of that care,

Cum tot ſuſtineas, et tanta negotia ſolus, &c. *Hor.* Ep. ii. 1.

which is needful to the wielding ſuch an office? How and when ſhould one man be able to receive all the addreſſes, to weigh all the caſes, to make all the reſolutions and diſpatches requiſite for ſuch a charge? If the burden of one ſmall kingdom be ſo great, that wiſe and good princes do groan under its weight, what muſt that be of all mankind? To ſuch an extent of government there muſt be allowed a majeſty, and power correſpondent, the which cannot be committed to one hand, without its degeneration into extreme tyranny. The words of Zoſimus to this purpoſe are obſervable; who ſaith, that the Romans, by admitting Auguſtus Cæſar to the government, did do very perilouſly; for, *If he ſhould chooſe to manage the government rightly and juſtly, he would not be capable of applying himſelf to all things as were fit, not being able to ſuccour thoſe who do lie at greateſt diſtance; nor could he find ſo many magiſtrates, as would not be aſhamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he ſuit them to the differences of ſo many manners: or, if tranſgreſſing the bounds of royalty, he ſhould warp to tyranny, diſturbing the magiſtracies, overlooking miſdemeanours, bartering right for money, holding the ſubjects for ſlaves, (ſuch as moſt emperors, or rather near all have been, few excepted;) then it is quite neceſſary, that the brutiſh authority of the prince ſhould be a public calamity: for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours do invade the greateſt commands; and thoſe who are modeſt and quiet, not affecting the ſame life with them, are conſequently diſpleaſed, not enjoying the ſame advantages; ſo that from hence cities are filled with ſeditions and troubles. And the civil and military employments being delivered up to avaricious perſons, do both render a peaceable life ſad and grievous to men of better diſpoſition, and do enfeeble the reſolution of ſoldiers in war.*

Ἔτι γὰρ ἐφῦς, &c. *Zoſ. Hiſt.* i. (p. 4. *Steph.*)

Hence St. Auſtin was of opinion, that [d] *it were happy*

[d] Felicioribus ſic rebus humanis, omnia regna parva eſſent, concordi vicinitate lætantia. *Aug. de Civ. D.* iv. 15.

Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μιγίθυς μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν,

or mankind, if all kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood.

It is commonly observed by historians, that [e] *Rome growing in bigness, did labour therewith,* and was not able to support itself; many distempers and disorders springing up in so vast a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for, *Then,* saith St. Austin concerning the times of Pompey, [f] *Rome had subdued Africk, it had subdued Greece; and widely also ruling over other parts, as not able to bear itself, did in a manner by its own greatness break itself.*

Hence that wise prince, Augustus Cæsar, did himself forbear to enlarge the Roman dominion, and did in his testament advise the senate to do the like [g].

To the like inconveniences (and much greater in its

ἐργάνων· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν, οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλον ἕξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν. *Arist. Pol.* vii. 4.

There is a certain measure of greatness fit for cities and commonwealths, as well as for all other things, living creatures, plants, instruments; for every one of these hath its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little, nor yet exceeds in bigness.

Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἤ τις κήρυξ μὴ στεντόρειος; *Ibid.*

For who would be a captain of an excessive huge multitude? &c.

[e] Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. *Hor.* Ep. 16.

—— quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua. *Liv. I.*

Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Sicilia et Africa contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominanti in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. *Flor.* iii. 12.

[f] Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, lateque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam seipsam ferre non valens, se sua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. *Aug. de Civ. D.* xviii. 45. *Tac. Hist.* ii. p. 476.

[g] Γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεί ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε. *Dion.* lib. lvi. *Tac. Ann.* 1.

He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their empire; for, said he, it will be hardly kept: and this he himself observed, not in word only, but in deed: for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous nations, yet he would not.

Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret
Ad veteres fines, et mœnia pauperis anci, &c. *Claud. de Bello Gildon.*

kind; temporal things being more eaſily ordered than ſpiritual, and having ſecular authority, great advantages of power and wealth, to aid itſelf) muſt the Church be obnoxious, if it were ſubjected to the government of one ſovereign, unto whom the maintenance of faith, the protection of diſcipline, the determination of controverſies, the reviſion of judgments, the diſcuſſion and final deciſion of cauſes upon appeal, the ſuppreſſion of diſorders and factions, the inſpection over all governors, the correction of miſdemeanours, the conſtitution, relaxation and abolition of laws, the reſolution of all matters concerning religion and the public ſtate, in all countries muſt be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανός; What ſhoulders can bear ſuch a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the Pope hath any promiſe of miraculous aſſiſtance, nor in his demeanour doth appear any mark thereof.) What mind would not the care of ſo many affairs utterly diſtract and overwhelm? Who could find time to caſt a glance on each of ſo numberleſs particulars? What ſagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what ſtrength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of induſtry, what abundance of experience would ſuffice, for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controverſies of faith and caſes of diſcipline perpetually ſtarting up in ſo many regions [h]?

What reach of ſkill and ability would ſerve for accommodation of laws to the different humours and faſhions of ſo many nations? Shall a decrepit old man, in the decay of his age, parts, vigour, (ſuch as popes uſually are,) undertake this? May we not ſay to him, as Jethro did to Moſes, *Ultra vires tuas eſt negotium; The thing thou doeſt is not good: thou wilt ſurely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyſelf alone.*

Exod. xviii. 17, 18.

[h] The Synod of Baſil doth well deſcribe the duty of a pope; but it is infinitely hard to practiſe it in any meaſure. (*Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. xxiii. p. 64, &c.——)

If the care of a ſmall dioceſe hath made the moſt able and induſtrious biſhops (who had a conſcience and ſenſe of their duty) to groan under its weight, how inſupportable muſt ſuch a charge be!

The care of his own particular church, if he would act the part of a biſhop indeed, would ſufficiently take up the Pope; eſpecially in ſome times; whenas Pope Alexander ſaith, —— *Ut inteſtina noſtræ ſpecialis eccleſiæ negotia vix poſſemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare.* P. Alex. II (Epiſt. ad Ger. Rhem Bin. p. 284.

If it be ſaid, that St. Paul teſtifieth of himſelf, that he had *a care of all the churches* incumbent on him; I anſwer, that he (and other Apoſtles had the like) queſtionleſs had a pious ſolicitude for the welfare of all Chriſtians, eſpecially of the churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occaſions to edify them. But what is this, to bearing the charge of a ſtanding government over all the churches diffuſed through the world? That care of a few churches then was burdenſome to him: what is the charge of ſo many now; to one ſeldom endowed with ſuch apoſtolical graces and gifts as St. Paul was? 2 Cor. xi. 28.

How weak muſt the influence of ſuch an authority be upon the circumferential parts of its œcumenical ſphere!

How muſt the outward branches of the churches faint and fade for want of ſap from the root of diſcipline, which muſt be conveyed through ſo many obſtructions to ſuch a diſtance!

How diſcompoſed muſt things be in each country, for want of ſeaſonable reſolution, hanging in ſuſpenſe, till information do travel to Rome, and determination come back thence [i]!

How difficult, how impoſſible will it be for him there

[i] Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad ſuperna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. *Greg. I.* lib. i. Ep. 7, 25, 5.

Such a weight of employment preſſes me down, that my mind can by no means be raiſed to things above.

Si adminiſtratio illius temporis mare fuit, quid de præſenti papatu dicendum erit? *Calv. Inſt.* iv. cap. 7, 22.

If the ordering of affairs in thoſe times was a boundleſs ſea, what ſhall we ſay of the preſent papacy?

to receive faithful information or competent teſtimony, whereupon to ground juſt deciſions of cauſes!

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning perſon to raiſe trouble againſt innocent perſons! for any like perſon to decline the due correction laid on him, by transferring the cauſe from home to ſuch a diſtance!

How much coſt, how much trouble, how much hazard muſt parties concerned be at to fetch light and juſtice thence!

Put caſe a hereſy, a ſchiſm, a doubt or debate of great moment ſhould ariſe in China; how ſhould the gentleman in Italy proceed to confute that hereſy, to quaſh that ſchiſm, to ſatisfy that doubt, to determine that cauſe? how long muſt it be, ere he can have notice thereof? to how many croſs accidents of weather and way muſt the tranſmitting of information be ſubject? how difficult will it prove, to get a clear and ſure knowledge concerning the ſtate of things?

How hard will it be to get the oppoſite parties to appear, ſo as to confront teſtimonies and probations requiſite to a fair and juſt deciſion! how ſhall witneſſes of infirm ſex or age ramble ſo far? how eaſily will ſome of them prepoſſeſs and abuſe him with falſe ſuggeſtions and miſrepreſentations of the caſe! how ſlippery therefore will the reſult be, and how prone he to award a wrongful ſentence[k]!

De lungas vias luengas mentiras. *Hiſp. Prov. Syn. Baſil.* Seſſ. xxxi. p. 86.

How tedious, how expenſive, how troubleſome, how vexatious, how hazardous muſt this courſe be to all parties! Certainly cauſes muſt needs proceed ſlowly, and depend long; and in the end the reſolution of them muſt be very uncertain.

What temptation will it be for any one (how juſtly ſoever corrected by his immediate ſuperiors) to complain; hoping thereby to eſcape, to diſguiſe the truth, &c. who

[k] Nunquid mirandum eſt de tam longinquis terris epiſcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt? *Aug. contra Creſcon.* iii. 34.

What marvel if the biſhops from ſo remote countries tell you what they pleaſe without check or control?

being condemned will not appeal to one at a diſtance, hoping by falſe ſuggeſtions to delude him?

This neceſſarily will deſtroy all diſcipline, and induce impunity, or fruſtration of juſtice. Vid. Bern. Ep. 178. de Conſid.

Certainly much more convenient and equal it ſhould be, that there ſhould be near at hand a ſovereign power, fully capable, expeditely and ſeaſonably to compoſe differences, to decide cauſes, to reſolve doubts, to ſettle things, without more ſtir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that laws ſhould rather be framed, interpreted, and executed in every country, with accommodation to the tempers of the people, to the circumſtances of things, to the civil ſtate there, by perſons acquainted with thoſe particulars, than by ſtrangers ignorant of them, and apt to miſtake about them.

How often will the Pope be impoſed upon, as he was in the caſe of Baſilides, of whom St. Cyprian ſaith, [l] *Going to Rome he deceived our colleague Stephen, being placed at diſtance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aſpiring to be unjuſtly reſtored to the biſhoprick, from which he was juſtly removed.*

As he was in the caſe of Marcellus, who gulled Pope Julius by fair profeſſions, as St. Baſil doth often complain [m].

As he was in aiding that verſatile and troubleſome biſhop, Euſtathius of Sebaſtia, to the recovery of his biſhoprick. Baſ. Ep. 73, 74.

As he was in rejecting [n] *the man of God, and moſt admirable biſhop, Meletius;* and admitting ſcandalous reports about him, which the fame ſaint doth often reſent; blaming ſometimes the fallacious miſinformation, ſome-

[l] Romam pergens Stephanum collegam noſtrum longe poſitum, et geſtæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi ſe injuſte in epiſcopatum, de quo fuerat juſte depoſitus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[m] Ἐκεῖνα σαφῶς οἶσθα, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκίλλῳ, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονικήσαντες, &c. *Baſil.* Ep. 10.

[n] Τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίῳ —— τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον —— *Baſ.* Ep. 349.

times the wilful preſumption, negligence, pride of the Roman church, in the caſe [o].

P. Zoſ. I. Ep. 3, 4. As he was in the caſe of Pelagius and Celeſtius, who did cajole Pope Zoſimus to acquit them, to condemn Eros and Lazarus their accuſers, to reprove the African biſhops for proſecuting them.

How many proceedings ſhould we have like to that of Pope Zoſimus I. concerning that ſcandalous prieſt, Apiarius; whom being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his biſhop, that Pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronize; but was baffled in his enterpriſe [p].

This hath been the ſenſe of the Fathers in the caſe.

Cypr. Ep. lv. (p. 116.) St. Cyprian therefore ſaith, that *ſeeing it was a general ſtatute among the biſhops, and that it was both equal and juſt, that every one's cauſe ſhould be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each paſtor had a portion of the flock allotted to him, which he ſhould rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing.*

St. Chryſoſtom thought it [q] *improper that one out of*

[o] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ ϗ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. *Ibid.*

Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done; others, that think they know them, declare them unto us more contentiouſly than truly.

Ἐλύπει ἡμᾶς λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Μελέτιον ϗ Εὐσέβιον. *Epiſt.* 321. *ad Pet. Alex.*

He grieved us when he ſaid, that our godly brethren, Meletius and Euſebius, were reckoned among the Arians.

Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος, οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἴσασιν, ὅτι μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; *Baſ.* Ep. 10.

What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?

[p] Deinde quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci ſunt epiſcopi, et amplæ ſingulorum parochiæ, ut in ſubjectis plebibus curam epiſcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut rite adminiſtrare valeant. *P. Greg. VII.* Ep. ii. 73.

And then becauſe in ſo great a multitude of people there are ſo few biſhops, and every one's dioceſe very large, that they are in no wiſe able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the epiſcopal office among the people over whom they are ſet.

[q] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκόλυθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν. *Chryſ.* Ep. 102. (*ad P. Innoc. I.*) Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος, ϗ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἰς

Egypt ſhould adminiſter juſtice to perſons in Thrace. (And why not, as well as one out of Italy?)

The African Synod thought [r] *the Nicene Fathers had provided moſt prudently and moſt juſtly, that all affairs ſhould be finally determined there where they did ariſe.*

They thought [s] *a tranſmarine judgment could not be firm,* becauſe *the neceſſary perſons for teſtimony, for the infirmity of ſex or age, or for many other infirmities, could not be brought thither.*

Pope Leo himſelf ſaw how dilatory this courſe would be; and that [t] *longinquity of region doth cauſe the examination of truth to become over dilatory.*

Pope Liberius for ſuch reaſons did requeſt Conſtantius, that Athanaſius's cauſe ſhould be tried at Alexandria; where—[u] *he,* ſaith he, *that is accuſed, and the accuſers are, and the defender of them; and ſo we may, upon examination had, agree in our ſentence about them.*

Therefore divers ancient canons of ſynods did prohibit, that any cauſes ſhould be removed out of the bounds of provinces, or dioceſes; as otherwhere we ſhew [x].

ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν ὃς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, ἴστι ἴστι πάντα οἰχήσεται, &c.

For if this cuſtom prevail, and if they that will may go to other men's dioceſes at ſo great a diſtance, and eject whom any man pleaſes, know that all will go to wrack, &c.

[r] Decreta Nicena ſive inferioris gradus clericos, ſive ipſos epiſcopos ſuis metropolitanis apertiſſime commiſerunt; prudentiſſime enim juſtiſſimeque viderunt (providerunt) quæcunque negotia in ſuis locis, ubi orſa ſunt, finienda. *Ep. Conc. Afric. ad P. Celeſt. I.* (*in fine Cod. Afric.*) *vel apud Dion. Exig.*

[s] Aut quomodo ipſum tranſmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod teſtium neceſſariæ perſonæ vel propter ſexus, vel propter ſenectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt. *Ibid.*

[t] Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere ſolet) in nimias dilationes tenderent veritatis examina——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 34.

[u] Τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείων οἱ πάντες ἀπαντήσαντες ἴνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, ᾧ ὁ ἀντικαλούμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμψηφισώμεθα. *Theod.* ii. 16.

[x] Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abuſus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotiſſimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari conſueverunt, &c. *Vid. Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. xxxi. (p. 86.)

But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuſes have prevailed, while

2. Such an authority, as this pretence claimeth, muſt neceſſarily (if not withheld by continual miracle) throw the Church into ſad bondage. All the world muſt become ſlaves to one city, its wealth muſt be derived thither, its quiet muſt depend on it. For it (not being reſtrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or coordinate power, ſtanding upon divine inſtitution, and therefore immutably ſettled) muſt of its own nature become abſolute and unlimited[y].

Let it be however of right limited by divine laws or human canons, yet will it be continually encroaching, and ſtretching its power, until it grows enormous and boundleſs. It will not endure to be pinched by any reſtraint. It will draw to itſelf the collation of all preferments, &c.

Vid. Conc. Baſ. Seſſ. xxxi. p. 87.

It will aſſume all things to itſelf, trampling down all oppoſite claims of right and liberty; ſo that neither paſtor nor people ſhall enjoy or do any thing otherwiſe than in dependence on it, and at its pleaſure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting ſanctions to eſtabliſh them; which none muſt preſume to conteſt[z].

Hiſt. Conc. Trid. p. 60. ſo they pretend. *Conc. Later.* 4. (*ſub Innoc. III.*)

It will draw to itſelf the diſpoſal of all places; the exaction of goods. All princes muſt become his miniſters, and executors of his decrees.

It will mount above all law and rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not

too often men have been uſed to be cited and called out even from the remoteſt parts to the court of Rome, and ſometimes for ſlight and trivial buſineſſes and occaſions.

[y] Vid. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. p. 61. Privilegia iſtius ſedis perpetua ſunt, divinitus radicata, atque plantata, impingi poſſunt, transferri non poſſunt; trahi poſſunt, evelli non poſſunt. *P. Nich. I. ad Mich. Imp.*

The privileges of this ſee are perpetual, rooted, and founded upon divine authority; they may be daſhed againſt, they cannot be removed; they may be drawn aſide, they cannot be plucked up.

[z] Licet apoſtolica prærogativa poſſimus de qualibet eccleſia clericum ordinare. *P. Steph. apud Grat. Cauſ.* 9. qu. iii. cap. 20.

Though by our apoſtolical prerogative we may ordain a clergyman of any church.

enduring any reproof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates: a blind faith muſt be yielded to all its aſſertions, as infallibly true; and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unqueſtionably holy: whoſoever ſhall anywiſe croſs it in word or deed, ſhall certainly be diſcountenanced, condemned, ejected from the Church [a]; ſo that the moſt abſolute tyranny that can be imagined will enſue: all the world hath groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor nation; it would raiſe indignation in any man to read the complaints. Vide Mat. Paris.

This is conſequent on ſuch a pretence, according to the very nature of things; and ſo in experience it hath happened [b]. For

It is evident, that the Papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the Church, either granted by God, or eſtabliſhed in the ancient canons [c].

The royalties of Peter are become immenſe; and conſiſtently to his practice, the Pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, *that all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him.*

It belongeth to him [d] *to judge of the whole Church.*

He hath [e] *a plenitude* (as he calleth it) *of power*, by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleaſeth.

[a] Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis apoſtolicis obtemperare. *Greg. IV.* (*Diſt.* xix. cap. 5.)

And let him have nothing at all to do with divine and pontifical offices, who would not obey apoſtolical precepts.

Oportet autem gladium eſſe ſub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem ſpirituali ſubjici poteſtati. *Bonif. VIII. Extrav. Com.* i. 8. 1.

But there muſt be a ſword under a ſword, and temporal authority ſubject to ſpiritual.

[b] —— chefia piu officio di pontefici aggiurgere con l'armi, et col ſorgue de Chriſtiani, &c. *Guicc.* xi. p. 858.

[c] Quid hodie erant epiſcopi, niſi umbra quædam? quid plus eis reſtabat quam baculus et mitra? &c. *An. Sylv. de Geſtis Syn. Baſ.* lib. i.

What were biſhops now, but a kind of ſhadows? what had they left more than a ſtaff and a mitre? &c.

[d] Conc. Lat. v. Seſſ. 11. p. 129. De omni Eccleſia jus habet judicandi. (*P. Gelaſ. Grat. Cauſ.* ix. q. 3. cap. 18.)

[e] Secundum plenitudinem poteſtatis de jure poſſumus ſupra jus diſpenſare. *Greg. Decret.* lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.

It is the tenor of his bulls, *that whoever raſhly dareth to thwart his will ſhall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and* (as if that were not enough) *of St. Peter and St. Paul alſo.*

[f] *No man muſt preſume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment.*

[g] *It is idolatry to diſobey his commands,* againſt their own ſovereign Lord.

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who aſcribe *infinite* power to him. And that he is infallible is the moſt common and plauſible opinion: ſo that at Rome the contrary *is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.*

Erroneæ, et hæreſi proximo. *Bell. de P.* iv. 2.

We are now told, that [h] *if the Pope ſhould err by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, the Church ſhould be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unleſs it would ſin againſt conſcience.*

The greateſt princes muſt ſtoop to his will; otherwiſe he hath power to cathier and depoſe them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity, can there be, than that all God's people (that *free people*, who are *called to freedom*) ſhould be ſubject to ſo intolerable a yoke and miſerable a ſlavery?

Gal. v. 1, 13. 1 Pet. ii. 16.

That tyranny ſoon had crept into the Roman church Socrates telleth us [i].

[f] Hujus culpas iſthic redarguere præſumit mortalium nullus. *Grat. Diſt.* xl. cap. 6. (Si Papa—)

Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio. *Cauſ.* ix. qu. 3. cap. 10.

[g] Cum enim obedire apoſtolicæ ſedi ſuperbe contemnunt, ſcelus idololatriæ, teſte Samuele, incurrunt. *Greg. VII.* Ep. iv. 2.

Nulli fas eſt vel velle, vel poſſe tranſgredi apoſtolicæ ſedis præcepta. *Greg. IV. apud Grat. Diſt.* xix. cap. 5.

No man may nor can tranſgreſs the commands of the apoſtolic ſee.

—— ab omnibus quicquid ſtatuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter obſervandum eſt. *Ibid.* cap. 4. (*P. Steph.*)

—— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, muſt always and inviolably be obſerved by all.

[h] Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, et virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam peccare. *Bell. de Pont.* iv. 5.

[i] Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum eccleſiarum, ita quod inferiores prælati ſunt pro nihilo. *Card. Zab. de Sch. Innoc. VII.* p. 560.

The

They have rendered true that definition of Scioppius: [k] *The Church is a ſtall, or herd, or multitude of beaſts, or aſſes.*

[l] *They bridle us, they harneſs us, they ſpur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us.*

The greateſt tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of infallibility: for Dionyſius and Phalaris did leave the mind free, (pretending only to diſpoſe of body and goods according to their will:) but the Pope, not content to make us do and ſay what he pleaſeth, will have us alſo to think ſo; denouncing his imprecations and ſpiritual menaces, if we do not.

3. Such an authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Chriſtian doctrine, by diſtorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its deſigns and intereſts. It will blend Chriſtianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones ſo as may ſerve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleaſure of thoſe who manage it, and of their dependents.

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, to make a trade of religion will be the great work of the teachers of the Church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, ſlaviſh, deſigning flatterers [m]. 2 Cor. ii. 1

This we ſee come to paſs, Chriſtianity by the papal influence being from its original ſimplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine philoſophy deſigned to improve the reaſon, to moderate the paſſions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men

The Pope hath invaded all the rights of inferior churches, ſo that all inferior prelates are nothing ſet by.

[k] Eccleſia eſt mandra ſive grex aut multitudo jumentorum ſive aſinorum. *Eccl.* cap. 47.

[l] Illi nos frænant, nos lore alligant, nos ſtimulant, nobis jugum et onus imponunt. *Ibid.*

[m] 1 Tim. vi. 5. Νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

Suppoſing that gain is godlineſs.

Ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας. 1 Theſſ. ii. 5.

A cloke of covetouſneſs; πλεονεξία. Eph. iv. 14.

for converſation with God and angels; modelled to a ſyſtem of politic devices, (of notions, of precepts, of rites,) ſerving to exalt and enrich the Pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vaſſals [n].

What doctrine of Chriſtian theology, as it is interpreted by their ſchools, hath not a direct aſpect, or doth not ſquint that way? eſpecially according to the opinions paſſant and in vogue among them.

To paſs over thoſe concerning the Pope, (his univerſal paſtorſhip, judgſhip in controverſies, power to call councils, preſidency in them, ſuperiority over them; right to confirm or annul them; his infallibility; his double ſword, and dominion (direct or indirect) over princes; his diſpenſing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial caſes, with all other the monſtrous prerogatives, which the ſound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, do teach.)

What doth the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from ſecular juriſdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes ſignify, but their entire dependence on the Pope, and their being cloſely tied to his intereſts?

What is the exemption of monaſtical places from the juriſdiction of biſhops, but liſting ſo many ſoldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What meaneth the doctrine concerning that middle region of ſouls, or cloiſter of purgatory, whereof the Pope holdeth the keys; opening and ſhutting it at his pleaſure, by diſpenſation of pardons and indulgences; but that he muſt be maſter of the people's condition, and of their purſe?

What meaneth the treaſure of merits and ſupererogatory works, whereof he is the ſteward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from ſimple people, to his treaſury?

Whither doth the entangling of folks in perpetual vows

[n] Paſce, id eſt, regio more impera. Ecce duos gladios.——Oravi ne deficeret.

Feed, i. e. rule as a king. Behold two ſwords.

tend, but to aſſure them in a ſlaviſh dependence on their intereſts, eternally, without evaſion or remedy; except by favourable diſpenſation from the Pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in ſacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the prieſt, and all he doth?

Whence did the monſtrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation (urged with ſo furious zeal) iſſue, but from deſign to magnify the credit of thoſe, who by ſaying of a few words can make our God and Saviour? and withal to exerciſe a notable inſtance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reaſon and ſenſes?

Whither doth tend the doctrine concerning the maſs being a propitiatory ſacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good ſums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withholden from the laity, but to lay it low, by ſo notable a diſtinction, in the principal myſtery of our religion, from the prieſthood?

Why is ſaying private maſs (or celebrating the communion in ſolitude) allowed, but becauſe prieſts are paid for it, and live by it?

At what doth the doctrine concerning the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion aim, but that thereby the prieſts may have a mighty awe on the conſciences of all people, may dive into their ſecrets, may manage their lives as they pleaſe?

And what doth a like neceſſary particular abſolution intend, but to ſet the prieſt in a lofty ſtate of authority above the people, as a judge of his condition and diſpenſer of his ſalvation?

Why do they equal eccleſiaſtical traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines advantageous to their deſigns?

What drift hath the doctrine concerning the infallibility of churches or councils, but that when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of biſhops together, to eſtabliſh what he liketh, which ever after muſt paſs for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; ſo enſlaving

the minds of all men to his dictates, which always ſuit to his intereſt.

What doth the prohibition of holy Scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themſelves, or a detaining of people in ignorance of truth and duty; ſo that they muſt be forced to rely on them for direction, muſt believe all they ſay, and blindly ſubmit to their dictates; being diſabled to detect their errors, or conteſt their opinions?

Why muſt the ſacraments be celebrated, and public devotions exerciſed, in an unknown tongue, but that the prieſts may ſeem to have a peculiar intereſt in them, and ability for them?

Why muſt the prieſthood be ſo indiſpenſably forbidden marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the ſtate, and reſt addicted to him, and governable by him; that the perſons and wealth of prieſts may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuſe the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters of the dark myſteries couched in them; and by ſeeming to encourage an exterior ſhew of piety (or form of godlineſs) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppreſs the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Phariſees did, although with leſs deſigns?

Vid Sleid. p. 673.

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages and voyages to Rome, and other places, more holy than ordinary; ſprinklings of holy water, conſecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppiſh knacks and trinkets,) ſo cheriſhed; but to keep the people in a ſlaviſh credulity and dotage, apt to be led by them whither they pleaſe, by any ſleeveleſs pretence, and in the meanwhile to pick various gains from them by ſuch trade?

What do all ſuch things mean, but obſcuring the native ſimplicity of Chriſtianity, whereas it being repreſented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high

admiration, which theſe men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wiſdom? And what would men ſpend for theſe toys, if they underſtood they might be good Chriſtians, and get to heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of religion ſerve for, but for oſtentation of the dignity of thoſe who adminiſter it? It may be pretended for the honour of religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the prieſthood, who ſhine in thoſe pageantries.

Why is monkery (although ſo very different from that which was in the ancient times) ſo cried up as a ſuperlative ſtate of perfection, but that it filleth all places with ſwarms of luſty people, who are vowed ſervants to him, and have little elſe to do, but to advance that authority, by which they ſubſiſt in that droniſh way of life?

In fine, peruſing the controverſies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romaniſm, do but conſider the nature and ſcope of each doctrine maintained by them; and you may eaſily diſcern, that ſcarce any of them but doth tend to advance the intereſt of the Pope, or of his ſworn vaſſals.

Whereas indeed our Lord had never any ſuch deſign, to ſet up a ſort of men in ſuch diſtance above their brethren; to perk over them, and ſuck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge people to allow their paſtors a competent maintenance for a ſober life, with a moderate reſpect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people; whom they were, with humility and meekneſs, to inſtruct and guide in the plain and ſimple way of piety.

This is a grievous inconvenience; there being nothing wherein the Church is more concerned, than in the preſervation of its doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine, and miſcarriages in practice, which this authority in favour to itſelf would introduce, would be eſtabliſhed immoveably, to the irrecoverable oppreſſion of truth and piety; any reformation becoming impoſſible, while it ſtandeth, or ſo far as it ſhall be able to oppoſe and obſtruct it.

While particular churches do retain their liberty, and paſtors their original coordination in any meaſure, if any church or biſhop ſhall offer to broach any novel doctrine or practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to ſtop the ſettlement or progreſs of them; each church at leaſt may keep itſelf ſound from contagion.

But when all churches and biſhops are reduced into ſubjection to one head, ſupported by the guards of his authority, who will dare to conteſt, or be able to withſtand, what he ſhall ſay or do? It will then be deemed high preſumption, contumacy, rebellion, to diſſent from his determinations, how falſe ſoever, or tax the practices countenanced by him, however irregular and culpable.

He will aſſume to himſelf the privilege not to be croſſed in any thing; and ſoon will claim *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility.*

No error can be ſo palpable, which that authority will not protect and ſhroud from confutation; no practice ſo enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be legions of mercenary tongues to ſpeak, and ſtipendiary pens to write in defence of its doctrines and practices; ſo that whoever will undertake to oppoſe it ſhall be voted down and overwhelmed with noiſe, and ſhall incur all the diſcouragement and perſecution imaginable. So poor truth will become utterly defenceleſs, wretched virtue deſtitute of ſuccour or patronage.

This is ſo in ſpeculation, and we ſee it confirmed by experience: for when from the influence of this power (as Pope Adrian VI. did ingenuouſly confeſs) an apparent degeneracy in doctrine, in diſcipline, in practice had ſeized on Chriſtendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how ſtiff a repugnance did the adherents to this intereſt make thereto! with what induſtry and craft did popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy!

Sleid. lib. iv. p. 82. lib. xii. p. 322. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. p. 24. Vid. Riv. in Caſtig. Nol. p. 525.

Centum gravamina.

What will not this party do rather than acknowledge themſelves miſtaken or liable to error? what palliations,

what ſhifts do not they uſe? what evidence of light do they not outface?

5. The ſame will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief clergy partaking of its growth, and protected by its intereſt, (reciprocally ſupporting it, and being ſheltered by it from any curb or control,) will ſwell into great pride and haughtineſs; will be tempted to ſcrape and hoard up wealth, by rapine, extortion, ſimony; will come to enjoy eaſe and ſloth; will be immerſed in ſenſuality and luxury, and will conſequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of ſuch dignity, and will uſe all means and arts to attain it[o].

Thence emulation, diſcord, ſycophantry will ſpring.

Thence all eccleſiaſtical offices will become venal; to be purchaſed by bribes, flattery, favour.——

The higher ranks will become faſtuous, ſupercilious, and domineering. The lower will baſely crouch, cog.——

What then muſt the people be, the guides being ſuch?

Were ſuch guides like to edify the people by their doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their example? Alv. Pelag. in Riv. Caſtig. N. cap. 8.

That thus it hath happened experience doth ſhew, and hiſtory doth abundantly teſtify. This was ſoon obſerved by a Pagan hiſtorian, Am. Marcellin. By St. Baſil, ὄφρυς ἐντική. Vid. Bern. Converſ. S. Paul. Serm. i. p. 87.

What miſchief this, what ſcandal to religion, what detriment to the Church, what ruins of ſouls it produceth, is viſible.

The deſcriptions of Rome and of that Church, by Mantuan, do in a lively manner repreſent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This authority, as it would induce corruption of manners, ſo it would perpetuate it; and render the ſtate of things incorrigible.

[o] Vid. ipſum Greg. VII. Ep. i. 42. ii. 45. See the deſcription of them in S. Bernard. *in Cant. Serm.* 33. *Guicciard. in Suppl.*

For this head of the Church, and the ſupporters of his authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

That will happen of any Pope, which the fathers of Baſil complained of in Pope Eugenius [o].

Vid. Conc. Trid. p. 22. If the Pope would, (as Pope Adrian VI.) yet he will not be able to reform; the intereſts of his dependents croſſing it.

If there hath happened a good Pope, who deſired to reform; yet he hath been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and found it impoſſible to reform even a few particulars in his own houſe, the incorrigible Roman court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this ſpiritual authority doth encourage it with inſuperable obſtinacy to withſtand all reformation: for whereas if any temporal power doth grow intolerable, God's providence by wars and revolutions of ſtate may diſpenſe a redreſs, they have prevented this, by ſuppoſing that in this caſe God hath tied his own hands; this authority being immoveably fixed in the ſame hands, from which no revolution can take it: whence from its exorbitances there can be no reſcue or relief.

7. This authority will ſpoil him in whom it is ſeated; corrupting his mind and manners; rendering him a ſcandal to religion, and a pernicious inſtrument of wickedneſs, by the influence of his example [p].

[o] —Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Chriſto placentem, aut notiſſimorum abuſuum correctionem in Eccleſia ſancta Dei efficere fatageret. *Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. xxiii. (p. 76.) Seſſ. xxxi. p. 89.

He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, ſeriouſly to ſet upon any amendment of errors or correction of the moſt groſs abuſes in the holy Church of God.

[p] It will certainly render him a tyrant, according to the definition of Ariſtotle, *Pol.* iv. 10.

Cui plus licet quam par eſt, plus vult quam licet. Unde ſicut langueſcente capite, reliquum poſtea corpus morbus invadat. *Conc. Baſſ.* Seſſ. xxiii. (p. 64.)

Whence it comes to paſs, that if the head be ſick, the reſt of the body afterward grows diſeaſed. Vid. *Conc. Baſ.* p. 87. *Conc. Conſt.* p. 1110.

To this an uncontrollable power (bridled with no reſtraint) and impunity doth naturally tend, and accordingly hath it been——.

How many notorious reprobates, monſters of wickedneſs, have been in that ſee! [q]

If we ſurvey the lives of the popes, written by hiſtorians moſt indifferent, or (as moſt have been) partial in favour to them, we ſhall find, at firſt good ones, martyrs, confeſſors, ſaints: but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones! how many extremely bad! The firſt popes before Conſtantine were holy men: the next were tolerable, while the papacy kept within bounds of modeſty: but when they having ſhaken off their maſter, and renounced allegiance to the emperor, (i. e. after Gregory II.) few tolerable; generally they were either rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, inſolent, turbulent, and ravenous.

Bellarmine and Baronius do bob off this, by telling us, that hence the providence of God is moſt apparent [r].

But do they call this preſerving the Church; the permiſſion of it to continue ſo long in ſuch a condition, under the prevalence of ſuch miſchiefs? when hath God deſerted any people, if not then, when ſuch impiety more than Pagan doth reign in it [s]?

But what in the mean time became of thoſe ſouls, which by this means were ruined? what amends for the vaſt damage which religion ſuſtained? for the introducing ſo pernicious cuſtoms hardly to be extirpated [t]?——

[q] Vid. Diſt. xl. cap. 6. (hujus culpas, etſi.) Vid. Alv. Pelag. apud Riv. Cath. Orth. p. 141. Baron. Pope Marcellus II. doubted whether a pope could be ſaved. *Thuan.* lib. xv. (p. 566.) From John VIII. to Leo IX. what a rabble of rake-hells and ſots did ſit in that chair! *Machiavel, Hiſt.* lib. xvi. p. 1271. *Baron.* ann. 912. §. 8.

[r] Baron. ann. 897. §. 5. It was ſaid of Veſpaſian, Solus imperantium melior——ſo apt is power to corrupt men. Solus omnium ante ſe principum in melius mutatus eſt. *Tac. Hiſt.* i. (p. 451.)

[s] How vain is that which Pope Greg. VII. citeth out of Pope Symmachus, B. Petrus perennem meritorum dotem cum hæreditate innocentiæ miſit ad poſteros. *Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21.

[t] Quod Romanus Pontifex, ſi canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur ſanctus; was one of Pope Greg. VII.'s dictates. That

To what a paſs of ſhameleſs wickedneſs muſt things have come, when ſuch men as Alexander VI. having viſibly ſuch an impure brood, ſhould be placed in this chair!

Even after the reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to ſet Paul the third there.

How unfit muſt ſuch men be, to be the guides of all Chriſtendom; to breathe oracles of truth, to enact laws of ſanctity!

How improper were thoſe veſſels of Satan to be organs of that *holy ſpirit of diſcipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without underſtanding, and will not abide where unrighteouſneſs cometh in!*

Wiſd. i. 5.

It will engage the pope to make the eccleſiaſtical authority an engine of advancing the temporal concerns of his own relations, (his ſons, his nephews.)

Vid. Guicciard. Machiav. Hiſt. Fl. p. 19. Conc. Baſ. (p. 65.)

What indeed is the Popedom now, but a ladder for a family to mount unto great eſtate?

What is it, but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof a family muſt make hay while the ſun ſhines [u]?

8. This pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great miſchief in the world, to the diſturbance of civil ſocieties, and deſtruction or debilitation of temporal authority, which is certainly God's ordinance, and neceſſary to the well being of mankind; ſo that ſuppoſing it, we may in vain *pray for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty.*

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

For ſuppoſe the two powers (ſpiritual and temporal) to

the Roman Pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of bleſſed Peter.

[u] —— Cum non ob religionem, et Dei cultum appetere pontificatum noſtri ſacerdotes videantur, ſed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem et avaritiam expleant. *Plat. in Joh. XVI.* (p. 298.)

Whereas our prieſts ſeem to deſire the Popedom, not for religion and the worſhip of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetouſneſs of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.

be coordinate, and independent each of other; then muſt all Chriſtians be put into that perplexed ſtate of repugnant and incompatible obligations, concerning which our Lord ſaith, *No man can ſerve two maſters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or elſe he will hold to the one, and deſpiſe the other.* Matt. vi. 24.

They will often draw ſeveral ways, and claſh in their deſigns, in their laws, in their deciſions; one willing and commanding that which the other diſliketh and prohibiteth.

It will be impoſſible by any certain bounds to diſtinguiſh their juriſdiction, ſo as to prevent conteſt between them; all temporal matters being in ſome reſpect ſpiritual, (as being referrible to ſpiritual ends, and in ſome manner allied to religion,) and all ſpiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the ſecular peace and proſperity of ſtates: there is nothing which each of theſe powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and juriſdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the Church, the other to ſecure the intereſt of the State: and what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence ariſing; there being no third power to arbitrate or moderate between them? Bell. v. 6. (p. 1415.)

Each will proſecute its cauſe by its advantages; the one by inſtruments of temporal power, the other by ſpiritual arms of cenſures and curſes.

And in what a caſe muſt the poor people then be! how diſtracted in their conſciences, how divided in their affections, how diſcordant in their practices! according as each pretence hath influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages.

How can any man ſatisfy himſelf in performing or refuſing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other!

What ſhall a man do, while one in caſe of diſobedience

to his commands doth brandiſh a ſword, the other thundereth out a curſe againſt him; one threateneth death, the other exciſion from the Church; both denounce damnation?

What animoſities and contentions, what diſcompoſures and confuſions muſt this conſtitution of things breed in every place! and how can *a kingdom ſo divided in itſelf ſtand*, or not *come into deſolation?*

Matt. xii. 25.

Such an advantage infallibly will make popes affect to invade the temporal power.

It was the reaſon which Pope Paſchal alleged againſt Henry IV. becauſe he did *eccleſiæ regnum auferre.*

P. Paſch. II. Ep. 7.

It is indeed impoſſible, that a coordination of theſe powers ſhould ſubſiſt; for each will be continually encroaching on the other; each for its own defence and ſupport will continually be ſtruggling and clambering to get above the other: there will never be any quiet, till one come to ſubſide and truckle under the other; whereby the ſovereignty of the one or the other will be deſtroyed. Each of them ſoon will come to claim a ſupremacy in all cauſes, and the power of both ſwords; and one ſide will carry it.

It is indeed neceſſary, that men for a time continuing poſſeſſed with a reverence to the eccleſiaſtical authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it ſhould at laſt overthrow the temporal, by reaſon of its great advantages above it; for

The ſpiritual power doth pretend an eſtabliſhment purely divine; which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminutions, or tranſlation, to which temporal dominions are ſubject: its power therefore being perpetual, irreverſible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered[x].

It fighteth with tongues and pens, which are the moſt perilous weapons.

[x] Vid. Mach. Hiſt. Flor. p. 18.——Impeti poſſunt humanis præſumptionibus quæ divino ſunt judicio conſtituta, vinci autem quorumlibet poteſtate non poſſunt. *P. Gel.* Ep. 8. *Felix P.* Ep. i. (p. 597.)

It can never be diſarmed, fighting with weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It worketh by moſt powerful conſiderations upon the conſciences and affections of men, upon pain of damnation, promiſing heaven, and threatening hell; which upon ſome men have an infinite ſway, upon all men a conſiderable influence; and thereby will be too hard for thoſe who only can grant temporal rewards or inflict temporal puniſhments. It is ſurely a notable advantage that the Pope hath above all princes, that he commandeth not only as a prince, but as a guide; ſo that whereas we are not otherwiſe bound to obey the commands of princes, than as they appear concordant with God's law, we muſt obſerve his commands abſolutely, as being therefore lawful, becauſe he commandeth them, that involving his aſſertion of their lawfulneſs, to which (without further inquiry or ſcruple) we muſt ſubmit our underſtanding, his words ſufficiently authorizing his commands for juſt. We are not only obliged to obey his commands, but to embrace his doctrines.

It hath continual opportunities of converſing with men; and thereby can inſinuate and ſuggeſt the obligation to obey it, with greateſt advantage, in ſecrecy, in the tenderest ſeaſons.

It claimeth a power to have its inſtruction admitted with aſſent: and will it not inſtruct them for its own advantage? All its aſſertions muſt be believed—is not this an infinite advantage?

By ſuch advantages the ſpiritual power (if admitted for ſuch as it pretendeth) will ſwallow and devour the temporal; which will be an extreme miſchief to the world.

The very pretence doth immediately crop and curtail the natural right of princes, by exempting great numbers of perſons (the participants and dependents of this hierarchy) from ſubjection to them; by withdrawing cauſes from their juriſdiction; by commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories;

by having influence on their opinion; by draining them of wealth, &c[y].

To this diſcourſe experience abundantly doth yield its atteſtation; for, how often have the popes thwarted princes in the exerciſe of their power, challenging their laws and adminiſtrations as prejudicial to religion, as contrary to eccleſiaſtical liberty[z]!

Arietes furioſos, *Bell.* v. 7.

Bodin (l. 9.) obſerveth, that if any prince were a heretic, (that is, if the Pope could pick occaſion to call him ſo,) or a tyrant, (that is, in his opinion,) or anywiſe ſcandalous, the Pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himſelf a feudatory to the Pope: ſo he drew in moſt kingdoms to depend on him.

Vid. Tort. T. p. 216. Greg. VII. Ep. i. 7. cxii. 13, 63.

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them!

How many commotions, conſpiracies, rebellions, and inſurrections againſt princes have they raiſed in ſeveral countries[a]!

How have they inveigled people from their allegiance! How many maſſacres and aſſaſſinations have they cauſed! How have they depreſſed and vilified the temporal power!

[y] Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam eccleſiaſticam minui dignitatem, aut pro eccleſiaſtica dignitate principum potentiam mutilari. *P. Paſch. II.* Ep. 28, 29.

For we will not that either the eccleſiaſtical dignity ſhould be diminiſhed, by reaſon of the prince's power, or that the prince's power ſhould be curtailed for the eccleſiaſtical dignity.

[z] In vain did St. Bernard, (de Conſid. 1.) cry, Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem veſtram in alienam meſſam extenditis?

Why do you invade other men's territories? why thruſt you your ſickle into other men's harveſt?

[a] Vid. Plat. de Bonif. VIII. p. 467. Jul. 2. Non ſine ſuſpicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, diſcordias tollere debuiſſent, ſuſcitarent ea potius atque nutrirent. *Epiſc. Modruſ. in Conc. Lat. V.* Seſſ. 6. (p. 72.)

Not without ſuſpicion, that the popes of thoſe times, who ought to have extinguiſhed wars, and put an end to diſſenſions, did rather raiſe them up and cheriſh them. See *Greg. VII.* Ep. iv. 2. viii. 21.

Have they not aſſumed to themſelves ſuperiority over all princes? The Emperor himſelf (the chief of Chriſtian princes) they did call their vaſſal, exacting an oath from them, whereof you have a form in the Canon Law, and a declaration of Pope Clement V. that it is an oath of fealty. Vid. Conc. Lugd. p. 851.

Have they not challenged propriety in both ſwords; *Ecce duo gladii?*

How many princes have they pretended to depoſe, and diſpoſſeſs of their authority [b]!

Conſider the pragmatical ſanctions, proviſors, compoſitions, concordats, &c. which princes have been forced to make againſt them, or with them, to ſecure their intereſt.

Many good princes have been forced to oppoſe them, as Henry the Second of England, King Lewis the Twelfth of France, (that juſt prince, *Pater Patriæ*,) *Perdam Babylonis nomen.* Thuan. lib. 1.

How often have they uſed this as a pretence of raiſing and fomenting wars! confiding in their ſpiritual arms; interdicting princes, that would not comply with their deſigns, for advancing the intereſts not only of their ſee, but of their private families [c]!

Bodin obſerveth, that Pope Nicholas I. was the firſt who excommunicated princes. Platina doth mention ſome before him: but it is remarkable, that although Pope Leo I. (a high-ſpirited pope, (*fortiſſimus Leo*, as Liberatus calleth him) was highly provoked againſt Theodoſius junior; Pope Gelaſius, and divers of his predeceſſors and followers; Pope Gregory II. againſt Leo; Vigilius againſt Juſtinian, &c. yet none of them did preſume to excommunicate the emperors. Obſerv.

[b] Auctoritate apoſtolica de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis exiſtere et cenſeri debere. *Clement.* lib. ii. tit. 9. cap. unicum.

We declare out of our apoſtolical authority, by the advice of our brethren, that the foreſaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be ſo eſteemed.

[c] Abutente Chriſtianorum paſtore Chriſtianorum principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, et ſuorum libidini inſerviret. *Thuan.* lib. i. p. 42.

The paſtor of Chriſtians abuſing the power of Chriſtian princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and luſt of his friends.

All theſe dealings are the natural reſult of this pretence; and, ſuppoſing it well grounded, are capable of a plauſible juſtification: for is it not fit, (ſeeing one muſt yield,) that temporal ſhould yield to ſpiritual?

Indeed, granting the papal ſupremacy in ſpirituals, I conceive the high-flying zealots of the Roman church, who ſubject all temporal powers to them, have great reaſon on their ſide; for coordinate power cannot ſubſiſt, and it would be only an eternal ſeminary of perpetual diſcords.

The quarrel cannot otherwiſe be well compoſed, than by wholly diſclaiming the fictitious and uſurped power of the Pope: for

Two ſuch powers (ſo inconſiſtent and croſs to each other, ſo apt to interfere, and conſequently to breed everlaſting miſchiefs to mankind between them) could not be inſtituted by God.——

He would not appoint two different vicegerents in his kingdom at the ſame time.——

Tort. T. p. 210. But it is plain, that he hath inſtituted the civil power; and endowed it with a ſword. That princes are his * P. Anaſt. calleth the emperor Anaſt. *Vicarium. Epiſt.* (p. 670.) Eccl. Leod. p. 522. lieutenants*.

That in the ancient times the popes did not claim ſuch authority, but avowed themſelves ſubjects to princes.

9. Conſequently this pretence is apt to engage Chriſtian princes againſt Chriſtianity; for they will not endure to be croſſed, to be depreſſed, to be trampled on.

This popes often have complained of; not conſidering it was their own inſolence that cauſed it.

10. Whereas now Chriſtendom is ſplit into many parcels, ſubject to divers civil ſovereignties, it is expedient that correſpondently there ſhould be diſtinct eccleſiaſtical governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the reſpective civil authorities in promoting the good and peace both of Church and State[d].

It is fit, that every prince ſhould in all things govern

[d] Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam eccleſiafticarum parochiarum fines in pleriſque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri. *P. Paſch. II.* Ep. 19.

all his ſubjects; and none ſhould be exempted from ſubordination to his authority: as philoſophers, and phyſicians of the body; ſo prieſts, and phyſicians of the ſoul; not in exerciſing their function, but in taking care that they do exerciſe it duly for the honour of God, and in conſiſtence with public good; otherwiſe many grievous inconveniences muſt enſue.

It is of perilous conſequence, that foreigners ſhould have authoritative influence upon the ſubjects of any prince, or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural right to determine with whom their ſubjects ſhall have intercourſe: which is inconſiſtent with a right of foreigners to govern or judge them in any caſe, without their leave.

Every prince is obliged to employ the power intruſted to him, to the furtherance of God's ſervice, and encouragement of all good works; as a ſupreme power, without being liable to obſtruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power, if another ſhould be beyond his coercion.

It is obſervable, that the Pope by intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms did ſo wind himſelf into them, as to get a pretence to be maſter of each; princes being his vaſſals and feudatories [c].

11. Such an authority is needleſs and uſeleſs; it not ſerving the ends which it pretendeth; and they being better compaſſed without it.

It pretendeth to maintain truth; but indeed it is more apt to oppreſs it.

[c] Vid. Bod. de Rep. i. 9. (p. 195.) Car les princes Chrétiens avoient preſque tous opinion, que le Pape étoit abſolument ſeigneur ſouverain de tous les royaumes de la Chrétienté. *Bod. ibid.* p. 196. *Tort. Tort.* p. 216, &c.—— *Greg. VII.* Ep. 1, 7, 2, 13. *Alex. II.* Ep. 8.

Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἑκαστῦ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν I. X. διδασκαλίας ἀφισαμένυ, λογισμοὺς δέ τινας ἢ ὅρυς ἰδίυς ἐκδικῦντος ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τῦ Κυρίυ, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίυ βυλομένυ. *Baſ. de Jud. Dei*, t. ii. p. 259.

So great a diſſonancy and jarring there is among men in the Church, while every one ſwerves from the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and aſſerts certain conceits and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord, than be ruled by the Lord.

Truth is rather (as St. Cyprian wiſely obſerveth) preſerved by the multitude of biſhops, whereof ſome will be ready to relieve it, when aſſaulted by others.

Truth cannot be ſupported merely by human authority; eſpecially that authority is to be ſuſpected which pretendeth dominion over our minds. What controverſy, being doubtful in itſelf, will not after his deciſion continue doubtful? His ſentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as other teſtimonies or authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wiſdom or ſkill may be the ground of aſſent, in defect of other more cogent arguments; but authority of name or dignity is not proper to convince a man's underſtanding. Men obey, but not believe princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretendeth to maintain order: but how? by introducing ſlavery; by deſtroying all rights; by multiplying diſorders; by hindering order to be quietly adminiſtered in each country.

It pretendeth to be the only means of unity and concord in opinion, by determining controverſies: which its advocates affirm neceſſary [f].

But how can that be neceſſary which never was *de facto*, not even in the Roman church?

Hath the Pope effected this? Do all his followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his authority? Do not they differ and diſpute about infinity of queſtions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their divines and ſchoolmen diſpute? Why did not the Council of Trent itſelf, without more ado, and keeping ſuch a diſputing, refer all to his oracular deciſion?

Ἰκανότης ἡ διὰ γραφῆς. *Ath.*

Neceſſary points may and will, by all honeſt people, be known and determined without him, by the clear teſtimony of Scripture, by conſent of Fathers, by general tradition.—And other points need not to be determined.

That he may be capable of that office, he muſt be be-

[f] Neceſſe eſt, ut omnes fideles idem ſentiant. *Bell.* i. 9.
It is neceſſary that all the faithful ſhould be of the ſame opinion.

lieved appointed by God thereto; which is a queſtion itſelf to be decided without him, to ſatisfaction. His power is apt no otherwiſe to knock down controverſies, than by lepreſſing truth; not ſuffering any truth to be aſſerted, which doth not favour its intereſts.

Concord was maintained, and controverſies decided, without them in the ancient Church; in ſynods, wherein he was not the ſole judge, nor had obſervable influence.

The Fathers did not think ſuch authority needful, otherwiſe they would have made more uſe of it. Nemini præſcribentes.

A more ready way to define controverſies is for every one not to preſcribe to others, or to perſecute; for then men would more calmly ſee the truth, and conſent.

It pretendeth to maintain peace and unity. But nothing hath raiſed more fierce diſſenſions, or ſo many bloody wars in Chriſtendom, as it.

It is apt by tyrannical adminiſtration to become intolerable, and ſo to break the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; to raiſe ſchiſms and troubles.

It is like to extinguiſh genuine charity, which is free and uncompelled.

All the peace and charity which it endureth is by force and compulſion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The ancients did aſſert to each biſhop a free, abſolute, independent authority, ſubject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on earth, in the adminiſtration of affairs properly concerning his particular church.

This is moſt evident in St. Cyprian's writings; out of which it will not be amiſs to ſet down ſome paſſages, manifeſting the ſenſe and practice of the Church in his time, to the ſatisfaction of any ingenuous mind.

[s] *The bond of concord abiding, and the ſacrament* (or doctrine) *of the Catholic Church perſiſting undivided, every biſhop diſpoſeth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpoſe to the Lord.* This he writeth,

[s] Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perſeverante Catholicæ Eccleſiæ individuo ſacramento, actum ſuum diſponit et dirigit unuſquiſque epiſcopus, rationem propoſiti ſui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Antonianum.*)

when he was pleading the cauſe of Pope Cornelius againſt Novatian; but then, it ſeemeth, not dreaming of his ſupremacy over others.

[h] *But we know, that ſome will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will eaſily change their mind; but, the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues being preſerved, will retain ſome peculiar things, which have once been uſed by them; in which matter neither do we force any, or give law; whenas every prelate hath in the adminiſtration of his church the free power of his will, being to render unto the Lord an account of his acting.* This ſaith he, writing to Pope Stephanus, and in a friendly manner, [i] *out of common reſpect and ſingle love,* (not out of ſervile obeiſance,) acquainting him what he and his brethren in a ſynod, [k] *by common conſent and authority,* had eſtabliſhed concerning the degradation of clergymen who had been ordained by heretics, or had lapſed into ſchiſm.

[l] *For ſeeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewiſe equal and juſt, that each man's cauſe ſhould be there heard where the crime is committed; and to each paſtor a portion of the flock is aſſigned, which each ſhould rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord; thoſe indeed over whom we preſide ought not to ramble about.* This ſaith he, in his Epiſtle to Pope Cornelius, upon occaſion of ſome factious clergymen addreſſing themſelves to him with factious ſuggeſtions, to gain his countenance.

[h] Cæterum ſcimus quoſdam quod ſemel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propoſitum ſuum facile mutare, ſed ſalvo inter collegas, pacis et concordiæ vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud ſe ſemel ſint uſurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ liberum arbitrium unuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 72. (*ad Stephanum.*)

[i] Hæc ad conſcientiam tuam, frater chariſſime, et pro honore communi et pro ſimplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.

[k] Conſenſu et auctoritate communi.

[l] Nam cum ſtatutum ſit omnibus nobis, et æquum ſit pariter ac juſtum, ut uniuſcujuſque cauſa illic audiatur, ubi eſt crimen admiſſum, et ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis ſit adſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque et gubernet, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præſumus, non circumcurſare, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornelium.*)

[m] *Theſe things I have briefly written back, according to our meanneſs, dear brother; preſcribing to none, nor prejudging, that every biſhop ſhould not do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will.*

[n] *In which matter our baſhfulneſs and modeſty doth not prejudge any one; ſo that every one may not judge as he thinketh, and act as he judgeth:* preſcribing to none, [o] *ſo that every biſhop may not reſolve what he thinks good, being to render an account to the Lord,* &c.

[p] *It remaineth that each of us do utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man, if he diſſenteth, from the right of communion; for neither doth any of us conſtitute himſelf biſhop of biſhops, or by tyrannical terror driveth his colleagues to a neceſſity of obeying; whenas every biſhop hath upon account of his liberty and authority his own free choice, and is no leſs exempted from being judged by another, than he is uncapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who, and who alone, hath power both to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of our acting.* Theſe words did St. Cyprian ſpeak as prolocutor of the great ſynod of biſhops at Carthage: and what words could be more expreſs, or more full, in aſſertion of the

[m] Hæc tibi breviter pro noſtra mediocritate reſcripſimus, frater chariſſime; nemini præſcribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minus unuſquiſque epiſcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii ſui liberam poteſtatem. *Cypr.* Ep. 73. (*ad Jubabaianum.*)

[n] Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modeſtia noſtra præjudicat, quo minus unuſquiſque quod putat ſentiat, et quod ſenſerit faciat. *Cypr.* Ep. 76. (*ad Magnum.*)

[o] Nemini præſcribentes, quo minus ſtatuat quod putat unuſquiſque præpoſitus, actus ſui rationem Domino redditurus; ſecundum quod apoſtolus, &c. *Ibid.*

[p] Supereſt ut de hac re ſinguli quid ſentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem ſi diverſum ſenſerit amoventes; neque enim quiſquam noſtrum epiſcopum ſe eſſe epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis epiſcopus pro licentia libertatis et poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non poſſit, quam nec ipſe poteſt alterum judicare; ſed expectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus et ſolus habet poteſtatem et præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ gubernatione, et de actu noſtro judicandi. *Cypr. in præf. Conc. Carthag.*

epiſcopal liberties and rights, againſt almoſt every branch of Romiſh pretences?

He diſavoweth the practice of one biſhop excluding another from communion for diſſent in opinion about diſputable points; he rejecteth the pretence that any man can have, to be a biſhop of biſhops, or ſuperior to all his brethren; he condemneth the impoſing opinions upon biſhops, and conſtraining them to obedience; he diſclaimeth any power in one biſhop to judge another; he aſſerteth to each biſhop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his diſcretion; he affirmeth every biſhop to receive his power only from Chriſt, and to be liable only to his judgment.

Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. ii. 3, &c.

We may obſerve, that St. Auſtin, in his reflections upon the paſſages in that ſynod, doth approve, yea admire that preface, paſſing high commendations on the ſmarteſt paſſages of it which aſſert common liberty, profeſſing his own conformity in practice to them: *In this conſultation*, ſaith he, *is ſhewed a pacific ſoul, overflowing with plenty of charity;* and, [q] *We have therefore a free choice of inquiry granted to us, by the moſt mild and moſt veracious ſpeech of Cyprian himſelf;* and, [r] *Now if the proud and tumid minds of heretics dare to extol themſelves againſt the holy humility of this ſpeech—than which what can be more gentle, more humble?*

Would St. Auſtin have ſwallowed thoſe ſayings, could he have ſo much applauded them, if he had known a juſt power then extant and radiant in the world, which they do impeach and ſubvert? No, I trow; he did not know, nor ſo much as dream of any ſuch; although the Pope was under his noſe while he was diſcuſſing that point, and he could hardly talk ſo much of St. Cyprian without thinking of Pope Stephen.

However let any man of ſenſe honeſtly read and weigh

[q] Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipſius Cypriani nobis mitiſſimo et veraciſſimo ſermone conceſſum. Lib. iii. cap. 3.

[r] Nunc ſi ſe audent ſuperbæ et tumidæ cervices hæreticorum adverſus ſanctam humilitatem hujus ſententiæ extollant. Lib. ii. cap. 3.

Quid manſuetius, quid humilius? Lib. iii. cap. 3.

thoſe paſſages, conſidering who did write them, to whom he writ them, upon what occaſions he writ them, when he writ them; that he was a great primate of the Church, a moſt holy, moſt prudent, moſt humble and meek perſon; that he addreſſed divers of them to biſhops of Rome; that many of them were touching the concerns of popes; that he writ them in times of perſecution and diſtreſs, which produce the moſt ſober and ſerious thoughts; then let him, if he can, conceive that all Chriſtian biſhops were then held ſubject to the Pope, or owned ſuch a power due to him as he now claimeth.

We may add a contemporary teſtimony of the Roman clergy, addreſſing to St. Cyprian theſe words; [a] *Although a mind well conſcious to itſelf, and ſupported by the vigour of evangelical diſcipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true witneſs to itſelf, is wont to be content with God for its only judge; and not to deſire the praiſes, nor to dread the accuſations of another; yet they are worthy of double praiſe, who when they know they owe their conſciences to God only as judge, yet deſire alſo their actions to be approved by their brethren themſelves; the which it is no wonder that you, brother Cyprian, ſhould do, who, according to your modeſty and natural induſtry, would have us not ſo much judges as partakers of your counſels*——. Then it ſeems the college of cardinals, not ſo high in the inſtep as they are now, did take St. Cyprian to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other judge but God.

That this notion of liberty did continue a good time after in the Church, we may ſee by that canon of the

[a] Quanquam bene ſibi conſcius animus, et evangelicæ diſciplinæ vigore ſubnixus, et verus ſibi in decretis cœleſtibus teſtis effectus, ſoleat ſolo Deo judice eſſe contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accuſationes pertimeſcere; tamen geminata ſunt laude condigni, qui cum conſcientiam ſciant Deo ſoli debere ſe judici, actus tamen ſuos deſiderant etiam ab ipſis ſuis fratribus comprobari: quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum eſt, qui pro tua verecundia, et ingenita induſtria conſiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluiſti, quam participes inveniri——. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

Antiochene Synod, [t] *ordaining that every biſhop have power of his own biſhoprick, govern it according to the beſt of his care and diſcretion, and provide for all the country belonging to his city, ſo as to ordain prieſts and deacons, and diſpoſe things aright.*

The monks of Conſtantinople, in the Synod of Chalcedon, ſaid thus; [u] *We are ſons of the Church, and have one father, after God, our archbiſhop:* they forgot their ſovereign father the Pope.

The like notion may ſeem to have been then in England, when the church of Canterbury was called [x] *the common mother of all under the diſpoſition of its ſpouſe Jeſus Chriſt.*

Vid. Ep. P. Celeſt. I. in Conc. Eph. Act. ii. (p. 824.)

VI. The ancients did hold all biſhops, as to their office, originally according to divine inſtitution, or abſtracting from human ſanctions framed to preſerve order and peace, to be equal: for that all are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles; all derive their commiſſion and power in the ſame tenor from God; all of them are *ambaſſadors, ſtewards, vicars of Chriſt,* intruſted with the ſame divine miniſtries of inſtructing, diſpenſing the ſacraments, ruling and exerciſing diſcipline: to which functions and privileges the leaſt biſhop hath right, and to greater the biggeſt cannot pretend.

One biſhop might exceed another in ſplendour, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of juriſdiction, as one king may ſurpaſs another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, ſo all biſhops are equal in office and eſſentials of power, derived from God.

Baron. an. 57. §. 30. Pſ. xlv. 16.

Hence they applied to them that in the Pſalm, *Inſtead of thy fathers ſhall be thy children, whom thou mayeſt make princes in all the earth.*

[t] Ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν; ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἅπαντα διαλαμβάνειν——. *Syn. Ant. Can.* 9.

[u] Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τέκνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐσμεν, καὶ ἵνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἔχομεν. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* i. p. 114.

[x] Omnium noſtrum mater communis ſub ſponſi fui Jeſu Chriſti diſpoſitione. *Gervaſ. Dorob.* (p. 1663.) *apud Twiſd.* p. 72.

This was St. Jerome's doctrine in thoſe famous words; [r] *Wherever a biſhop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Conſtantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the ſame worth and of the ſame prieſthood; the force of wealth and lowneſs of poverty doth not render a biſhop more high or more low; for that all of them are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles:* to evade which plain aſſertion, they have forged diſtinctions, whereof St. Jerome ſurely did never think, he ſpeaking ſimply concerning biſhops, as they ſtood by divine inſtitution, not according to human models, which gave ſome advantages over other.

That this notion did continue long in the Church, we may ſee by the elogies of biſhops in later ſynods; for inſtance, that in the Synod of Compeigne; [z] *It is convenient all Chriſtians ſhould know what kind of office the biſhop's is, —who it is plain are the vicars of Chriſt, and keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

And that of the Synod of Melun; [a] *And though all of us unworthy, yet are the vicars of Chriſt, and ſucceſſors of his Apoſtles.*

In contemplation of which verity, St. Gregory Nazianzen, obſerving the declenſion from it introduced in his times by the ambition of ſome prelates, did vent that famous exclamation; [b] *O that there were not at all any preſidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical enjoyment of prerogatives!*—which earneſt wiſh he ſurely did not mean to level againſt the ordinance of God, but againſt that which lately began to be intruded by men. And what would the good man have wiſhed, if he had been aware of thoſe pretences, about which we diſcourſe;

[r] Ubicunque fuerit epiſcopus, ſive Romæ ſive Eugubii, &c. *Hieron. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85.

[z] Omnibus in Chriſtiana religione conſtitutis ſcire convenit quale ſit miniſterium epiſcoporum—quos conſtat eſſe vicarios Chriſti, et clavigeros regni cœlorum, &c. *Syn. Compend.* ann. Dom. 833. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.)

[a] Nos omnes licet indigni, Chriſti tamen vicarii, et Apoſtolorum ipſius ſucceſſores. *Syn. Meldenſ.* ann. Dom. 845. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 402.)

[b] Ὡς ὄφελόν γε μηδὲ ἦν πρωτεῖα, μηδὲ τις τόπου προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία——. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 28.

which then did only begin to bud and peep up in the world?

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common ſentiments in any caſe; and it therefore ſheweth, that in the primitive Church the Pope was not deemed to have a right of univerſal ſovereignty: for if ſuch a thing had been inſtituted by God, or eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles, the Pope certainly with evident clearneſs would have appeared to have poſſeſſed it; and would have ſometimes (I might ſay frequently, yea continually) have exerciſed it in the firſt ages: which that he did not at all, we ſhall make, I hope, very manifeſt, by reflecting on the chief paſſages occurring then; whereof indeed there is ſcarce any one, which, duly weighed, doth not ſerve to overthrow the Roman pretence: but that matter I reſerve to another place; and ſhall propound other conſiderations, declaring the ſenſe of the Fathers; only I ſhall add, that indeed,

2. The ſtate of the moſt primitive Church did not well admit ſuch an univerſal ſovereignty. For that did conſiſt of ſmall bodies incoherently ſituated, and ſcattered about in very diſtant places, and conſequently unfit to be modelled into one political ſociety, or to be governed by one head. Eſpecially conſidering their condition under perſecution and poverty. What convenient reſort for direction or juſtice could a few diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Meſopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts, have to Rome! What trouble, what burden had it been, to ſeek inſtruction, ſuccour, deciſion of caſes thence! Had they been obliged or required to do ſo, what offences, what clamours would it have raiſed! ſeeing that afterward, when Chriſtendom was connected and compacted together, when the ſtate of Chriſtians was flouriſhing and proſperous, when paſſages were open, and the beſt of opportunities of correſpondence were afforded, yet the ſetting out of theſe pretences did cauſe great oppoſitions and ſtirs; ſeeing the exerciſe of this authority, when it had obtained moſt vigour, did produce ſo many grievances, ſo many com-

plaints, ſo many courſes to check and curb it, in countries feeling the inconveniences and miſchiefs ſpringing from it.

The want of the like in the firſt ages is a good argument, that the cauſe of them had not yet ſprung up; Chriſtendom could not have been ſo ſtill, if there had been then ſo meddleſome a body in it, as the Pope now is.

The Roman clergy, in their Epiſtle to St. Cyprian, told him, that [c] *becauſe of the difficulty of things and times, they could not conſtitute a biſhop who might moderate things* immediately belonging to them in their own precincts: how much more in that ſtate of things would a biſhop there be fit to moderate things over all the world; when, as Rigaltius truly noteth, [d] *the Church being then oppreſſed with various vexations, the communication of provinces between themſelves was difficult and unfrequent.*

Wherefore Bellarmine himſelf doth confeſs, that in thoſe times, before the Nicene Synod, [e] *the authority of the Pope was not a little hindered, ſo that becauſe of continual perſecutions he could not freely exerciſe it.*

The Church therefore could ſo long ſubſiſt without the uſe of ſuch authority, by the vigilance of governors over their flocks, and the friendly correſpondence of neighbour churches: and if he would let it alone, it might do ſo ſtill.

That could be no divine inſtitution, which had no vigour in the firſt and beſt times; but an innovation raiſed by ambition.

VII. The ancients, when occaſion did require, did maintain their equality of office and authority, particularly in reſpect to the Roman biſhops; not only interpre-

[c] Nobis, poſt exceſſum nobiliſſimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum eſt epiſcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultatem conſtitutus, qui omnia ita moderetur——. *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

[d] Variis tunc Eccleſia vexationibus oppreſſa, difficilis et infrequens erat provinciarum inter ſeſe communicatio. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[e] Verum enim eſt impeditam fuiſſe eo tempore non parum pontificis auctoritatem——propter perſecutiones continuas non potuiſſe Romanos Pontifices libere exercere eam, quam a Chriſto acceperant auctoritatem, &c. *Bell. de R. P.* ii. 17.

tatively by practice, but directly and formally in express terms asserting it.

Thus when Feliciſſimus and his complices, being rejected by St. Cyprian, did apply themſelves to Pope Cornelius for his communion and countenance, St. Cyprian affirmed that to be an irregular and unjuſt courſe; ſubjoining, [f] *Except to a few deſperate and wicked perſons, the authority of the biſhops conſtituted in Africk, who have already judged of them, do ſeem leſs;* that is, inferior to any other authority, particularly to that of Rome, unto which they had recourſe: what other meaning could he have? Doth not his argument require this meaning?

Another inſtance is that of the Fathers of the Antiochene Synod, [g] (being ninety-ſeven biſhops,) the which St. Hilary calleth, [h] *a ſynod of ſaints congregated,* (the decrees whereof the Catholic Church did admit into its code, and the canons whereof popes have called *venerable* [i]:) theſe in their Epiſtle to Pope Julius, complaining of his demeanour in the caſe of Athanaſius, did flatly aſſert to themſelves an equality with him; [k] *They did not,* as Sozomen reciteth out of their Epiſtle, *therefore think it equal, that they ſhould be thought inferiors, becauſe they had not ſo big and numerous a church.*

That Pope himſelf teſtifieth the ſame in his Epiſtle to them, extant in the ſecond apology of Athanaſius; [l] *If,* ſaith he, *ye do truly conceive the honour of biſhops to be equal, and the ſame; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of biſhops according to the magnitude of cities:* which aſſertion of theirs ſo flatly thwarting papal ſupremacy he doth

[f] Niſi ſi paucis deſperatis et perditis minor eſſe videtur auctoritas epiſcoporum in Africa conſtitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt——.

[g] Fides quam expoſuerunt qui affuerunt epiſcopi 97.—— *Hilar. de Synodis.* (p. 367.)

[h] Congregatam ſanctorum ſynodum. *Hilar.* ibid.

[i] Venerabiles Antiocheni Canones. *P. Nicol. I.* Ep. ix. (p. 519.)

[k] Οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει, ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. *Soz.* iii. 8.

[l] Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθε τιμὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφετε, κρίνετε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. *P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol.* ii. (p. 744.)

not at all confute, yea not ſo much as contradict; and therefore reaſonably may be interpreted to yield conſent thereto; the rule, *He that holdeth his peace ſeemeth to conſent*, never holding better than in this caſe, when his copyhold was ſo nearly touched: indeed he had been very blameable to wave ſuch an occaſion of defending ſo important a truth, or in letting ſo peſtilent an error to paſs without correction or reproof. Qui tacet conſentiri videtur.

After the Pope had climbed higher than at that time, (upon the ladders of diſſenſion and diſorders in the Church,) yet he was reproved by Euphemius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, for preferring himſelf before his brethren; as we may collect from thoſe words of a zealous Pope, [m] *We deſire not to be placed above others, (as you ſay,) ſo much as to have fellowſhip holy and well-pleaſing to God with all the faithful.*

That Pope Gregory I. did not hold himſelf ſuperior to other biſhops, many ſayings of his do infer: for in this he placeth the fault of the biſhop of Conſtantinople, which he ſo often and ſo ſeverely reprehendeth, that he did [n] *prefer himſelf before, and extol himſelf above other biſhops.*

And would he directly aſſume that to himſelf which he chargeth on another, although only following his poſition by conſequence?

And when Eulogius the biſhop of Alexandria had complimentally ſaid, *Sicut juſſiſtis, As ye commanded;* he doth thus expreſs his reſentment; [o] *That word of command I*

[m] Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (ſicut prædicas) quam cum fidelibus cunctis ſanctum et Deo placitum habere conſortium. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Euphemium.*)

[n] ——In elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit, quia ſuperbiendo ſe cæteris præponit. *P. Greg. I.* Ep. vi. 30. Super cæteros ſacerdotes ſe extollit. *Ibid.* Chriſti ſibi ſtudent membra judicare. *Id.* Ep. iv. 36. Solus omnibus præeſſe. *Id.* Ep. iv. 38.——quibus (epiſcopis) cupis temetipſum vocabulo elationis præponere. *Id. ibid.*

[o] Quod verbum juſſionis peto a meo auditu removeri; quia ſcio quis ſum, qui eſtis; loco enim mihi fratres eſtis, moribus patres, non ergo juſſi, ſed quæ utilia viſa ſunt, indicare curavi, &c. *Greg. I.* Ep. vii. 30. (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

deſire you let me not hear; becauſe I know who I am, and who ye are: by place ye are my brethren; in goodneſs, fathers: I did not therefore command; but what ſeemed profitable, I hinted to you.

That many ſuch inſtances may not be alleged out of antiquity, the reaſon is, becauſe the ancient popes did not underſtand this power to belong to them, and therefore gave no occaſion for biſhops to maintain their honour; or were more juſt, prudent, and modeſt, than to take ſo much upon them, as their ſucceſſors did, upon frivolous pretences.

VIII. The ſtyle uſed by the primitive biſhops in their applications to the Roman biſhop doth ſignify, that they did not apprehend him their ſovereign, but their equal.

Cypr. Ep. 4, 41, 58, 67, 68, 45, 49, &c.

Brother, Colleague, Fellow-biſhop, are the terms which St. Cyprian doth uſe in ſpeaking about the Roman biſhops, his contemporaries, Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus; and in his Epiſtles to the three laſt of them; nor doth he ever uſe any other, importing higher reſpect due to them; as indeed his practice demonſtrateth he did not apprehend any other due; or that he did take them for his ſuperiors in office. *Know now, brother,* was the compellation of Dionyſius (biſhop of Alexandria) to Pope Stephanus. The Synod of Antioch, which rejected Paulus Samoſatenus, inſcribeth its epiſtle to [p] *Dionyſius* (then biſhop of Rome) *and Maximus, and all our fellow-miniſters through the world.*

Ἴσθι νῦν, ἀδελφέ,— *Euſeb.* vii. 5.

The old Synod of Arles directeth their epiſtle *to Seignior Sylveſter, their brother.* Athanaſius ſaith, [q] *Theſe things may ſuffice, which have been written by our beloved and fellow-miniſter Damaſus, biſhop of great Rome.* Marcellus inſcribed to Pope Julius, to his [r] *moſt bleſſed fellow-mi-*

[p] Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν. *Euſeb.* vii. 30.

[q] Ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα περί τε τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου. *Athan. Ep. ad Afr.* (p. 931.)

[r] Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἰουλίῳ. *Marcell. ad P. Jul. Epiph. Hær.* 72.

niſter. So Cyril ſpake of Pope Celeſtine I. [s] *Our brother and fellow-miniſter, the biſhop of Rome.* So St. Baſil, and his fellow-biſhops of the eaſt, did inſcribe their Epiſtle, [t] *To the beloved of God, and our moſt holy brethren and fellow-miniſters, the unanimous biſhops through Italy and France.* In this ſtyle do the Fathers of Sardica ſalute Pope Julius; thoſe of Conſtantinople, Pope Damaſus; Theod. v. 9. thoſe of Epheſus, Pope Celeſtine I. [u] *Our brother and fellow-miniſter Celeſtine;* thoſe of Carthage, Pope Celeſtine I. in the very ſame terms wherein St. Auſtin doth ſalute Maximinus, a Donatiſt biſhop, [x] *Seignior, my beloved and moſt honoured brother.* The oriental biſhops, Euſtathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, did inſcribe their remonſtrance to Pope Liberius, [y] *To ſeignior, our brother and fellow-miniſter, Liberius.* So John of Antioch to Neſtorius writeth, [z] *To my maſter.* The Synod of Illyricum call Elpidius, [a] *Our ſeignior, and fellow-miniſter.*

In which inſtances, and ſome others of later date, we may obſerve that the word *κύριος,* or *dominus,* was then (as it is now) barely a term of civility, being then uſually given to any perſon of quality, or to whom they would expreſs common reſpect; ſo that St. Chryſoſtom in his epiſtles commonly doth give it, not only to meaner biſhops, but even to prieſts; and St. Auſtin doth thus ſalute even Donatiſt biſhops, reflecting thereon thus; [b] *Since therefore by charity I ſerve you in this office of writing letters to you, I do not improperly call you maſter, for the*

[s] Ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ——. *Cyril ad Neſt. in Syn. Eph.* p. 207.

[t] Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἐπιποθήτοις ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν ὁμοψύχοις ἐπισκόποις. *Baſ.* Ep. 69. *Athanaſ. Apol.* ii. (p. 761, 756.)

[u] Τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Κελεστίνῳ. *Syn. Eph.* p. 217.

Domino dilectiſſimo et honoratiſſimo fratri——. *Conc. Afr.*

[x] Domino dilectiſſimo et honorabili fratri Maximino. *Aug.* Ep. 208.

[y] Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ Εὐσέβιος, Θεόφιλος, Σιλβανὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν——. Socr. iv. 12.

[z] Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου. *Conc. Eph.* 202.

[a] Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν. *Theod.* iv. 9.

[b] Cum ergo vel hoc ipſo officio literarum per charitatem tibi ſerviam, non abſurde te dominum voco, propter unum et verum Dominum noſtrum qui nobis iſta præcepit. *Aug.* Ep. 103.

ſake of our one true Maſter, who has commanded us ſo to do. [b] —— *my moſt honoured maſter.* [c] —— *now therefore having with me my moſt honoured ſeignior and moſt reverend preſbyter,* &c. [d] —— *my moſt honoured maſter Aſyncritus the elder.*

Pope Celeſtine himſelf did ſalute the Epheſine Fathers, [e] *κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ, maſters, brethren.* Even in the ſixth council, Thomas, biſhop of Conſtantinople, did inſcribe according to the old ſtyle, to Pope Vitalianus, *his brother and fellow-miniſter.*

Conc. 6. Act. xiii. p. 224.

The French biſhops had good reaſon to expoſtulate with Pope Nicholas I. [f] *You may know, that we are not, as you boaſt and brag, your clerks; whom, if pride would ſuffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and fellow-biſhops.*

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity, when they meant to ſpeak moſt kindly and reſpectfully, did allow to the Pope, being the ſame which all biſhops did give to one another; (as may be ſeen in all ſolemn addreſſes and reports concerning them:) which is an argument ſufficiently plain, that biſhops in thoſe times did not take themſelves to be the Pope's ſubjects, or his inferiors in office; but his fellows and mates, coordinate in rank.

Were not theſe improper terms for an ordinary gentleman or nobleman to accoſt his prince in? yet hardly is there ſuch a diſtance between any prince and his peers, as there is between a modern pope and other biſhops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and faucineſs, for an underling biſhop to addreſs to the Pope in ſuch language, or to ſpeak of him in that manner; which is a ſign that the world is altered in its notion of him, and

[b] Δίσποτά μου τιμιώτατε. *Chryſ.* Ep. 26.

[c] Νῦν γοῦν ἱστιλαβόμενος τῷ κυρίῳ μου τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ ὐλαβεστάτῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ. *Id. ibid.*

[d] Δισπότην μου τιμιώτατον Ἀσύγκριτον τὸν πρεσβύτερον. *Ep.* 68, (71, 75, 77, 84, 91, &c.)

[e] Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. *P. Celeſt. I. Ep. ad Syn. Eph. Act.* ii. (p. 324.)

[f] Scias nos non tuos eſſe, ut te jactas et extollis, clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiſcopos recognoſcere, ſi elatio permitteret, debueras. *An. Franc. Pith.* (an. 858.)

that he beareth a higher conceit of himſelf than his primitive anceſtors did. Now nothing but *Beatiſſimus Pater, Moſt bleſſed Father;* and *Dominus noſter Papa, Our Lord the Pope,* in the higheſt ſenſe, will ſatisfy him.

Now a Pope in a general ſynod, in a ſolemn oration, could be told to his face, that [g] *the moſt holy ſenate* of cardinals had choſen *a brother into a father, a colleague into a lord.* Verily ſo it is now, but not ſo anciently.

In the ſame ancient times, the ſtyle of the Roman biſhops writing to other biſhops was the ſame; he calling them brethren and fellow-miniſters.

So did Cornelius write to Fabius of Antioch, [h] *Beloved brother;* ſo did he call all other biſhops,—[i] *Be it known to all our fellow-biſhops and brethren.* So Julius to the oriental biſhops, [k] *To our beloved brethren.* So Liberius to the Macedonian biſhops, [l] *To our beloved brethren and fellow-miniſters:* and to the oriental biſhops, [m] *To our brethren and fellow-biſhops.* So Damaſus to the biſhops of Illyricum. So Leo himſelf frequently in his epiſtles. So Pope Celeſtine calleth John of Antioch, [n] *Moſt honoured brother;* to Cyril and to Neſtorius himſelf, [o] *Beloved brother;* to the fathers of Epheſus, [p] *Seigniors, brethren.* Pope Gelaſius to the biſhops of Dardania, [q] *Your brotherhood.* St. Gregory to Cyriacus, *Our brother and fellow-prieſt, Cyriacus.* Soz. vi. 23.

If it be ſaid, the popes did write ſo then out of con-

[g] Vere divina providentia factum cenſendum eſt, quod te ſacerrimus iſte ſenatus——fratrem, et ita dixerim filium in patrem, collegam in dominum—elegerint, aſſumpſerint, adoraverint. *Balt. Delrio. in Conc. Later. ad Leonem X. Seſſ.* viii. (p. 85.)

[h] Ἀδελφὶ ἀγαπητέ. *Euſeb.* vi. 43.

[i] Omnibus coepiſcopis noſtris et fratribus innoteſcat. *P. Corn. apud Cypr. Epiſt.* 48.

[k] Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. *Athan.* p. 739.

[l] Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς. *Socr.* iv. 12.

[m] Fratribus et coepiſcopis. *Hil. Frag.* p. 450.

[n] Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ. *Conc. Eph.* p. 196.

[o] Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ. P. 179, 183.

[p] Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. *Act.* ii. p. 324.

[q] Fraternitas veſtra. *P. Gelaſ.* Ep. 12. *Greg.*—Ep. vi. 24. Fratris et conſacerdotis noſtri Cyriaci——.

deſcenſion, or humility and modeſty; it may be replied, that if really there was ſuch a difference as is now pretended, it may ſeem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery: for it would have more become the Pope to maintain the majeſty and authority of his place, by appellations apt to cheriſh their reverence, than to collogue with them in terms void of reality, or ſignifying that equality which he did not mean.

Bell. ii. 14. Theod. v. 10. * Valeſ. in Theod. ib. υἱοὶ τιμιώτατοι.

But Bellarmine hath found out one inſtance (which he maketh much of) of Pope Damaſus, who writing (not, as he allegeth, to the Fathers of Conſtantinople, * but) to certain eaſtern biſhops, calleth them *moſt honoured ſons.* That whole epiſtle I do fear to be foiſted into Theodoret; for it cometh in abruptly; and doth not much become ſuch a man: and if it be ſuppoſed genuine, I ſhould ſuſpect ſome corruption in the place; for why, if he writ to biſhops, ſhould he uſe a ſtyle ſo unſuitable to thoſe times, and ſo different from that of his predeceſſors and ſucceſſors? Why ſhould there be ſuch a diſparity between his own ſtyle now and at other times? for writing to the biſhops of Illyricum, he calleth them, *beloved brethren:* why then is he ſo inconſtant and partial, as to yield theſe oriental biſhops leſs reſpect? wherefore perhaps υἱοὶ was thruſt in for ἀδελφοί· or perhaps the word ἐπισκόποις was intruded, and he did write to laymen; *thoſe who governed the eaſt,* who well might be called *moſt honoured ſons;* otherwiſe the epithet doth not ſeem well to ſuit: but however, a ſingle example of arrogance or ſtatelineſs (or of what ſhall I call it?) is not to be ſet againſt ſo many modeſt and mannerly ones.

Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Soz. vi. 23.

Τοῖς τὴν ἑῴαν ἰθύνουσι.

In fine, that this ſalutation doth not always imply ſuperiority, we may be aſſured by that inſcription of Alexander, biſhop of Theſſalonica, to Athanaſius of Alexandria, [r] *To my beloved ſon and unanimous colleague, Athanaſius.*

IX. The ground of that eminence which the Roman

[r] Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ. *Apud Athan. Apol.* ii. p. 783.

biſhop did obtain in the Church, ſo as in order to precede other biſhops, doth ſhake this pretence.

The church of Rome was indeed allowed to be *the principal church*, as St. Cyprian calleth it: but why? Was it preferred by divine inſtitution? No ſurely; Chriſtianity did not make laws of that nature, or conſtitute differences of places. Was it in regard to the ſucceſſion of St. Peter? No; that was a ſlim, upſtart device; that did not hold in Antioch, nor in other apoſtolical churches. Eccleſia principalis. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

But it was for a more ſubſtantial reaſon; the very ſame on which the dignity and preeminency of other churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that city in which the biſhop of Rome did preſide; together with the conſequent numerouſneſs, quality, and wealth of his flock; which gave him many great advantages above other his fellow-biſhops: it was, ſaith Rigaltius, called by St. Cyprian the principal church, [s] *becauſe conſtituted in the principal city.*

That church in the very times of ſevereſt perſecutions, [t] *by the providence of God*, (as Pope Cornelius ſaid in his Epiſtle to Fabius,) *had a rich and plentiful number, with a moſt great and innumerable people;* ſo that he reckoneth forty-four preſbyters, ſeven deacons, (in imitation of the number in the Acts,) ſeven ſub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, fifty-two others of the inferior clergy, and above fifteen hundred alms-people.

To that church there muſt needs have been a great reſort of Chriſtians, going to the ſeat of the empire in purſuit of buſineſs; as in proportion there was to each other metropolis; according to that canon of the Antiochene

[s] Eccleſia principalis, id eſt in urbe principali conſtituta. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[t] Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τι καὶ πληθύων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀμεριμνήτου λαοῦ. *Euſeb.* vi. 43.

Et quanquam ſciam, frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis florentiſſimo illic clero tecum præſidenti, et ſanctiſſimæ atque ampliſſimæ plebi, legere te ſemper literas noſtras——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn.*)

Synod, which ordered, that [u] *the biſhop of each metropolis ſhould take care of the whole province, becauſe all that had buſineſs did reſort to the metropolis.*

That church was moſt able to yield help and ſuccour to them who needed it; and accordingly did uſe to do it; according to that of Dionyſius, (biſhop of Corinth,) in his Epiſtle to Biſhop Soter of Rome; [x] *This,* ſaith he, *is your cuſtom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to ſend ſupplies to many churches in every city, ſo refreſhing the poverty of thoſe who want.*

Whence it is no wonder, that the head of that church did get moſt reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

[y] *To this church,* ſaid Irenæus, *it is neceſſary that every church (that is, the faithful who are all about) ſhould reſort, becauſe of its more powerful principality:* what is meant by that *reſort* will be eaſy to him who conſidereth how men here are wont to go up to London, drawn thither by intereſts of trade, law, &c. What he did underſtand *by more powerful principality,* the words themſelves do ſignify, which exactly do agree to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but do not well ſuit to the authority of a church; eſpecially then when no church did appear to have either principality or puiſſance. And that ſenſe may clearly be evinced by the context, wherein it doth appear, that St. Irenæus doth not allege the judicial authority of the Roman church, but its credible teſtimony, which thereby became more conſiderable, becauſe Chriſtians commonly had occaſions of recourſe to it.

(Δυναστικωτέραν ἀρχὴν, I conjecture he ſaid.)

Such a reaſon of precedence St. Cyprian giveth in an-

[u] Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας. *Syn. Ant.* can. 9.

[x] Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, &c. *Dionyſ. Corinth. apud Euſeb.* iv. 23.

[y] Ad hanc eccleſiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnem convenire eccleſiam, hoc eſt, eos qui ſunt ubique fideles. *Iren.* iii. 3.

other caſe, [z] *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage.*

For this reaſon a Pagan hiſtorian did obſerve the Roman biſhop [a] *had a greater authority* (that is, a greater intereſt and reputation) *than other biſhops.*

This reaſon Theodoret doth aſſign in his Epiſtle to Pope Leo, wherein he doth highly compliment and cajole him; [b] *For this city*, ſaith he, *is the greateſt, and the moſt ſplendid, and preſiding over the world; and flowing with multitude of people; and which moreover hath produced the empire now governing.*——

This is the ſole ground upon which the greateſt of all ancient ſynods, that of Chalcedon, did affirm the papal eminency to be founded; for, [c] *To the throne*, ſay they, *of ancient Rome, becauſe that was the royal city, the Fathers reaſonably conferred the privileges:* the fountain of papal eminence was in their judgment not any divine inſtitution, not the authority of St. Peter deriving itſelf to his ſucceſſors; but the conceſſion of the Fathers, who were moved to grant it upon account that Rome was the imperial city.

To the ſame purpoſe the Empreſs Placidia, in her epiſtle to Theodoſius in behalf of Pope Leo, ſaith, [d] *It becometh us to preſerve to this city* (*the which is miſtreſs of all lands*) *a reverence in all things.*

This reaſon had indeed in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency; it was equal, that he ſhould have the preference, and more than common reſpect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do moſt ſervice to religion.

[z] Quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere. *Cypr.* Ep. 49.

[a] Auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis epiſcopi. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. (p. 47.)

[b] Ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθημένη, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων κυμαίνουσα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ νῦν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίαν ἐλάσασα——. *Theod.* Ep. 113.

[c] Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ Πατέρες εἰκότως ἀπεδιδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* xvi. can. 28.

[d] Πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γαῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι. *Placid. in Syn. Chalc.* p. 27.

It was decent, that out of conformity to the ſtate, and in reſpect to the imperial court and ſenate, the paſtor of that place ſhould be graced with repute; it was convenient, that he who reſided in the centre of all buſineſs, and had the greateſt influence upon affairs, who was the emperor's chief counſellor for direction, and inſtrument for execution of eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſhould not be put behind others.

[c] Hence did the Fathers of the Second General Synod advance the biſhop of Conſtantinople *to the next privileges of honour after the biſhop of Rome, becauſe it was new Rome*, and a ſeat of the empire.

And the Fathers of Chalcedon aſſigned [f] *equal privileges to the moſt holy ſee of new Rome, with good reaſon,* (ſay they,) *judging, that the city which was honoured with the royalty and ſenate, and which* (otherwiſe) *did enjoy equal privileges with the ancient royal Rome, ſhould likewiſe in eccleſiaſtical affairs be magnified as it, being ſecond after it.*

Indeed upon this ſcore the church of Conſtantinople is ſaid to have aſpired to the ſupreme principality, when it had the advantage over old Rome, the empire being extinguiſhed there; and ſometime was ſtyled, *the Head of all Churches* [g].

[c] Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην——. *Syn. Conſt.* can. 3.

[f] Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἐψηφισμένα τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εἰλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλεῖα καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. *Syn. Chal.* can. 28.

[g] Sacroſanctam quoque hujus religioſiſſimæ civitatis Eccleſiam, et matrem noſtræ pietatis, et Chriſtianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, et ejuſdem regiæ urbis ſanctiſſimam ſedem, &c. *Imp. Leo.* Cod. lib. i. tit. 2. §. 16.

The holy church of this moſt religious city, the mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Chriſtians, and the moſt holy ſee of that imperial city.

Bonifacius III. a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut ſedes B. Petri Apoſtoli, quæ caput eſt omnium eccleſiarum, ita et diceretur, et haberetur ab omnibus; quem quidem locum eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana ſibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum principibus, affirmantibuſque eo loci primam ſedem eſſe debere, ubi imperii caput eſſet. *Plat. in Bonif. III.* (p. 161.)

Boniface III. (though with a great deal of ſtir) obtained of the emperor

It is also natural, and can hardly be otherwise, but that the bishop of a chief city (finding himself to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of friendships, dependencies, &c.) should not affect to raise himself above the level: it is an ambition that easily will seize on the most moderate, and otherwise religious minds. Pope Leo objected it to Anatolius, and Pope Gregory to John, (from his austere life called *the Faster.*)

Upon the like account it was, that the bishops of other cities did mount to a preeminency, *metropolitan, primatical, patriarchal.*

Thence it was that the bishop of Alexandria, before Constantine's time, did acquire the honour of second place to Rome; because that city, being head of a most rich and populous nation, did in magnitude and opulency (as Gregory Nazianzen saith) [h] *approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it.*

Upon that account also did Antioch get the next place; as being the most large, flourishing, commanding city of the east; [i] *the which,* as Josephus saith, *for bigness and for other advantages, had without controversy the third place in all the world subject to the Romans;* and the which St. Chrysostom calleth [k] *the head of all cities seated in the east.*

Phocas, that the see of St. Peter the Apostle, which is the head of all churches, should be so called and accounted by all; which dignity the church of Constantinople did indeed endeavour to assert to itself, princes sometime favouring them, and affirming that there the chief see ought to be, where the head of the empire was.

Phocas rogante Papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat. *Anastas. in Bonif. III. Idem Sabellicus, Blondus, Lætus,* &c. *tradunt.*

Phocas, at the entreaty of Pope Boniface, appointed that the Roman see should be the head of all churches, because the church of Constantinople wrote herself the chief of all churches.

h Ὑμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μὲν τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραχωροῦντες. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 27.

Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλόπολις. *Evagr.* ii. 4. et passim.

i Ἡ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον. *Joseph. de Bello Jud.* iii. 3.

k Πόλις οὕτω μεγάλη, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω κειμένων ἡ κεφαλή. *Chrys. ἀνδρ.* β'.

St. Baſil ſeemeth to call the church thereof the principal in the world; for, [k] *What,* ſaith he, *can be more opportune to the churches over the world, than the church of Antioch? the which, if it ſhould happen to be reduced to concord, nothing would hinder, but that as a ſound head it would ſupply health to the whole body.*

Upon the ſame account the biſhop of Carthage did obtain the privilege to be ſtanding primate of his province, (although other primacies there were not fixed to places, but followed ſeniority,) and a kind of patriarch over all the African provinces.

Hence did Cæſarea, as exceeding in temporal advantages, and being the political metropolis of Paleſtine, overtop Jeruſalem, that moſt ancient, noble, and venerable city, the ſource of our religion.

It was indeed the general rule and practice to conform the privileges of eccleſiaſtical dignity in a proportion convenient to thoſe of the ſecular government, as the Synod of Antioch in expreſs terms did ordain; the ninth canon whereof runneth thus: [l] *The biſhops in every province ought to know, that the biſhop preſiding in the metropolis doth undertake the care of all the province; becauſe all that have buſineſs do meet together in the metropolis; whence it hath been ordained, that he ſhould precede in honour, and that the biſhops ſhould do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient canon holding from our Fathers;* (that is, according to the thirty-fourth canon of the Apoſtles.)

It is true, that the Fathers do ſometimes mention the Church of Rome being founded by the two great Apo-

k Τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καιριώτερον; ἣν εἰσυνίζῃ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἁδὴν ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν ὑγρωμένην, πάντα τῷ σώματι ἐπιχορηγεῖν τὴν ὑγίειαν. *Baſ.* Ep. 48. (*ad Athanaſ.*)

l Τὸς ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, (καὶ) τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τὸς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν δόξῃ καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τὸς λοιπὸς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον κρατήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα. *Syn. Ant.* can. 9. *Syn. Chalc.* 17.

ſtles, or the ſucceſſion of the Roman biſhop to them in paſtoral charge, as a ſpecial ornament of that church, and a congruous ground of reſpect to that biſhop, whereby they [m] *did honour the memory of St. Peter:* but even ſome of thoſe, who did acknowledge this, did not avow it as a ſufficient ground of preeminence; none did admit it for an argument of authoritative ſuperiority.

St. Cyprian did call the Roman ſee *the chair of St. Peter,* and *the principal church;* yet he diſclaimed any authority of the Roman biſhops above his brethren. Cypr. Ep. lv. 52.

Firmilian did take notice, that Pope Stephanus [n] *did glory in the place of his biſhoprick, and contend that he held the ſucceſſion of Peter;* yet did not he think himſelf thereby obliged to ſubmit to his authority, or follow his judgment; but ſharply did reprehend him, as a favourer of heretics, an author of ſchiſms, and one who had cut himſelf off from the communion of his brethren.

The Fathers of the Antiochene Synod [o] *did confeſs, that in writings all did willingly honour the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the ſchool of the Apoſtles, and the metropolis of religion; although yet from the eaſt the inſtructors of the Chriſtian doctrine did go and reſide there; but from hence they deſired not to be deemed inferiors; becauſe they did not exceed in the greatneſs and numerouſneſs of their church.* They allowed ſome regard (though faintly and with reſervation) to the Roman Church upon account of their apoſtolical foundation; they implied a ſtronger ground of pretence from the grandeur of that

[m] Sedis apoſtolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum, (qui princeps eſt epiſcopalis coronæ) Romanæ dignitas civitatis, ſacræ etiam ſynodi firmavit authoritas. *Valentin. Nov.* 24. *in fin. Cod. Theod.*

[n] Atque ego in hac parte juſte indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifeſtam Stephani ſtultitiam, quod qui ſic de epiſcopatus ſui loco gloriatur, et ſe ſucceſſionem Petri tenere contendit——.

Stephanus qui per ſucceſſionem cathedram Petri habere ſe prædicat——. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[o] Φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡμολόγουν, ὡς Ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἕω ἐνεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος ἐξηγηταί· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. *Soz.* iii. 8.

city; yet did not they therefore grant themſelves to be inferiors; at leaſt as to any ſubſtantial privilege, importing authority.

If by divine right, upon account of his ſucceſſion to St. Peter, he had ſuch preeminence, why are the other cauſes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God's inſtitution, or as if that did need human confirmation? The pretence to that ſurely was weak, which did need corroboration, and to be propped by worldly conſiderations.

Indeed, whereas the Apoſtles did found many churches, exerciſing apoſtolical authority over them, (eminently containing the epiſcopal,) why in conſcience ſhould one claim privileges on that ſcore rather than or above the reſt?

Why ſhould the ſee of Antioch, [p] *that moſt ancient and truly apoſtolical church*, where the Chriſtian name began, where St. Peter at firſt (as they ſay) did ſit biſhop for ſeven years, be poſtponed to Alexandria?

Epiph. Synod. Conſtant. ibid. Τῆς δὲ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Optat. l. vi. (p. 169.) Hier. Ep. 61. Conc. Nic. can. 7.

Eſpecially why ſhould the church of Jeruſalem, *the ſeat of our Lord himſelf, the mother of all churches*, the fountain of Chriſtian doctrine, the firſt conſiſtory of the Apoſtles, ennobled by ſo many glorious performances, (by the life, preaching, miracles, death, burial, reſurrection, aſcenſion of our Saviour; by the firſt preaching of the Apoſtles, the effuſion of the Holy Spirit, the converſion of ſo many people, and conſtitution of the firſt church, and celebration of the firſt ſynods,) upon theſe conſiderations, not obtain preeminence to other churches, but in honour be caſt behind divers others; and as to power be ſubjected to Cæſarea, the metropolis of Paleſtine?

The true reaſon of this even Baronius himſelf did ſee and acknowledge; for, [q] *That*, ſaith he, *the ancients obſerved*

[p] Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας——. *Ep. Synod. Conſt. Theodoret. Hiſt.* l. v. cap. 9. p. 211.

Quæ quantumlibet a Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat inſtituta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Auguſtalis dicta——longe præſtabat Syriæ præfecturæ, &c. *Baron.* ann. 39. §. 10.

[q] Majores enim in inſtituendis ſedibus eccleſiarum non aliam iniiſſe rationem, quam ſecundum diviſionem provinciarum, et prærogativas a Romanis antea ſtabilitas, quam plurima ſunt exempla. *Id. ibid.*

no other rule in inſtituting the eccleſiaſtical ſees, than the diviſion of provinces, and the prerogative before eſtabliſhed by the Romans, there are very many examples.

Of which examples, that of Rome is the moſt obvious and notable; and what he ſo generally aſſerteth may be ſo applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its pre-eminence.

X. The truth is, all eccleſiaſtical preſidencies and ſubordinations, or dependencies of ſome biſhops on others in adminiſtration of ſpiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinance, and eſtabliſhed by law or cuſtom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things: hence the prerogatives of other ſees did proceed; and hereto whatever dignity, privilege, or authority the Pope with equity might at any time claim, is to be imputed.

To clear which point, we will ſearch the matter nearer the quick; propounding ſome obſervations concerning the ancient forms of diſcipline, and conſidering what intereſt the Pope had therein.

At firſt each church was ſettled apart under its own biſhop and preſbyters; ſo as independently and ſeparately to manage its own concernments; each was *αὐτοκέφαλος*, and *αὐτόνομος*, *governed by its own head, and had its own laws.* Every biſhop, as a prince in his own church, did act freely, according to his will and diſcretion, with the advice of his eccleſiaſtical ſenate, and [r] with the conſent of

[r] Cypr. Ep. 52, 55, 72, 73, 76.

Omnis hic actus populo erat inſinuandus. *P. Corn. apud Cypr.* Ep. 46.

All this buſineſs was to have been imparted to the people.

Secundum arbitrium quoque veſtrum, et omnium noſtrum commune conſilium— ea quæ agenda ſunt diſponere. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi Univ.*)

To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all.

Et limanda plenius ratio non ſolum cum collegis meis, ſed et cum plebe ipſa univerſa. *Id.* Ep. 28.

And the reaſon is more throughly to be examined, not only with my colleagues, but with the whole people.

Præjudicare ego et ſoli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. *Ep.* 18.

I dare not therefore prejudge, nor aſſume to myſelf alone a matter which is common to all.

his people, (the which he did uſe to conſult,) without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, farther than his obligation to uphold the verity of Chriſtian profeſſion, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches did require; in which regard if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be diſclaimed by them, as no good Chriſtian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it did adhere to him in his miſdemeanours. This may be collected from the remainders of ſtate in the times of St. Cyprian.

But becauſe little, disjointed, and incoherent bodies were like duſt, apt to be diſſipated by every wind of external aſſault or inteſtine faction; and peaceable union could hardly be retained without ſome ligature of diſcipline; and churches could not mutually ſupport and defend each other without ſome method of intercourſe and rule of confederacy engaging them: [s] therefore for many good purpoſes (for upholding and advancing the common intereſts of Chriſtianity, for protection and ſupport of each church from inbred diſorders and diſſenſions, for preſerving the integrity of the faith, for ſecuring the concord of divers churches, for providing fit paſtors to each church,

[s] Hoc enim et verecundiæ et diſciplinæ et vitæ ipſi omnium noſtrûm convenit, ut epiſcopi plures in unum convenientes, præſente et ſtantium plebe, (quibus et ipſis pro fide et timore ſuo honor habendus eſt) diſponere omnia conſilii communis religione poſſimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 14.

For it becomes the modeſty, the diſcipline, and the manner of our living, that many biſhops meeting together, the people being alſo preſent, (to whom reſpect ought to be had for their faith and fear,) we may order all things with the common advice.

—— quoniam non paucorum, nec eccleſiæ unius aut unius provinciæ, ſed totius orbis hæc cauſa eſt ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 14.

—— becauſe this is the concern, not of a few men, or of one church, or one province, but of the whole world.

Idcirco copioſum corpus eſt ſacerdotum——ut ſi quis ex collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, et gregem Chriſti lacerare et vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri ——. *Id.* Ep. 76.

Therefore the clergy is a large body——that if any one of our own ſociety ſhould vent an hereſy, and attempt to rent and waſte the flock of Chriſt, the reſt might come in to their help.

and correcting ſuch as were ſcandalouſly bad * or unfaithful) it was ſoon found needful, that divers churches ſhould be combined and linked together in ſome regular form of diſcipline; † that if any church did want a biſhop, the neighbour biſhops might ſtep in to approve and ordain a fit one; ‡ that if any biſhop did notoriouſly ſwerve from the Chriſtian rule, the others might interpoſe to correct or void him; that if any error or ſchiſm did peep up in any church, the joint concurrence of divers biſhops might avail to ſtop its progreſs, and to quench it, by convenient means of inſtruction, reprehenſion, and cenſure; that if any church were oppreſſed by perſecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual ſuccour and relief: for ſuch ends it was needful, that biſhops in certain precincts ſhould convene, with intent to deliberate and reſolve about the beſt expedients to compaſs them; and that the manner of ſuch proceeding (to avoid uncertain diſtraction, confuſion, arbitrarineſs, diſſatisfaction, and mutinous oppoſition) ſhould be ſettled in an ordinary courſe, according to rules known and allowed by all.

* Particularly in the diſpenſation of church goods. *Conc. Ant.* can. 25.
† Nov. cxxxvii. cap. 4. cxxiii. cap. 10.
‡ Vid. Can. Apoſt. 38. (al. 30.) de Synodis.
(*οἰκονομίαι ἐκκλησιαστικαί. Syn. Conſt.* can. 2.)

In defining ſuch precincts it was moſt natural, moſt eaſy, moſt commodious, to follow the diviſions of territory or juriſdiction already eſtabliſhed in the civil ſtate; that the ſpiritual adminiſtrations, being in ſuch circumſtances aptly conformed to the ſecular, might go on more ſmoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not claſhing with the other; according to the judgment of the two great ſynods, that of Chalcedon and the Trullane; which did ordain, that [u] *if by royal authority any city be, or ſhould hereafter be reeſtabliſhed, the order of the churches ſhall be according to the civil and public form.*

Whereas therefore in each nation or province ſubject to one political juriſdiction there was a metropolis, or head city, to which the greateſt reſort was for diſpenſation of juſtice, and diſpatch of principal affairs emergent

P. Anaſt. Diſt. xcix. cap. 1. P. Greg. VII. Ep. vi. 35.

[u] Εἰ δὲ καί τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω. *Conc. Chalced.* can. 17. et *Conc. Trull.* can. 38.

in that province; it was alſo moſt convenient, that alſo the determination of eccleſiaſtical matters ſhould be affixed thereto; eſpecially conſidering that uſually thoſe places were opportunely ſeated; that many perſons upon other occaſions did meet there; that the churches in thoſe cities did exceed the reſt in number, in opulency, in ability and opportunity to promote the common intereſt in all kinds of advantages.

[x] Moreover becauſe in all ſocieties and confederacies of men for ordering public affairs, (for the ſetting things in motion, for effectual diſpatch, for preventing endleſs diſſenſions and confuſions both in reſolving upon and executing things,) it is needful that one perſon ſhould be authorized to preſide among the reſt, unto whom the power and care ſhould be intruſted to convoke aſſemblies in fit ſeaſon, to propoſe matters for conſultation, to moderate the debates and proceedings, to declare the reſult, and to ſee that what is agreed upon may be duly executed; ſuch a charge then naturally would devolve itſelf upon the prelate of the metropolis, as being ſuppoſed conſtantly preſent on the place; as being at home in his own ſeat of preſidence, and receiving the reſt under his wing; as inconteſtably ſurpaſſing others in all advantages anſwerable to the ſecular advantages of his city; for that it was unſeemly and hard, if he at home ſhould be poſtponed in dignity to others repairing thither; for that alſo commonly he was in a manner the ſpiritual father of the reſt, (religion being firſt planted in great cities, and thence propagated to others,) ſo that the reverence and dependence on colonies to the mother city was due from other churches to his ſee.

[x] Ad hoc divinæ diſpenſationis proviſio gradus et diverſos conſtituit ordines in ſe diſtinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent, et potiores minoribus diligentiam impenderent, una concordiæ fieret a diverſitate contentio et recte officiorum gereretur adminiſtratio ſingulorum. *Joh. VIII.* Ep. 95.

To this end Divine Providence hath appointed degrees and diverſe orders diſtinct from one another, that while the leſs reverence the greater, and the greater take care of the leſs, from this diverſity there might ariſe one frame of concord, and all offices be duly adminiſtered.

Wherefore by conſent of all churches, grounded on ſuch obvious reaſon of things, the preſidency in each province was aſſigned to the biſhop of the metropolis, who was called the firſt biſhop, the *metropolitan* (in ſome places the **primate*, the *archbiſhop*, the *patriarch*, the *pope*) of the province. The Apoſtolical Canons call him the firſt biſhop, [y] (which ſheweth the antiquity of this inſtitution;) the African Synods did appoint that name to him as moſt modeſt, and calling him Primate in that ſenſe; other ancient ſynods ſtyle him the metropolite; and to the metropolites of the principal cities they gave the title of *archbiſhop*. The biſhops of Rome and Alexandria peculiarly were called *popes;* although that name was ſometimes deferred to any other biſhop.

* Primas provinciæ. *Cod. Afr.* can. 19. Cod. Afr. can. 39. Diſt. xcix. cap. 3.

During this ſtate of things the whole Church did conſiſt of ſo many provinces, being αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent on each other in eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations; each reſerving to itſelf the conſtitution of biſhops, the convocation of ſynods, the enacting of canons, the deciſion of cauſes, the definition of queſtions; yet ſo that each province did hold peaceful and amicable correſpondence with others; upon the like terms as before each παροικία, or epiſcopal precinct, did hold intercourſe with its neighbours.

And whoever in any province did not comply with, or ſubmit to the orders and determinations reſolved upon in thoſe aſſemblies, was deemed a ſchiſmatical, contentious, and contumacious perſon; with good reaſon, becauſe he did thwart a diſcipline plainly conducible to public good; becauſe declining ſuch judgments he plainly ſhewed that he would admit none, (there not being any fairer way of determining things, than by common advice and agreement of paſtors;) becauſe he did in effect refuſe all good terms of communion and peace.

Παράταξις. *Syn. Nic.* can. 18.

Thus, I conceive, the metropolitical governance was introduced, by human prudence following conſiderations of

[y] Τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. *Can. Apoſt.* 27. The biſhops of each nation ought to know who is chief among them.

public neceſſity or utility. There are indeed ſome who think it was inſtituted by the Apoſtles: but their arguments do not ſeem convincing; and ſuch a conſtitution doth not (as I take it) well ſuit to the ſtate of their times, and the courſe they took in founding churches.

Into ſuch a channel, through all parts of Chriſtendom, (though with ſome petty differences in the methods and meaſures of acting,) had eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations fallen of themſelves; plain community of reaſon and imitation inſenſibly propagating that courſe; and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general conſent and ſolemn ſanction eſtabliſhed.

The whole Church then was a body conſiſting of ſeveral confederations of biſhops, acting in behalf of their churches under their reſpective metropolitans, who did manage the common affairs in each province; convoking ſynods at ſtated times and upon emergent occaſions; [z] in them deciding cauſes and controverſies incident, relating to faith or practice; framing rules ſerviceable to common edification and decent uniformity in God's ſervice; quaſhing hereſies and ſchiſms, declaring truths impugned or queſtioned; maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other provinces adjacent or remote.

Can. Apoſt. 38. Tertull. de Jej. cap. 13. Syn. Nic. can. 5.

Such was the ſtate of the Church, unto which the Apoſtolical Canons and Conſtitutions do refer, anſwerable to the times in which they were framed; and which we may diſcern in the practice of ancient ſynods.

Such it did continue, when the great Synod of Nice was celebrated, [a] which by its authority, (preſumed to repreſent the authority of all biſhops in the world, who were ſummoned thereto,) backed by the imperial authority and power, did confirm thoſe orders, as they found them ſtanding by more general cuſtom and received rules in moſt provinces; [b] reducing them into more uniform

[z] Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις——. *Syn. Ant.* can. 20.

[a] Παλαιός τις ὡς ἔστι θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὅρος—— *Syn. Conſtant. Theod.* v. 9.

[b] Τηρεῖν τὸ πάντας ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. Can. 20.

practice; ſo that what before ſtood upon reaſon, cuſtomary uſage, particular conſent, by ſo auguſt ſanction did become univerſal law; and did obtain ſo great veneration, as by ſome to be conceived everlaſtingly and immutably obligatory; according to thoſe maxims of Pope Leo.

It is here farther obſervable, that whereas divers provinces did hold communion and intercourſe; ſo that upon occaſion they did (by their formed letters) render to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, eſpecially of thoſe which concerned the general ſtate of Chriſtianity and common faith; calling, when need was, for aſſiſtance one of another, to reſolve points of faith, or to ſettle order and peace; there was in ſo doing a ſpecial reſpect given to the metropolites of great cities: and to prevent diſſenſions, which naturally ambition doth prompt men to, grounded upon degrees of reſpect, an order was fixed among them, according to which in ſubſcriptions of letters, in accidental congreſſes, and the like occaſions, ſome ſhould precede others; (that diſtinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatneſs, ſplendour, opulency of cities; or following the ſecular dignity of them;) whence Rome had the *firſt* place, Alexandria the *ſecond*, Antioch the *third*, Jeruſalem the *fourth*, &c.

Afterward, Conſtantine having introduced a new partition of the empire, whereby divers provinces were combined together into one territory, under the regiment of a vicar, or a lieutenant of a *præfectus-prætorio*, which territory was called a *dioceſe*; the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was adapted in conformity thereto; new eccleſiaſtical ſyſtems, and a new ſort of ſpiritual heads thence ſpringing up; ſo that in each dioceſe, conſiſting of divers provinces, an eccleſiaſtical [c] exarch (otherwiſe ſometimes called a *primate*, ſometimes a [d] *dioceſan*, ſometimes a [e] *patriarch*) was con-

Zoſ. lib. ii. p. 63. Sextus Rufus, Brev.

[c] Ἐπιτολεύθησα τῇ ἐξάρχῳ μυ. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* x. p. 388.

[d] Διοικητής. *Epiſt. Orient. ad Rufum. in Syn. Eph.* p. 396. *Diſt.* xcix. cap. 1, 2.

[e] Οἱ ἐνιαύσιοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐπάρχης. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* 2. (p. 211.) Epheſi δίκαιον πατριαρχικόν. *Evag.* iii. 6.

ſtituted, anſwerable to the civil exarch of a dioceſe; [f] who by ſuch conſtitution did obtain a like authority over the metropolitans of provinces, as they had in their province over the biſhops of cities; ſo that it appertained to them to call together the ſynods of the whole dioceſe, to preſide in them, and in them to diſpatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain metropolitans, to confirm the ordinations of biſhops, to decide cauſes and controverſies between biſhops upon appeal from provincial ſynods.

Some conceive the Synod of Nice did eſtabliſh it; but that can hardly well be; for that ſynod was held about the time of that diviſion, (after that Conſtantine was ſettled in a peaceful enjoyment of the empire,) and ſcarce could take notice of ſo freſh a change in the ſtate; that doth not pretend to innovate, but profeſſeth in its ſanctions ſpecially to regard *ancient cuſtom, ſaving to the churches their privileges* of which they were poſſeſſed [g]; that only mentioneth provinces, and repreſenteth the metropolitans in them as the chief governors eccleſiaſtical then being; that conſtituteth a peremptory deciſion of weighty cauſes in provincial ſynods, which is inconſiſtent with the dioceſan authority; [h] that taketh no notice of Conſtantinople, the principal dioceſe in the eaſt, as ſeat of the empire; (and the Synod of Antioch, inſiſting in the footſteps of the Nicene, doth touch only metropolitans, (can. 19.) and the Synod of Laodicea doth only ſuppoſe

[f] Τινὲς μὲν ἐξάρχους τῶν διοικήσεων τὰς πατριάρχας φασί. *Zon. ad* 28. *Can. Chalc. Novell.* cxxxvii. cap. 5. et cxxiii. cap. 10. *P. Greg. l.* Ep. 11, 56.

Ordo epiſcoporum quadripartitus eſt, id eſt, in patriarchis, archiepiſcopis, metropolitanis, atque epiſcopis. *Iſid. Diſt.* xxi. cap. 1.

Dionyſius Ex. tranſlates ἔξαρχον, *Primatem.* in *Syn. Chalc.* can. 9, 17.

[g] Ὅπερ ὅτι ὁ κανὼν, ὅτι ἡ συνήθεια παρίδωκεν——. Can. 18.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴδῃ κρατείτω. Can. 6.

Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία——. Can. 7.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα φυλάττεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. *Ibid.*

[h] Τὰς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι——. *Syn. Laod.* can. 12.

The biſhops ſhould be conſtituted by the judgment of the metropolitans and the neighbouring biſhops.

that order.) In fine, that ſynod is not recorded by any old hiſtorian to have framed ſuch an alteration; which indeed was ſo conſiderable, that Euſebius, who was preſent there, could not well have paſſed it over in ſilence.

Of this opinion was the Synod of Carthage, in their Epiſtle to Pope Celeſtine I. who underſtood no juriſdiction but that of metropolitans to be conſtituted in the Nicene Synod.

Some think the Fathers of the Second General Synod did introduce it, ſeeing it expedient that eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations ſhould correſpond to the political; for they did innovate ſomewhat in the form of government; they do expreſsly uſe the new word *dioceſe*, according to the civil ſenſe, as diſtinct from a province; they do diſtinctly name the particular dioceſes of the oriental empire, as they ſtood in the civil eſtabliſhment; they do preſcribe to the biſhops in each dioceſe to act unitedly there, not ſkipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the ſynod of the dioceſe, prohibiting other appeals: the hiſtorians expreſsly do report of them, that they did *diſtinguiſh and diſtribute dioceſes*, that they did *conſtitute patriarchs*, that they did prohibit that any of one dioceſe ſhould intrude upon another [i].

But if we ſhall attently ſearch and ſcan paſſages, we

[i] Εἰ δὲ συμβαίη ἀδυνατῆσαι τὰς ἐπαρχιώτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ ἐφισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτὰς προσίεναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλυμένων——. *Syn. Conſt.* can. 6.

But if it ſo happen that the biſhops of any province cannot rectify thoſe things which are laid to the charge of a biſhop, they ſhall then go to a greater ſynod of the biſhops of that dioceſe, met together for that purpoſe.

The Fathers of Conſtantinople, in their Synodick Epiſtle, diſtinguiſh the province and dioceſe of Antioch, οἱ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες——. *Theod.* v. 9.

Καὶ πατριάρχας κατέφηναν διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας. *Socr.* v. 8.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συναθροισθεῖσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἑκάστῃ διοικήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπένειμαν, ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέρᾳ μὴ ἐπιέναι. *Theodor.* Ep. 86. (*ad Flavianum.*)

For, ſays Theodoret, the bleſſed Fathers meeting together in the imperial city, diſtinguiſhed dioceſes agreeably to what the Nicene Fathers had done, and allotted to every dioceſe what belonged to it: on the contrary charging that no one of one dioceſe ſhould encroach upon another.

may perhaps find reaſon to judge, that this form did ſoon after the Synod of Nice creep in, without any ſolemn appointment, by ſpontaneous aſſumption and ſubmiſſion, accommodating things to the political courſe; the great biſhops (who by the amplification of their city, in power, wealth, and concourſe of people, were advanced in reputation and intereſt) aſſuming ſuch authority to themſelves; and the leſſer biſhops eaſily complying: and of this we
Theod. ii. 26. have ſome arguments. Cyril, biſhop of Jeruſalem, being
Soz. iv. 25. depoſed and extruded by Acacius, metropolitan of Paleſtine, *did appeal to a greater judicatory;*[i] being the firſt (as Socrates noteth) who ever did uſe that courſe; becauſe, it ſeemeth, there was no greater in being till about that time; which was ſome years before the Synod of Conſtantinople; in which there is mention *of a greater ſynod of the dioceſe*——.

Soz. vi. 12. There was a convention of biſhops of the Pontick dioceſe at Tyana, (diſtinguiſhed from the Aſian biſhops,) whereof Euſebius of Cæſarea is reckoned, in the firſt place, as preſident, in the time of Valens.

Nectarius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, is ſaid by the Synod of Chalcedon to have preſided in the Synod of Conſtantinople[k].

A good argument is drawn from the very canon of the Synod of Conſtantinople itſelf;[l] which doth ſpeak concerning *biſhops over dioceſes*, as already conſtituted, or extant; not inſtituting that order of biſhops, but ſuppoſing it, and together with an implicit confirmation regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting biſhops to leap over the bounds of their dioceſe, ſo as to meddle in the affairs of other dioceſes; and by ordering *appeals to the ſynod of a dioceſe.*

Of authority gained by ſuch aſſumption and conceſ-

[i] Βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μεῖζον ἐπεκαλέσατο δικαστήριον——τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ πρῶτος παρὰ τῷ σύνηθες ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν——. *Socr.* ii. 40.

[k] Τῶν δὲ Νικταρίου σὺν Γρηγορίῳ ἡγεμονίαν ἤρατο. (*In proſphonetico ad Imper.*)

[l] Τὰς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους——. Can. 2.

Πρεσβύναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων——. Can. 6.

ion, without law, there might be produced divers inſtances.

As particularly that the ſee of Conſtantinople did aſſume to itſelf ordination, and other acts of juriſdiction, in three dioceſes, before any ſuch power was granted to it by any ſynodical decree; the which to have done divers inſtances ſhew; ſome whereof are alleged in the Synod of Chalcedon; as St. Chryſoſtom, of whom it is there ſaid, [m] *That going into Aſia he depoſed fifteen biſhops, and conſecrated others in their room.* Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 463.)

He alſo depoſed Gerontius, biſhop of Nicomedia, belonging to the dioceſe of Pontus. Soz. viii. 6.

Whence the Fathers of Chalcedon did aver, [n] *That they had in a ſynod confirmed the ancient cuſtom which the holy church of God in Conſtantinople had, to ordain metropolitans in the Aſian, Pontick, and Thracian dioceſes.*

The which cuſtom (conſiſtent with reaſon, and becoming the dignity of the empire, and grateful to the court) that great ſynod did eſtabliſh, although the Roman church, out of jealouſy, did conteſt and proteſt againſt it. Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 462.—)

But the moſt pertinent inſtances are thoſe of the Roman, Alexandrine, and Antiochene churches, having by degrees aſſumed to themſelves ſuch power over divers provinces; in imitation of which churches the other dioceſan biſhops may well be thought to have enlarged their juriſdiction.

This form of government is intimated in the Synod of Epheſus, by thoſe words in which dioceſes and provinces are diſtinguiſhed; [o] *and the ſame ſhall be obſerved in all dioceſes and all provinces every where.*

However that this form of diſcipline was perfectly ſet-

[m] Ἰωάννης διακαίνια ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν, ἀπελθὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ ἐχειροτόνησεν ἄλλους ἀντ' αὐτῶν. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* 11. (p. 411.)

[n] Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος ὅτιῤ ἔσχεν ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἁγία Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία εἰς τὸ χειροτονεῖν μητροπολίτας τῶν διοικήσεων τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ Ποντικῆς, καὶ Θρακικῆς καὶ νῦν κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. *Syn. Chalc. in Epiſt. ad P. Leonem.*

[o] Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται. *Syn. Eph.* can. 8.

[There is mention of dioceſes in Strabo.]

tled in the times of the Fourth General Synod is evident by two notable canons thereof, wherein it is decreed, that [p] *if any biſhop have a controverſy with his metropolitan of his province, he ſhall reſort to, and be judged by, the exarch of the dioceſe, or by the ſee of Conſtantinople.*

This was a great privilege conferred on the biſhop of Conſtantinople; the which perhaps did ground (to be ſure it did make way for) the plea of that biſhop to the title of *Œcumenical Patriarch*, or *Univerſal Biſhop*, which Pope Gregory did ſo exagitate; and indeed it ſoundeth ſo fairly toward it, that the Pope hath nothing comparable to it, to allege in favour of his pretences; this being the decree of the greateſt ſynod that ever was held among the ancients, where all the patriarchs did concur in making theſe decrees; which Pope Gregory did reverence as *one of the Goſpels*. If any ancient ſynod did ever conſtitute any thing like to *univerſal* monarchy, it was this; wherein a final determination of greateſt cauſes was granted to the ſee of Conſtantinople, without any exception or reſervation: I mean as to ſemblance, and the ſound of words: for as to the true ſenſe, I do indeed conceive that the canon did only relate to cauſes emergent in the eaſtern parts; and probably it did only reſpect the three dioceſes (of Aſia, Pontus, and Thrace) which were immediately ſubjected to his patriarchal juriſdiction.

Pope Nicholas I. doth very jocularly expound this canon; affirming that by the primate of the dioceſe is underſtood the Pope, (*dioceſe* being put by a notable figure for *dioceſes*,) and that an appeal is to be made to the biſhop of Conſtantinople, only by permiſſion, in caſe the party will be content therewith [q].

[p] Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω. *Syn. Chalc.* can. 19, 17.

[q] Quem autem primatem diœceſeos S. ſynodus dixerit, præter Apoſtoli primi vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur——.

None can underſtand whom the holy ſynod ſhould call primate of a dioceſe, except the vicar of the prime Apoſtle.

Tantundem valet dixiſſe primatem diœceſeos, quantum ſi perhibuiſſet diœceſeon. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 8. (p. 507.)

To ſay the primate of a dioceſe is as much as to ſay of dioceſes.

We may note, that ſome provincial churches were by ancient cuſtom exempted from dependence on any primacy or patriarchate.

Such an one the Cyprian church was adjudged to be in the Epheſine Synod; wherein the privileges of ſuch churches were confirmed againſt the invaſion of greater churches, and to that purpoſe this general law enacted; [r] *Let the ſame be obſerved in all dioceſes and provinces every where—that none of the biſhops moſt beloved of God invade another province, which did not formerly belong to him or his predeceſſors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently ſeized it, that he reſtore it.*

Such a church was that of Britain anciently, before Auſtin did introduce the papal authority here, againſt that canon; as by divers learned pens hath been ſhewed.

Such was the church of Africk, as by their canons againſt tranſmarine appeals, and about all other matters, doth appear.

It is ſuppoſed by ſome, that diſcipline was ſcrewed yet one peg higher, by ſetting up the order of patriarchs higher than primates, or dioceſan exarchs: but I find no ground of this ſuppoſal, except in one caſe; that is, of the biſhop of Conſtantinople being ſet above the biſhops of Epheſus, Cæſarea, and Heraclea, which were the primates of the three dioceſes. Iſid. Diſt ii. cap. 1.

It is a notable fib which Pope Nicholas II. telleth, as Gratian citeth him; [s] *That the church of Rome inſtituted all patriarchal ſupremacies, all metropolitan primacies, epiſcopal ſees, all eccleſiaſtical orders and dignities whatſoever.*

[r] Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοπον ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται——ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν ὑπ ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, ἣ οὐκ ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἦγον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα κατελαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσηται, βιασάμενος τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, &c. *Conc. Eph.* can. 8.

[s] Omnes ſive patriarchæ cujuſlibet apices, ſive metropoleωn primatus, aut epiſcopatuum cathedras, vel eccleſiarum cujuſlibet ordinis dignitates inſtituit Romana eccleſia. *P. Nic. II. Diſt.* xxii. cap. 1.

Now things ſtanding thus in Chriſtendom, we may, concerning the intereſt of the Roman biſhop, in reference to them, obſerve,

1. In all theſe tranſactions about modelling the ſpiritual diſcipline, there was no canon eſtabliſhed any peculiar juriſdiction to the biſhop of Rome, only the

2. Synod of Nice did ſuppoſe that he by cuſtom did enjoy ſome authority within certain precincts of the weſt, like to that which it did confirm to the biſhop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the countries adjacent thereto.

Πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς. *Can.* 6.

3. The Synods of Conſtantinople did allow him *honorary privileges*, or precedence before all other biſhops, aſſigning the next place after him to the biſhop of Conſtantinople.

Τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐ ἐξαίρετος τιμή. *Syn. Ch. Act.* 16.

4. In other privileges the Synod of Chalcedon did equal the ſee of Conſtantinople to the Roman.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

5. The canons of the two Firſt and Fourth General Synods, ordering all affairs to be diſpatched, and cauſes to be determined in metropolitan or dioceſan ſynods, do exclude the Roman biſhop from meddling in thoſe concerns.

6. The popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themſelves, and which ſerved their intereſts) did not reliſh thoſe canons, although enacted by ſynods which themſelves admitted for œcumenical. [t] *That ſubſcription of ſome biſhops made above ſixty years ſince, as you boaſt, does no whit favour your perſuaſion; a ſubſcription never tranſmitted to the knowledge of the apoſtolick ſee by your predeceſſors, which from its very beginning being weak, and long ſince ruinous, you endeavour now too late and unprofitably to revive.*

So doth Pope Leo I. treat the Second Great Synod, writing to Anatolius; and Gregory ſpeaking of the ſame

[t] Perſuaſioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus ſuffragatur quorundam epiſcoporum ante ſexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta ſubſcriptio, nunquamque a prædeceſſoribus tuis ad apoſtolicæ ſedis tranſmiſſa notitiam, cui ab initio ſui caducæ, dudumque collapſæ ſera nunc et inutilia ſubjicere fomenta voluiſti——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anatol.*) Vid. Ep. 54, 55, 61.

ſays, [u] *That the Roman church has not the acts of that ſynod, nor received its canons.*

7. Wherefore in the weſt they did obtain no effect, ſo as to eſtabliſh dioceſan primacies there.

The biſhops of cities, which were heads of dioceſes, either did not know of theſe canons, (which is probable, becauſe Rome did ſmother the notice of them,) or were hindered from uſing them; the Pope having ſo winded himſelf in, and got ſuch hold among them, as he would not let go [x].

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the Pope, in carrying on his encroachments, and enlarging his worldly intereſts, that the weſtern churches did not, as the eaſtern, conform themſelves to the political frame in embracing dioceſan primacies; which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the liberties of their churches from papal invaſions [y].

9. For hence, for want of a better, the Pope did claim to himſelf a patriarchal authority over the weſtern churches; pretending a right of calling ſynods, of meddling in ordinations, of determining cauſes by appeal to him; of dictating laws and rules to them, againſt the old rights of metropolitans, and the later conſtitutions for primacies.

Of this we have an inſtance in St. Gregory; where he alleging an imperial conſtitution importing that in caſe a clergyman ſhould appeal from his metropolitan, *the cauſe ſhould be referred to the archbiſhop and patriarch of that dioceſe, who judging according to the canons and laws*

[u] Romana autem eccleſia eoſdem canones vel geſta ſynodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit. *Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31. (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

[x] N. B. A Roman ſynod, anno 378. conſiſting of Italian biſhops, did give the Pope ſuch a privilege as the Synod of Conſtantinople did to the biſhop of tha ſee. (*Marc. de Primat.* p. 103. *ex App. Cod. Thodoſ.* Vide Baron.)

But there is difference between a general ſynod and an Italian ſynod: and what had an Italian ſynod to preſcribe to all the provinces of the Roman empire, or rather of the weſt? *P. Greg. I.* Ep. 7, 8.

[y] Baluſius thinketh, that Hilarius of Arles did pretend and offer at this primatical power, *apud Marc.* v. 32. but Pope Leo did mainly check an quaſh his attempt.

ſhould give an end thereto; doth conſequentially aſſume an appeal from a biſhop to himſelf, adjoining, [z] *If againſt theſe things it be ſaid, that the biſhop had neither metropolitan nor patriarch, it is to be ſaid, that this cauſe was to be heard and decided by the apoſtolical ſee, which is the head of all churches.*

10. Having got ſuch advantage, and, as to extent, ſtretched his authority beyond the bounds of *his ſub-urbicarian precincts,* he did alſo intend it in quality far beyond the privileges by any eccleſiaſtical law granted to patriarchs, or claimed or exerciſed by any other patriarch; till at length, by degrees, he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enſlaved the weſtern churches.

Ruffin. Hiſt. i. 6.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch or primate to call a ſynod of the biſhops in his dioceſe, and with them to determine eccleſiaſtical affairs by majority of ſuffrages: but he doth not do ſo; but ſetting himſelf down in his chair, with a few of his courtiers about him, doth make decrees and dictates, to which he pretendeth all muſt ſubmit.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch to ordain metropolitans duly elected in their dioceſes; leaving biſhops to be ordained by the metropolitans in their provincial ſynods: but he will meddle in the ordination of every biſhop, ſuffering none to be conſtituted without his confirmation, for which he muſt ſoundly pay.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch, with the advice and conſent of his ſynod, to make canons for the well-ordering his dioceſe: but he ſendeth about his Decretal Letters, compoſed by an infallible ſecretary, which he pretendeth muſt have the force of laws, equal to the higheſt decrees of the whole Church.

The ancient order did ſuppoſe biſhops by their ordination ſufficiently obliged to render unto their patriarch due obſervance, according to the canons, he being liable to be

[z] Contra hæc ſi dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patriarcham; dicendum eſt quia a ſede apoſtolica, quæ omnium eccleſiarum caput eſt, cauſa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat. *Greg. I.* Ep. xi. 56.

judged in a ſynod for the tranſgreſſion of his duty; but he forceth all biſhops to take the moſt ſlaviſh oaths of obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient order did appoint, that biſhops accuſed for offences ſhould be judged in their provinces; or, upon appeal from them, in patriarchal ſynods: but he receiveth appeals at the firſt hand, and determineth them in his court, without calling ſuch a ſynod in an age for any ſuch purpoſe.

The ancient patriarchs did order all things, as became good ſubjects, with leave and under ſubmiſſion to the emperor, who as he pleaſed did interpoſe his confirmation of their ſanctions: but this man pretendeth to decree what he pleaſeth without the leave, and againſt the will of princes.

Wherefore he is not a patriarch of the weſtern churches, (for that he acteth according to no patriarchal rule,) but a certain kind of ſovereign lord, or a tyrannical oppreſſor of them.

11. In all the tranſactions for modelling the Church, there never was allowed to the Pope any dominion over his fellow-patriarchs, or of thoſe great primates who had aſſumed that name to themſelves; among whom indeed, for the dignity of his city, he had obtained a priority of honour or place; but never had any power over them ſettled by a title of law, or by clear and unconteſted practice. Iſid. in Diſt. 21. cap. 1.

Inſomuch, that if any of them had erred in faith, or offended in practice, it was requiſite to call a general ſynod to judge them; as in the caſes of Athanaſius, of Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus, of Theophilus and St. Chryſoſtom, of Neſtorius and of Dioſcorus, is evident.

12. Indeed all the oriental churches did keep themſelves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had ſwollen ſo big in the weſt, he ſometimes did take occaſion to attempt on their liberty; which they ſometimes did warily decline, ſometimes ſtoutly did oppoſe.

But as to the main, thoſe flouriſhing churches con-

Vid. de Marc. lib. vii. cap. 4, 5.

ſtantly did maintain a diſtinct adminiſtration from the weſtern churches, under their own patriarchs and ſynods, not ſuffering him to interlope in prejudice to their liberty.

They, without his leave or notice, did call and celebrate ſynods, (whereof all the firſt great ſynods are inſtances;) their ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; appeals were not (with public regard or allowance) thence made to him in cauſes great or little, but they decided them among themſelves: they quaſhed hereſies ſpringing up among them, as the Second General Synod the Macedonians, Theophilus the Origeniſts, &c. Little in any caſe had his worſhip to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general communion and correſpondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And ſometimes, when a pert pope, upon ſome incidental advantage of differences riſen among them, would be more buſy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their affairs, they did rap his fingers: ſo Victor, ſo Stephanus, ſo Julius and Liberius, of old did feel to their ſmart: ſo afterwards Damaſus and other popes in the caſe of Flavianus; Innocent in the caſe of St. Chryſoſtom; Felix and his ſucceſſors in the caſe of Acacius, did find little regard had to their interpoſals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not ſuffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any farther, I ſhall briefly draw ſome corollaries from this hiſtorical account which I have given of the original and growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal juriſdiction.

1. Patriarchs are an human inſtitution.

2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, ſo they may be diſſolved by the ſame.

3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of princes; and by the ſame they may be dejected, if great reaſon do appear.

4. The patriarchate of the Pope beyond his own province or dioceſe doth not ſubſiſt upon any canon of a general ſynod.

5. He can therefore claim no ſuch power otherwiſe than upon his invaſion or aſſumption.

6. The primates and metropolitans of the weſtern church cannot be ſuppoſed otherwiſe than by force, or out of fear, to have ſubmitted to ſuch an authority as he doth uſurp.

7. It is not really a patriarchal power, (like to that which was granted by the canons and princes,) but another ſort of power, which the Pope doth exerciſe.

8. The moſt rightful patriarch, holding falſe doctrine, or impoſing unjuſt laws, or tyrannically abuſing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a patriarch is to be judged by a free ſynod, if it may be had.

10. If ſuch a ſynod cannot be had by conſent of princes, each church may free itſelf from the miſchiefs induced by his perverſe doctrine or practice.

11. No eccleſiaſtical power can interpoſe in the management of any affairs within the territory of any prince without his conceſſion.

12. By the laws of God, and according to ancient practice, princes may model the bounds of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, erect biſhopricks, enlarge, diminiſh, or transfer them as they pleaſe.

13. Wherefore each prince (having ſupreme power in his own dominions, and equal to what the emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign prelate from juriſdiction in his territories.

14. It is expedient for peace and public good, that he ſhould do thus.

15. Such prelate, according to the rules of Chriſtianity, ought to be content with his doing ſo.

16. Any prelate, exerciſing power in the dominion of any prince, is *eatenus* his ſubject; as the popes and all biſhops were to the Roman emperors.

17. Thoſe joints of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in

the Roman empire by the confirmation of emperors, were (as to neceſſary continuance) diſſolved by the diſſolution of the Roman empire.

18. The power of the Pope in the territories of any prince did ſubſiſt by his authority and favour.

19. By the ſame reaſon as princes have curbed the exorbitancy of papal power in ſome caſes (of entertaining legates, making appeals, diſpoſing of benefices, &c.) by the ſame they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Chriſtianity doth not depend upon the ſubſiſtence of ſuch a form inſtituted by man.

Having ſhewed at large that this univerſal ſovereignty and juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome over the Chriſtian Church hath no real foundation either in Scripture or elſewhere, it will be requiſite to ſhew by what ways and means ſo groundleſs a claim and pretence ſhould gain belief and ſubmiſſion to it from ſo conſiderable a part of Chriſtendom; and that from ſo very ſlender roots (from ſlight beginnings, and the ſlimmeſt pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow, the vaſteſt that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be the leſs wonderful, if we do conſider the many cauſes which did concur and contribute thereto; ſome whereof are propoſed in the following obſervations.

De puſillo creſcere. *P. Leo.* Ep. 55.

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity,) doth eaſily paſs into advantages of real power and command over thoſe who are inferior in thoſe reſpects, and have any dealings or common tranſactions with ſuch ſuperiors.

For to perſons endowed with ſuch eminency by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed; none preſuming to ſtand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The ſame conduct of things, upon the ſame accounts, and by reaſon of their poſſeſſion, doth continue faſt in their hands, ſo long as they do retain ſuch advantages.

Then from a cuſtom of managing things doth ſpring up

an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to aſſume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire ſuch things, and ſo are apt to defer extraordinary reſpect to the poſſeſſors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only inſtruments to attain, but incentives ſpurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours: for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will deſire real power and ſway, ſo as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be croſſed by any. Pope Leo had no reaſon to wonder, that Anatolius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, was not content with dry honour. Men are apt to think their honour is precarious, and ſtandeth on an uncertain foundation, if it be not ſupported with real power; and therefore they will not be ſatisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are ſo eaſily improvable to power, by inveigling ſome, and ſcaring or conſtraining others to bear their yoke: and they are able to benefit and gratify ſome, and thereby render them willing to ſubmit; thoſe afterwards become ſerviceable to bring others under, who are diſaffected or refractory.

Quid illi ſatisfaciet, ſi tantæ urbis magnificentia et claritudo non ſufficit? *Leo.* Ep. 55.

So the biſhops of Conſtantinople and of Jeruſalem, at firſt, had only privileges of honour; but afterward they ſoon hooked in power.

Now the Roman biſhops from the beginning were eminent above all other biſhops in all kinds of advantages.

He was ſeated in the imperial city, the place of general reſort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name ſounding in all mouths. He had a moſt numerous, opulent, ſplendid flock and clergy. He had the greateſt income (from liberal oblations) to diſpoſe of. He lived in greateſt ſtate and luſtre. He had opportunities to aſſiſt others in their buſineſs, and to relieve them in their wants. He neceſſarily thence did obtain great reſpect and veneration. Hence in all common affairs the conduct and preſidence were naturally devolved on him, without conteſt.

Euſeb. vi. 43. (an. 254.) Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumſpecte veſtiti. *Amm. Marc.* l. xxvii. (p. 337.) an. 367. Euſeb.

No wonder then, that after ſome time the Pope did arrive to ſome pitch of authority over poor Chriſtians,

eſpecially thoſe who lay neareſt to him; improving his eminency into power, and his paſtoral charge into a kind of empire; according to that obſervation of Socrates, that [a] *long before his time the Roman epiſcopacy had advanced itſelf beyond the prieſthood into a potentacy.*

Socr. vii. 7. And the like he obſerveth to have happened in the church of Alexandria, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of ſuch a pattern.

2. Any ſmall power is apt to grow and ſpread itſelf; a ſpark of it ſoon will expand itſelf into a flame: it is very like to *the grain of muſtard ſeed, which indeed is the leaſt of all ſeeds; but when it is grown, it is the greateſt among herbs, and becometh a tree, ſo that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.* [b] *Encroaching,* as Plutarch ſaith, *is an innate diſeaſe of potentacies.* Whoever hath any pittance of it, will be improving his ſtock; having taſted the ſweetneſs of having his will, (which extremely gratifieth the nature of man,) he will not be ſatisfied without having more; he will take himſelf to be ſtraitened by any bounds; and will ſtrive to free himſelf of all reſtraints.

Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

Any pretence will ſerve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked. For power is bold, enterpriſing, reſtleſs: it always watcheth, or often findeth, [c] *never paſſeth opportunities of dilating itſelf.* Every acceſſion doth beget farther advantages to amplify it; as its ſtock groweth, ſo it with eaſe proportionably doth increaſe; being ever out at uſe. As it groweth, ſo its ſtrength to maintain and enlarge itſelf doth grow: it gaining more wealth, more friends, more aſſociates and dependents.

None can reſiſt or obſtruct its growth without danger

[a] Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς πόρρω τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθόσης. *Socr.* vii. 11.

[b] Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία. *Plut. in Pyrrh.*

[c] Subrependi occaſiones non prætermittit ambitio——. *P. Leo. I.* Ep. 62.

Facilius creſcit dignitas quam incipit. *Sen.* Ep. 101.

Primæ dominandi ſpes in arduo; ubi ſis ingreſſus, adſunt ſtudia et miniſtri. *Tacit. Ann.* iv. (p. 143.)

and manifold diſadvantages: for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, ſo its oppoſers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, diſloyalty; and not ſucceeding in their reſiſtance, they will be undone.

None ever doth enterpriſe more than to ſtop its career; ſo that it ſeldom loſeth by oppoſition; and it ever gaineth by compoſition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the ſea, at another ſeaſon, in another point, break in. If it is ſometimes overthrown in a battle, it is ſeldom conquered in the war.

It is always on its march forward, and gaineth ground; for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorize or juſtify it. It ſeldom moveth backward; for every ſucceſſor thinketh he may juſtly enjoy what his predeceſſor did gain, or which is tranſmitted into his poſſeſſion; ſo that there hardly can ever be any reſtitution of ill-gotten power.

Thus have many abſolute kingdoms grown; the firſt chief was a leader of volunteers; from thence he grew to be a prince with ſtated privileges; after, he became a monarch inveſted with high prerogatives; in fine, he creepeth forward to be a grand ſeignior, uſurping abſolute dominion: ſo did Auguſtus Cæſar firſt only aſſume the ſtyle of prince of the ſenate, demeaning himſelf modeſtly as ſuch; but he ſoon drew to himſelf the adminiſtration of all things; and upon that foundation his ſucceſſors very ſuddenly did erect a boundleſs power. If you trace the footſteps of moſt empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the Pope, when he had got a little power, continually did ſwell it. The puny pretence of the ſucceeding St. Peter, and the name of the apoſtolical ſee; the precedence, by reaſon of the imperial city; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils; the authority deferred to him by one ſynod of reviſing the cauſes of biſhops; the countenance given to him in repreſſing ſome hereſies, he did improve to conſtitute himſelf ſovereign lord of the Church.

3. Spiritual power eſpecially is of a growing nature, and more eſpecially that which deriveth from divine inſtitution: for it hath a great awe upon the hearts and conſciences of men; which engageth them to a firm and conſtant adherence. It uſeth the moſt ſubtle arms, which it hath always ready, which needeth no time or coſt to furniſh, which cannot be extorted from its hand; ſo that it can never be diſarmed. And its weapons make ſtrong impreſſion, becauſe it propoſeth the moſt effectual encouragements to its abettors, and diſcouragements to its adverſaries; alluring the one with promiſes of God's favour and eternal happineſs, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven, and endleſs miſery: the which do ever quell religious, ſuperſtitious, weak people; and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is preſumed unchangeable and unextinguiſhable by any human power, and thence is not (as all other power) ſubject to revolutions. Hence, like Achilles, it is hardly vincible, becauſe almoſt immortal. If it be ſometimes rebuffed or impaired, it ſoon will recover greater ſtrength and vigour.

Diſt. xxi. cap. 2, 3. The popes derive their authority from divine inſtitution; and their weapons always are ſentences of Scripture: they pretend to diſpenſe remiſſion of ſins, and promiſe heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curſe, and damn the oppoſers of their deſigns.

They pretend they never can loſe any power that ever did belong to their ſee: they are always ſtiff, and they never recede or give back. [d] *The privileges of the Roman church can ſuſtain no detriment.*

4. Power is eaſily attained and augmented upon occaſion of diſſenſions. Each faction uſually doth make itſelf a head, the chief in ſtrength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that head it will ſtrive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cauſe; and if the cauſe doth proſper, he is rewarded with acceſ-

[d] Privilegia Romanæ eccleſiæ nullum poſſunt ſuſtinere detrimentum——. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. xxxvi. (32——.)

ſion of privileges and authority: eſpecially thoſe who were oppreſſed, and find relief by his means, do become zealouſly active for his aggrandizement.

Thus uſually in civil broils the captain of the prevalent party groweth a prince, or is crowned with great privileges, (as Cæſar, Octavian, Cromwell, &c.)

So upon occaſion of the Arian faction, and the oppreſſion of Athanaſius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other biſhops, the Pope (who by their application to him had occaſion to head the Catholic party) did grow in power; for thereupon the Sardican Synod did decree to him that privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engine of rearing himſelf ſo high.

And by his interpoſal in the diſſenſions raiſed by the Neſtorians, the Pelagians, the Eutychians, the Acacians, the Monothelites, the Image-worſhippers, and Image-breakers, &c. his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in thoſe cauſes to the prevailing party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and ſway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of perſons ſheltered under it, and by it enjoying ſubordinate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its increaſe.

Such perſons therefore will ever be inciting their chief and patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compaſs it, they will be very induſtriouſly, reſolutely, and ſteadily active, their own intereſt moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be buſy in contriving ways to further his intereſts, their care and pains will be employed in accompliſhing his deſigns; they with their utmoſt ſtrength will contend in his defence againſt all oppoſitions.

Thus the Roman clergy firſt, then the biſhops of Italy, then all the clergy of the weſt, became engaged to ſupport, to fortify, to enlarge the papal authority; they all ſharing with him in domination over the laity; and enjoying wealth, credit, ſupport, privileges, and immunities thereby. Some of them eſpecially were ever putting him on higher pretences; and furthering him by all means in his acquiſt and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a potentate himſelf ſhould have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of itſelf grow, he need only be paſſive therein; the intereſt of his partiſans would effect it: ſo that often power doth no leſs thrive under ſluggiſh and weak potentates, eſpecially if they are void of goodneſs, than under the moſt active and able: let the miniſters alone to drive on their intereſt.

7. Even perſons otherwiſe juſt and good do ſeldom ſcruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at leaſt to uphold the uſurpations of their foregoers: for even ſuch are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring cenſure and blame, if they ſhould part with any thing left them by their predeceſſors. They apprehend themſelves to owe a dearneſs to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and proſperity, in promoting which they ſuppoſe themſelves not to act for their own private intereſt; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their office, that they ſtickle and buſtle; and that in ſo doing they imitate St. Paul, who did *magnify his office.* They are encouraged hereto by the applauſe of men, eſpecially of thoſe who are allied with them in intereſt, and who converſe with them; who take it for a maxim, *Boni principis eſt ampliare imperium:* the extenders of empire are admired and commended, however they do it, although with cruel wars, or by any unjuſt means.

Hence uſually the worthieſt men in the world's eye are greateſt enlargers of power; and ſuch men bringing appearances of virtue, ability, reputation to aid their endeavours, do moſt eaſily compaſs deſigns of this nature, finding leſs obſtruction to their attempts; for men are not ſo apt to ſuſpect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who diſcern their aims and conſequences of things, are overborne by the number of thoſe who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus Julius I. Damaſus I. Innocent I. Gregory I. and the like popes, whom hiſtory repreſenteth as laudable

perſons, did yet confer to the advancement of papal grandeur. But they who did moſt advance that intereſt, as Pope Leo I. Gelaſius I. Pope Nicholas I. Pope Gregory VII. in the eſteem of true zealots, paſs for the beſt popes. Hence the diſtinction between a good man, a good prince, a good pope. Sixtus V.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to expreſs themſelves highly in commendation of thoſe who are in a ſuperior rank, eſpecially upon occaſion of addreſs and intercourſe; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or atteſtations of right, and thence do ſometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly ſaid, that it [e] *doth fondly ſerve fame, and is ſtunned with titles and images*; readily aſcribing to ſuperiors whatever they claim, without ſcanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men, out of abjectedneſs or fear, are wont to crouch, and ſubmit to any thing upon any terms. Wiſe men do not love brangling, nor will expoſe their quiet and ſafety without great reaſon; thence being inclinable to comply with greater perſons. Bad men, out of deſign to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flatter and gloze with them. Good men, out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair uſage from them, are ready to compliment them, or treat them with the moſt reſpectful terms. Thoſe who are obliged to them will not ſpare to extol them; paying the eaſy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conſpire to exalt power; the which ſnatcheth all good words as true, and conſtrueth them to the moſt favourable ſenſe; and allegeth them as verdicts and arguments of unqueſtionable right. So are the compliments, or terms of reſpect, uſed by Jerome, Auſtin, Theodoret, and divers others, toward popes, drawn into an argument for papal authority; whenas the actions of ſuch Fathers, and their diſcourſes upon other occaſions, do ma-

[e] ——qui famæ ſervit ineptus,
Ac ſtupet in titulis et imaginibus ——. *Hor.*

nifeſt their ſerious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences: wherefore the emperor of Conſtantinople, in the Florentine Synod, had good reaſon to decline ſuch ſayings *for arguments, for, [f] *If*, ſaith he, *any of the ſaints doth in an epiſtle honour the Pope, ſhall he take that as importing privileges?*

* Κατὰ ῥητὰ τῶν ἁγίων.

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable ſimplicity, meekneſs, modeſty and humility, love of peace, and averſeneſs from contention) are apt to yield to the encroachments of thoſe who anywiſe do excel them; and when ſuch men do yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little intereſt to reſiſt, and no heart to ſtand for public good; but rather ſtrike in preſently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themſelves. Hence ſo many of all ſorts in all times did comply with popes, or did not obſtruct them; ſuffering them without great obſtacle to raiſe their power.

10. If in ſuch caſes a few wiſe men do apprehend the conſequences of things, yet they can do little to prevent them. They ſeldom have the courage with ſufficient zeal to buſtle againſt encroachments; fearing to be overborne by its ſtream, to loſe their labour, and vainly to ſuffer by it: if they offer at reſiſtance, it is uſually faint and moderate: whereas power doth act vigorouſly, and puſh itſelf forward with mighty violence; ſo that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppoſe it.

[g] Ambiguity of words (as it cauſeth many debates, ſo) yieldeth much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power: for whatever is ſaid of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or careleſsly uſed are by interpretation extended to ſignify great matters, or what you pleaſe. For inſtance,

The word *biſhop* may import any kind of ſuperinten-

[f] Μήπως, φησὶ, τις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλάβῃ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίων. *Syn. Flor.* Seſſ. XXV. (p. 848.)

[g] Ita de vocabulorum occaſionibus plurimum quæſtiones ſubornantur, ſicut et de verborum in communionibus. *Tertull. de Reſur. Carn.* 54.

dency or inſpection: hence St. Peter came to be reckoned biſhop of Rome, becauſe in virtue of his apoſtolical office he had inſpection over that church founded by him, and might exerciſe ſome epiſcopal acts.

The word *head* doth ſignify any kind of eminency; the word *prince*, any priority; the word to *preſide*, any kind of ſuperiority or preeminence: hence ſome Fathers attributing thoſe names to St. Peter, they are interpreted to have thought him ſovereign in power over the Apoſtles. And becauſe ſome did give like terms to the Pope, they infer his ſuperiority in power over all biſhops; notwithſtanding ſuch Fathers did expreſs a contrary judgment.

Καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κεφαλήν. *Can. Apoſt.* 34.

The word *ſucceſſor* may import any derivation of power: hence becauſe St. Peter is ſaid to have founded the church of Rome, and to have ordained the firſt biſhop there, the Pope is called his ſucceſſor.

The word *authority* doth often import any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men, (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any ſuch advantage:) [h] hence becauſe the Pope of old ſometimes was deſired to interpoſe his authority, they will underſtand him to have had right to command or judge in ſuch caſes; although authority is ſometimes oppoſed to command, as where Livy ſaith, that [i] *Evander did hold thoſe places by authority, rather than by command;* and Tacitus of the German princes ſaith, [k] *They are heard rather according to their authority of perſuading, than power of commanding.* [l] *The word* judge (ſaith Canus) *is frequently uſed to ſignify no more than, I do think or conceive;* where-

[h] Quia duobus epiſcopis, quorum ea tempeſtate ſumma authoritas erat non illuſerat——. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63.

Becauſe he had not deluded the two biſhops who had the greateſt authority in thoſe times.

Non mediocris authoritatis epiſcopus Carthag. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

The biſhop of Carthage was of no mean authority.

[i] Evander——ea authoritate magis quam imperio retinebat loca. *Liv.* 1.

[k] ——audiuntur authoritate ſuadendi potius quam jubendi poteſtate. *Tac. de Mor. Ger.* (p. 640.)

[l] Verbum *judico* frequenter in ea ſignificatione uſurpatur, ut idem ſit quod ſentio ſeu opinor. *Can.* loc. vi. cap. 8. (Comp. lib. vi. 1.)

by he doth excuſe divers popes from having decreed a notable error; (for Alexander III. ſays of them, *That they judged, that after a matrimony contracted, not conſummated, another may be valid, that being diſſolved.*) Yet if the Pope is ſaid to have *judged* ſo or ſo in any caſe, it is alleged for a certain argument of proper *juriſdiction.*

11. There is a ſtrange enchantment in words; which being (although with no great colour of reaſon) aſſumed, do work on the fancies of men, eſpecially of the weaker ſort. Of theſe power doth ever arrogate to itſelf ſuch as are moſt operative, by their force ſuſtaining and extending itſelf.

So divers prevalent factions did aſſume to themſelves the name of *Catholic;* and the Roman church particularly hath appropriated that word to itſelf, even ſo as to commit a bull, implying Rome and the univerſe to be the ſame place; and the perpetual canting of this term hath been one of its moſt effectual charms to weak people: *I am a Catholic,* that is, *an Univerſal; therefore all I hold is true:* this is their great argument.

The words *ſucceſſor of Peter, apoſtolic ſee, prima ſedes,* have been ſtrongly urged for arguments of papal authority; the which have beyond their true force (for indeed they ſignify nothing) had a ſtrange efficacy upon men of underſtanding and wiſdom.

12. The Pope's power was much amplified by the importunity of perſons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon juſt accounts, or wrongfully, and by faction; [m] for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redreſs, did often apply to him: for what will not men do, whither will not they go in ſtraits?

Thus did Marcion go to Rome, and ſue for admiſſion to communion there. So Fortunatus and Feliciſſimus in St. Cyprian, being condemned in Africk, did fly to Rome for

Cypr. Ep. 68.

[m] —— ut ad domini mei tanti pontificis et piiſſimi patris, omnium ad ſe confugientium tutiſſimi defenſoris ac protectoris, &c. *Rothaldi Appell.* (*in P. Nich. I.* Ep. xxxvii. p. 563.)

—— my lord ſo great a pontiff, and moſt pious a father, the ſafe defender and protector of all thoſe that flee unto him for ſuccour.

ſhelter; of which abſurdity St. Cyprian doth ſo complain. So likewiſe Martianus and Baſilides, in St. Cyprian, being outed of their ſees, for having lapſed from the Chriſtian profeſſion, did fly to Stephen for ſuccour, to be reſtored. So Maximus (the Cynic) went to Rome, to get a confirmation of his election at Conſtantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get atteſtation to his orthdoxy, (of which St. Baſil complaineth.) So Apiarius, being condemned in Africk for his crimes, did appeal to Rome. Ep. 55.

And on the other ſide, Athanaſius being with great partiality condemned by the Synod of Tyre; Paulus and other biſhops being extruded from their ſees for orthodoxy; St. Chryſoſtom being condemned, and expelled by Theophilus and his complices; Flavianus being depoſed by Dioſcorus and the Epheſine Synod; Theodoret being condemned by the ſame — did cry out for help to Rome. Chelidonius, biſhop of Reſanon, being depoſed by Hilarius of Arles, (for crimes,) did fly to Pope Leo. Ignatius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, being extruded from his ſee by Photius, did complain to the Pope. Calendion of Antioch, liber. cap. 18. P. Leo. Ep. 89. Marc. v. 32. P. Nich. I. Ep. xxxviii. (p. 564.) Rothaldus.

13. All princes are forward to heap honour on the biſhop of their imperial city; it ſeeming a diſgrace to themſelves, that ſo near a relation be an inferior to any other; who is, as it were, their ſpiritual paſtor, who is uſually by their ſpecial favour advanced. The city itſelf, and the court, will be reſtleſs in aſſiſting him to climb.

Thus did the biſhop of Conſtantinople ariſe to that high pitch of honour, and to be ſecond patriarch; who at firſt was a mean ſuffragan to the biſhop of Heraclea: this by the Synods of Conſtantinople and Chalcedon is aſſigned for the reaſon of his advancement. And how ready the emperors were to promote the dignity of that biſhop, we ſee by many of their edicts to that purpoſe; as particularly that of Leo. Cod. lib. i. tit. 2. cap. 16.

So, for the honour of their city, the emperors uſually did favour the Pope, aſſiſting him in the furtherance of his deſigns, and extending his privileges by their edicts at

home, and letters to the eaſtern emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the Synod of Chalcedon we have the letters of Valentinian, together with thoſe of Placidia and of Eudoxia, the empreſſes to Theodoſius, in behalf of Pope Leo, for retractation of the Epheſine Synod; wherein they do expreſs themſelves engaged to maintain the honour of the Roman ſee; [n] *Seeing that,* ſaith Placidia, mother of Theodoſius, *it becometh us in all things to preſerve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the miſtreſs of all others.*

So Pope Nicholas confeſſeth, that the emperors had [o] *extolled the Roman ſee with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits,* (or benefices,) &c.

14. The popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to ſuggeſt what they pleaſed to the court, and thereby to procure his edicts (directed or dictated by themſelves) in their favour, for extending their power, or repreſſing any oppoſition made to their encroachments.

Baronius obſerveth, that the biſhops of Conſtantinople did uſe this advantage for their ends: for thus he reflecteth on the edict of the emperor Leo in favour of that ſee: [p] *Theſe things Leo; but queſtionleſs conceived in the words of Acacius, ſwelling with pride.*

Apud Marc. v. 32. And no leſs unqueſtionably did the popes conceive words for the emperor in countenance of their authority.

* Bin. ad P. Hill. Ep. 11. (p. 576.) Such was that edict of Valentinian in favour of Leo againſt Hilarius, biſhop of Arles, * (in an unjuſt cauſe, as Binius confeſſeth,) who conteſted his authority to undo what was done in a Gallican Synod. And we may

[n] Ὅτι τρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μιγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δίκαιον πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γιῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι. *Syn. Chalc.* (p. 27.)

[o] Qualiter (imperatores) eam diverſis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. (p. 513.)

——Romanus tempore priſco
Pauper erat præſul, regali munere crevit, &c. *Gunth. Lig.* lib. 6.

[p] Hæc Leo, ſed Acacii faſtu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, et ſtylo ſuperbiæ exarata. *Baron.* ann. 473. §. 4.

thank Baronius himſelf for this obſervation, [q] *By this, reader, thou underſtandeſt, that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by tranſcribing and enacting the laws of the Church, upon the admonition of the holy biſhops requiring them to do their duty.* It was a notable edict, which Pope Hilarius allegeth; [r] *It was alſo decreed by the laws of Chriſtian princes, that whatſoever the biſhop of the apoſtolick ſee ſhould upon examination pronounce concerning churches and their governors,* &c. *ſhould with reverence be received and ſtrictly obſerved,* &c.

Such edicts by crafty ſuggeſtions being at opportune times from eaſy and unwary princes procured, did hold, not being eaſily reverſed: and the power which the Pope once had obtained by them, he would never part with; fortifying it by higher pretences of divine immutable right. P. Nich. I. Ep. 36.

The emperor Gratian, having gotten the world under him, did order the churches to thoſe who would communicate with Pope Damaſus. This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the Roman ſee. Theod. v. 2.

15. It is therefore no wonder, that popes, being ſeated in the metropolis of the weſtern empire, (the head of all the Roman ſtate,) ſhould find intereſt ſufficient to make themſelves by degrees what they would be: for they not only ſurpaſſing the provincial biſhops in wealth and repute, but having power in court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withſtand their encroachments? What wiſe man would not rather bear much, than conteſt upon ſuch diſadvantages, and without probable grounds of ſucceſs?

16. Princes who favoured them with ſuch conceſſions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foreſee what ſuch increaſe of power in time would ariſe to; or ſuſpect the

[q] Ex his intelligis, lector, cum de rebus ſacris imperatores leges ſanxivere, id ipſum admonitione ff. præſulum requirentium eorum officium ex ſcriptis legibus ſtatuiſſe. *Baron.* ann. 458. §. 4.

[r] Chriſtianorum quoque principum lege decretum eſt, &c. *P. Hilarius,* Ep. xi. (p. 576.)

prejudice thence done to imperial authority. They little thought that in virtue thereof popes would check and mate princes, or would claim ſuperiority over them: for the popes at that time did behave and expreſs themſelves with modeſty and reſpect to emperors.

17. Power once rooted doth find ſeaſons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confuſions of things, the eruptions of barbarians, the ſtraits of emperors, the contentions of princes, &c. did all turn to account for him; and in confuſion of things he did ſnatch what he could to himſelf.

The declination and infirmity of the Roman empire gave him opportunity to ſtrengthen his intereſts, either by cloſing with it, ſo as to gain ſomewhat by its conceſſion; or by oppoſing it, ſo as to head a faction againſt it. As he often had opportunity to promote the deſigns of emperors and princes, ſo thoſe did return to him increaſe of authority; ſo they trucked and bartered together. For when princes were in ſtraits, or did need aſſiſtance (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their deſigns, or ſupport of their intereſt in Italy, they were content to honour him, and grant what he deſired: as in the caſe of Acacius, which had cauſed ſo long a breach, the Emperor, to engage Pope Hormiſdas, did conſent to his will. And at the Florentine Synod, the Emperor did bow to the Pope's terms, in hopes to get his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks.

When the eaſtern emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of Italy, he ſnatched a good part of it to himſelf, and ſet up for a temporal prince[s].

When princes did claſh, he by yielding countenance to one ſide, would be ſure to make a good market for himſelf: for this pretended ſucceſſor to the fiſherman was really ſkilled to angle in troubled waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Chriſtendom, the

[s] Δρυὸς πιπτούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλίζεται——
When the oak is fallen, every one gets ſome wood.

kindlers and fomentors of war; and would often ſtir up wars; and inclining to the ſtronger part, would ſhare with the conqueror; as when he ſtirred up Charles againſt the Lombards. They would, upon ſpiritual pretence, be interpoſing in all affairs[s]. Anaſt. in Vit. Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25. 30, &c.

He did oblige princes by abetting their cauſe when it was unjuſt or weak; his ſpiritual authority ſatisfying their conſcience: whence he was ſure to receive good acknowledgment and recompenſe. As when he did allow Pepin's uſurpation. An. 752.

He pretended to diſpoſe of kingdoms, and to conſtitute princes; reſerving obeiſance to himſelf. Gregory VII. granted to Robert Guiſlard Naples and Sicily, *beneficiario jure.* An. 1060. Innocent II. gave to Roger the title of king. An. 1139.

There is ſcarce any kingdom in Europe which he hath not claimed the ſovereignty of, by ſome pretence or other. Princes ſometime, for quiet ſake, have deſired the Pope's conſent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themſelves, whence the Pope took advantage to claim an original right of diſpoſing ſuch things.

The proceeding of the Pope upon occaſion of wars is remarkable: when he did enter league with a prince, to ſide with him in a war againſt another, he did covenant to proſecute the enemy with ſpiritual arms, (that is, with excommunications and interdicts,) engaging his confederates to uſe temporal arms. So making eccleſiaſtical cenſures tools of intereſt.

When princes were in difficulties, (by the mutinous diſpoſition of princes, the emulation of antagoniſts,) he would, as ſerved his intereſt, interpoſe; hooking in ſome advantage to himſelf.

In the tumults againſt our King John, he ſtruck in, and would have drawn the kingdom to himſelf.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his ſpiritual power:

[s] Non ſine ſuſpicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, diſcordias tollere debuiſſent, ſuſcitarent ea potius atque nutrirent. *Modruvienſis Epiſc. in Conc. Lat. ſub Leone X.* Seſſ. vi. (p. 72.)

as about the point of the inveſtiture of biſhops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate	Hen. III. (an. 1076.)
Calixtus II. - - -	Hen. IV. (an. 1120.)
Adrian IV. - - -	Fred. (an. 1160.)
Celeſtinus III. - - -	Hen. V. (an. 1195.)
Innocent III. - - -	Otho (an. 1219.)
Honorius III. and Gregory IX. Innocent IV. in the Lugd. Conc.	Fred. II. (an. 1220. 1245.)

18. The ignorance of times did him great ſervice: for then all the little learning which was, being in his clients and factors, they could inſtil what they pleaſed into the credulous people. Then his dictates would paſs for infallible oracles, and his decrees for inviolable laws: whence his veneration was exceedingly increaſed.

Anſelme an. 1109. Becket an. 1154. *Eadmer.* *Matt. Par.*

19. He was forward to ſupport factious churchmen againſt princes, upon pretence of ſpiritual intereſt and liberty. And uſually by his importunity and arts getting the better in ſuch conteſts, he thereby did much ſtrengthen his authority.

20. He making himſelf the head of all the clergy, and carrying himſelf as its protector and patron, did engage thereby innumerable moſt able heads, tongues, and pens; who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little elſe to do.

21. So great a party he cheriſhed with exorbitant liberties, ſuffering none to rule over them, or touch them, beſide himſelf.

22. He did found divers militias and bands of ſpiritual janiſaries, to be combatants for his intereſts; who depending immediately upon him, ſubſiſting by his charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other juriſdictions, being ſworn to a ſpecial obeiſance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his intereſts, and to maintain all the pretences of their patron and benefactor.

Theſe had great ſway among the people, upon account of their religious guiſes and pretences to extraordinary heights of ſanctimony, auſterity, contempt of the world.

And learning being moſtly confined to them, they were the chief teachers and guides of Chriſtendom; ſo that no wonder, if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his power, as ſuperior to all others. They did attribute to him titles ſtrangely high, *Vice-god, Spouſe of the Church*, &c. ſtrange attributes of *omnipotency, infallibility*, &c.

23. Whereas wealth is a great ſinew of power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great ſtore thereof to himſelf.

Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo. *Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 44.

By how many tricks did he proll money from all parts of Chriſtendom? as by

Diſpenſations for marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times;—for vows and oaths; for obſervance of faſts and abſtinences; for pluralities and incompatible benefices, non-reſidences, &c.

Indulgences, and pardons, and freeing ſouls from the pains of purgatory.

Reſervations, and proviſions of benefices, not beſtowed *gratis*.

Vendit plumbum pro auro.

Conſecrated preſents; *Agnus Dei's, ſwords, roſes*, &c.

Taxa camerariæ.—

Confirmation of biſhops; [u] ſending palls.

Appeals to his court.

Tributes of *Peter-pence, annates, tithes*,—introduced upon occaſion of holy wars, and continued.

Peter-pence. *Plat.* p. 257

Playing faſt and looſe, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending legates to drain places of money.

Commutations of penance for money.

Inviting to pilgrimage at Rome.

Hooking in legacies. What a maſs of treaſure did all this come to! What a trade did he drive!

Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Chriſti?

24. He did indeed eaſily, by the help of his mercenary divines, transform moſt points of divinity in accommodation to his intereſts of power, reputation, and gain.

[u] In the times of Henry I. the biſhop of York did pay 10,000l. ſterling for his pall. *Matt. Par.* (p. 274.)

25. Any pretence, how ſlender ſoever, will in time get ſome validity; being fortified by the conſent of divers authors, and a current of ſuitable practice.

Any ſtory ſerving the deſigns of a party will get credit by being often told, eſpecially by writers bearing a ſemblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flouriſhing party.

26. The hiſtories of ſome ages were compoſed only by the Pope's clients, friars and monks, and ſuch people; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his intereſts, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to queſtion any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called *heretic*, and treated as ſuch.

27. Whereas the Pope had two ſorts of oppoſites to ſubdue, temporal princes and biſhops; his buſineſs being to overtop princes and to enſlave all biſhops, or to invade and uſurp the rights of both; he uſed the help of each to compaſs his deſigns on the other; by the authority of princes oppreſſing biſhops, and by the aſſiſtance of biſhops mating princes.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did inceſſantly clamour or whine, that *St. Peter was injured*[v].

29. The forgery of the Decretal Epiſtles (wherein the ancient popes are made expreſsly to ſpeak and act according to ſome of his higheſt pretences, deviſed long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpoſe; authorizing his encroachments by the ſuffrage of ancient doctrine and practice: a great part of his Canon Law is extracted out of theſe, and grounded on them.

The donation of Conſtantine, fictitious acts of councils, and the like counterfeit ſtuff, did help thereto; the which were ſoon embraced, as we ſee in Pope Gregory II.——

As alſo legends, fables of miracles, and all ſuch *deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs*.

*Ἀπάτη τῆς ἀδικίας. 2 Theſſ. ii. 10.

[v] Quando et apoſtolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non obſervatur, et a te ſpernitur et violatur. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 37.

30. Popes were ſo cunning as to form grants, and impute that to privileges derived from them, which princes did enjoy by right or cuſtom. Twiſd. p. 17. Non neceſſitatis, ſed honoris cauſa petit

31. Synods of biſhops called by him at opportune ſeaſons, conſiſting of his votaries or ſlaves. None dared therein to whiſper any thing to the prejudice of his authority. He carried whatever he pleaſed to propoſe, without check or contradiction. Who dared to queſtion any thing done by ſuch numbers of paſtors, ſtyling themſelves the *repreſentative of Chriſtendom?* Extortis a ſentationibus. *P. L. Epiſt. (ad Syn. Chal*

32. The having hampered all the clergy with ſtrict oaths of univerſal obedience to him, (beginning about the times of Pope Gregory VII.) did greatly aſſure his power.

33. When intolerable oppreſſions and exactions did conſtrain princes to ſtruggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to compoſition; whereby he was to be ſure for that time a gainer, and gained eſtabliſhment in ſome points, leaving the reſt to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witneſs the *Concordates* between
- Henry II. and P. Alex. III. an. 1172.
- Edw. III. and P. Greg. XI. an. 1373.
- Henry V. and P. Mart. V. an. 1418.

34. When princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by *Pragmatical Sanctions*, they were reſtleſs till they had got thoſe ſanctions revoked. And when they found weak princes, or any prince in circumſtances advantaging their deſign, they did obtain their end. So Pope Leo X. got Lewis XI. to repeal the *Pragmatical Sanctions* of his anceſtors.

35. The power he did aſſume to abſolve men from oaths and vows, to diſpenſe with prohibited marriages, &c. did not only bring much griſt to his mill, but did enable him highly to oblige divers perſons (eſpecially great ones) to himſelf. For to him they owed the quiet of their conſcience from ſcruples; to him they owed the ſatisfaction of their deſires, and legitimation of their iſſue, and title to their poſſeſſions.

36. So the device of indulgences did greatly raiſe the

veneration of him: for who would not adore him, that could looſe his bands, and free his ſoul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPOSITION VI.

The next *Suppoſition* is this, *That in fact the Roman biſhops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exerciſed this ſovereign power.*

THIS is a queſtion of fact, which will beſt be decided by a particular conſideration of the ſeveral branches of ſovereign power; that ſo we may examine the more diſtinctly whether in all ages the popes have enjoyed and exerciſed them, or not.

And if we ſurvey the particular branches of ſovereignty, we ſhall find that the Pope hath no juſt title to them, in reaſon, by valid law, or according to ancient practice; whence each of them doth yield a good argument againſt his pretences.

I. If the Pope were ſovereign of the Church, he would have power to convocate its ſupreme councils and judicatories; and would conſtantly have exerciſed it.

This power therefore the Pope doth claim; and indeed did pretend to it a long time ſince, before they could obtain to exerciſe it: [x] *It is manifeſtly apparent,* ſaith Pope Leo X. with approbation of his Lateran Synod, *that the Roman biſhop for the time being (as who hath authority over all councils) hath alone the full right and power of indicting, tranſlating, and diſſolving councils:* and long before him, *To the apoſtolical authority,* ſaid Pope Adrian I.[y] *by our Lord's command, and by the merits of St. Peter,*

[x] Diſtinct. 17. Cum etiam ſolum Rom. pontificem pro tempore exiſtentem, tanquam auctoritatem ſuper omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum ac diſſolvendorum plenum jus et poteſtatem habere——manifeſte conſtet *Con. Later.* Seſſ. xi. (p. 152.) ann.

[y] ——Cui juſſione Domini, et meritis B. Petri Apoſtoli, ſingularis congregandarum ſynodorum authoritas, et ſanctorum canonum ac venerandorum patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita eſt poteſtas. *P. Hadrian I. apud Bin.* tom. v. p. 565. (ann. 785.)

and by the decrees of the holy canons, and of the venerable Fathers, a right and ſpecial power of convocating ſynods hath manywiſe been committed: and yet before him, [z] *The authority,* ſaith Pope Pelagius II. *of convocating ſynods hath been delivered to the apoſtolical ſee by the ſingular privilege of St. Peter.*

But it is manifeſt, that the Pope cannot pretend to this power by virtue of any old eccleſiaſtical canon, none ſuch being extant or produced by him; nor can he allege any ancient cuſtom; there having been no general ſynod before Conſtantine: and as to the practice from that time, it is very clear, that for ſome ages the popes did not aſſume or exerciſe ſuch a power, and that it was not taken for their due. Nothing can be more evident, and it were extreme impudence to deny, that the emperors, at their pleaſure, and by their authority, did congregate all the firſt general ſynods; for ſo the oldeſt hiſtorians in moſt expreſs terms do report, ſo thoſe princes in their edicts did aver, ſo the ſynods themſelves did declare. The moſt juſt and pious emperors, who did bear greateſt love to the clergy, and had much reſpect for the Pope, did call them without ſcruple; it was deemed their right to do it, none did remonſtrate againſt their practice; the fathers in each ſynod did refer thereto, with allowance, and commonly with applauſe; popes themſelves did not conteſt their right, yea commonly did petition them to exerciſe it.

Theſe things are ſo clear and ſo obvious, that it is almoſt vain to prove them; I ſhall therefore but touch them.

In general Socrates doth thus atteſt to the ancient practice; [a] *We,* ſaith he, *do continually include the emperors in our hiſtory, becauſe upon them, ever ſince they became*

[z] Cum generalium ſynodorum convocandi auctoritas apoſtolicæ ſedi B. Petri ſingulari privilegio ſit tradita——. *P. Pelag. II.* Epiſt. 8. (*Bin.* tom. iv. p. 476.) ann. 587. *Qu.* An hæc Epiſtola ſit Pelagii II.? Negat Launoius.

[a] Συνεχῶς δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτηντο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μίγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τι καὶ γίνονται. *Socr.* 5. *Proœm.*

Chriſtians, eccleſiaſtical affairs have depended, and the greateſt ſynods have been and are made by their appointment: and Juſtinian in his prefatory type to the Fifth General Council beginneth thus; [b] *It hath been ever the care of pious and orthodox emperors, by the aſſembling of the moſt religious biſhops, to cut off hereſies, as they did ſpring up; and by the right faith ſincerely preached to keep the holy Church of God in peace:* and to do this was ſo proper to the emperors, that when Ruffin did affirm St. Hilary to have been excommunicated in a ſynod, St. Jerome, to confute him, did aſk; [c] *Tell me, what emperor did command this ſynod to be congregated?* implying it to be illegal or impoſſible, that a ſynod ſhould be congregated without the imperial command.

Particularly Euſebius ſaith of the firſt Chriſtian emperor, that [d] *as a common biſhop appointed by God he did ſummon ſynods of God's miniſters;* ſo did he *command a great number of biſhops to meet at Arles,* (for deciſion of the Donatiſts' cauſe;) ſo did he alſo *command* the biſhops from all quarters to meet at Tyre, for examination of the affairs concerning Athanaſius; and that he did convocate the great Synod of Nice (the firſt and moſt renowned of all general ſynods) all the hiſtorians do agree, he did himſelf affirm, the Fathers thereof in their ſynodical remonſtrances did avow; as we ſhall hereafter, in remarking on the paſſages of that ſynod, ſhew.

The ſame courſe did his ſon Conſtantius follow, without impediment; for although he was a favourer of the

[b] Semper ſtudium fuit orthodoxis et piis imperatoribus, pro tempore exortas hæreſes per congregationem religioſiſſimorum epiſcoporum amputare, et recta fide ſincere prædicata in pace ſanctam Dei Eccleſiam cuſtodire——. *Juſtin. in Syn.* 5. *Collat.* i. (p. 209.) Græce p. 368. magis emphatice.

[c] Doce——quis imperator hanc ſynodum jufſerit congregari? *Hier.*

[d] Οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ὑπ Θεῦ καθισάμενος συνόδους τῶν τῦ Θεῦ λειτουργῶν συνηγάγετο. *Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. I.* 44.

Πλείστους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν. *Euſeb. Hiſt.* x. 5. *Ep. ad Chreſtum.*

Ad Arelatenſium civitatem piiſſimi imperatoris voluntate adducti, ſay the Fathers in their Epiſtle to P. Sylveſter himſelf.

Vid. Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. lib. iv. cap. 41, 42, 43; et Socr. i. 28.

Arian party, yet did the Catholic biſhops readily at his call aſſemble in the great ſynods of [e] Sardica, of [f] Ariminum, of [g] Seleucia, of [h] Sirmium, of [i] Milan, &c. Which he out of a great zeal to compoſe diſſenſions among the biſhops did convocate.

After him the Emperor Valentinian, underſtanding of diſſenſions about divine matters, to compoſe them, did indict a ſynod in Illyricum [k].

A while after, for ſettlement of the Chriſtian ſtate, (which had been greatly diſturbed by the perſecution of Julian and of Valens, and by divers factions,) Theodoſius I. did [l] *command*, ſaith Theodoret, *the biſhops of his empire to be aſſembled together at Conſtantinople;* the which meeting accordingly did make the Second General Synod: in the congregation of which the Pope had ſo little to do, that Baronius ſaith, it was celebrated againſt his will.

Afterwards, when Neſtorius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, affecting to ſeem wiſer than others in explaining the myſtery of Chriſt's incarnation, had raiſed a jangle to the diſturbance of the Church; for removing it, the Emperor Theodoſius II. did [m] *by his edict command the biſhops to meet at Epheſus;* who there did celebrate the Third General Council: in the beginning of each Action

[e] Προσέταξεν εἰς Σαρδικὴν συνδραμεῖν ἐπισκόπους. *Theod.* ii. 4. *Soz.* iii. 11. *Socr.* ii. 16, 20. *Athan.* tom. i. p. 761. *Hil. in Fragm.* p.

Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam epiſcopos congregari. *Sulp.* ii. 52.

[f] Ἐκ τε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χιλιάσεως, καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας προστάγματος, &c. *Syn. Arim. Ep. ad Conſt. Socr.* ii. 37.

[g] Socr. ii. 39. ἦν—γενέσθαι τὸ βασιλέως ἐπίλεινον πρόσταγμα. *Ann.* 381.

[h] Ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γενέσθαι ἐπίλεινεν. *Socr.* ii. 29. *Soz.* iv. 6.

[i] Πρόσταγμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. *Socr.* i. 36. *Soz.* iv. 9.

[k] Ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξε. *Theod.* iv. 7.

[l] Σύνοδον ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσε. *Soz.* vii. 7. *Socr.* v. 8.

Μόνης τῆς εἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροισθῆναι προσέταξεν. *Theod.* v. 7.

Repugnante Damaſo celebrata, &c. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 224.

[m] Πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνιέναι ἐπίλεινεν. *Socr.* vii. 34. *Evagr.* i. 3.

it is affirmed, that the ſynod was [n] *convocated by the imperial degree;* the ſynod itſelf doth often profeſs it; the Pope's own legate doth acknowledge it; and ſo doth Cyril the preſident thereof [o].

The ſame emperor, upon occaſion of Eutyches being condemned at Conſtantinople, and the ſtirs thence ariſing, did indict the Second General Synod of Epheſus, (which proved abortive by the miſcarriages of Dioſcorus, biſhop of Alexandria,) as appeareth by his imperial letters to Dioſcorus, and the other biſhops, ſummoning them to that ſynod: [p] *We have decreed, that the moſt holy biſhops meeting together,* &c. [q] *After the ſame manner the other moſt reverend biſhops were written to, to come to the ſynod.* And as Pope Leo doth confeſs, calling it [r] *the council of biſhops, which you* (Theodoſius) *commanded to be held at Epheſus.*

Ann. 451. The next General Synod of Chalcedon was convocated by the authority of the Emperor Marcian; as is expreſſed in the beginning of each Action [s], as the emperor declareth, as the ſynod itſelf, in the front of its Definition, doth

[n] Ἐκ θεσπίσματος τῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.

[o] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα. *Syn. Eph. Act.* i. p. 291.

The holy ſynod aſſembled by the grace of God, according to the decree of our moſt religious emperors, &c.

—— ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματι τῷ ὑμετέρᾳ κράτους συναχθεῖσα. p. 297.

Τὰ προτεταγμένα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρὰ τῆ ὑμετέρᾳ κράτους, &c. *Act.* v. p. 347.

Τοῖς ἀθροισθεῖσι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων. p. 404.

Ἥντινα σύνοδον οἱ χριστιανικώτατοι καὶ φιλανθρωπότατοι βασιλεῖς ὥρισαν.

Which ſynod our moſt Chriſtian and gracious emperors appointed, ſaith Philip, the Pope's legate. *Act.* iii. p. 330.

Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων συναχθείσῃ ——.

To the holy ſynod aſſembled by the grace of God, and the command of our emperors, &c. So do Cyril and Memnon inſcribe their epiſtle. *Act.* iv. p. 337.

[p] Ἐθεσπίσαμεν κατὰ ταῦτο συνελθόντων ὁσιοτάτων, &c.

[q] Τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ ἐγράφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐλαβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις ὥστε παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν σύνοδον. *Syn. Chalc.* pars i. p. 53.

[r] Epiſcopale conſilium, quod haberi apud Epheſum præcepiſtis. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 25. (et 24.) *ad Theod.*

[s] Κατὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα συναθροισθεῖσα.

Τὴν ἁγίαν ὑμῶν ἠθροίσαμεν σύνοδον. (*Act.* vi. p. 345.)

avow; [t] *The holy, great, and œcumenical Synod, gathered together by the grace of God and the command of our moſt dread emperors,* &c. *has determined as follows.*

The Fifth General Synod was alſo congregated by the authority of Juſtinian I.; and the emperor's letter authorizing it, beginneth (as we ſaw before) with an aſſertion, (backed with a particular enumeration,) that all former great ſynods were called by the ſame power: the Fathers themſelves do ſay, that they had [u] *come together according to the will of God, and the command of the moſt pious emperor.* So little had the Pope to do in it, that, as Baronius himſelf telleth us, it was congregated [x] *againſt his will, or with his reſiſtance.* Ann. 533. Act. p. 368. Gr. p. 309. Lat.

The Sixth General Synod at Conſtantinople was alſo indicted by the emperor Conſtantine Pogonatus; as doth appear by his letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each Action, as the ſynod doth acknowledge, as Pope Leo II. (in whoſe time it was concluded) doth affirm. The ſynod, in its Definition, as alſo in its Epiſtle to Pope Agatho, doth inſcribe itſelf, [y] *The holy and œcumenical Synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the altogether religious ſanction of the moſt pious and moſt faithful great emperor Conſtantine:* and in their Definition they ſay, [z] *By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our moſt gracious emperor, through the divine wiſdom being guided, as a defender of the true faith, and an enemy to the falſe, having gathered us together in this holy and œcumenical*

[t] Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεῦ χάριν, καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχθεῖσα—— ὅρισε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. *Act.* vi. 346.

[u] Pro Dei voluntate, et juſſione piiſſimi imperatoris ad hanc urbem convenimus. *Collat.* 8.

Ut quæ reſiſtente Romano Pontifice fuerit congregata. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 219.

[y] Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεῦ χάριν καὶ πανευσεβῆ θέσπισμα τῦ εὐσεβεστάτυ καὶ πιστοτάτυ μεγάλυ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνυ συναχθεῖσα. *Act.* xviii. p. 259, 285. (*in Epiſt. ad P. Agath.*)

[z] Ταύτῃ τῇ θεολήπτῳ τῆς εἰρήνης διδασκαλίᾳ θεοσέβως ὁ πραότατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὁδηγούμενος, ὁ τῆς μὲν ὀρθοδοξίας ὑπέρμαχος, τῆς δὲ κακοδοξίας ἀντίμαχος, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν ἀθροίσας ἐμήγυριν, τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔπαν ἤνωσε σύγκριμα. *Act.* xviii. p. 256. *in Definitione Synodica.*

ſynod, has united the whole frame of the Church, &c. In its acclamatory oration to the emperor it ſaith, Ταῖς θειοτάταις ὑμῶν προστάξεσιν εἴκοντες ὅτε τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀρχιερατικώτατος πρόεδρος ἡ ἡμεῖς ἐλάχιστοι, &c. Act. xviii. p. 271. *We all acquieſcing in your moſt ſacred commands; both the moſt holy preſident of* (Rome) *the moſt ancient and apoſtolical city, and we the leaſt,* &c. [a]

Theſe are all the great ſynods which poſterity with clear conſent did admit as general: for the next two have been diſclaimed by great churches, (the ſeventh by moſt of the weſtern churches, the eighth by the eaſtern,) ſo that even [b] divers popes after them did not reckon them for general councils; and all the reſt have been only aſſemblies of weſtern biſhops, celebrated after the breach between the oriental and occidental churches.

Yet even that Second Synod of Nice, which is called the Seventh Synod, doth avow itſelf to have [c] *convened by the emperor's command;* and in the front of each Action, as alſo of their Synodical Definition, the ſame ſtyle is retained.

Hitherto it is evident, that all general ſynods were convocated by the imperial authority; and about this matter divers things are obſervable.

It is obſervable in how peremptory a manner the emperors did require the biſhops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. Conſtantine, in his letter indicting the Synod of Tyre, hath theſe words; *If any one preſuming to violate our command and ſenſe,* &c.

Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. iv. 42. (Vid. in v. p. 30.)

Theodoſius II. ſummoneth the biſhops to the Epheſine Synod in theſe terms; [d] *We taking a great deal of care*

[a] Καὶ γὰρ ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος, ἥτις κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἐναγχος ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι συνηθροίσθη πόλει——. *P. Leo II. in Ep. ad Con. Imp.* p. 305.

[b] P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 247. P. Nic. I. Ep. 7, 8, 10. P. Hadr. II. Ep. 26.

[c] Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' εὐδοκίαν Θεοῦ, προστάξει τε τῆς φιλοχρίστου ὑμῶν βασιλείας συνελθοῦσα. *Act.* vii. p. 831. i. 519. ii. 551. iii. 586. iv. 609. v. 696. vi. 722. vii. 812. *Defin. Synod. Act.* vii. p. 817.

[d] Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων πολλὴν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ὐδένα φροντοῦς ἀνεξάμεθα· ὐδεμίαν τι ἴζει πρὸς Θεὸν, ὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ὁ μὴ παραχρῆμα

about theſe things, will not ſuffer any one, if he be abſent, to go unpuniſhed; nor ſhall he find excuſe either with God or us, who preſently without delay does not by the time ſet appear in the place appointed.

In like terms did he call them to the Second Epheſine Synod; [d] *If any one ſhall chooſe to neglect meeting in a ſynod ſo neceſſary and grateful to God, and by the ſet time do not with all diligence appear in the place appointed, he ſhall find no excuſe,* &c.

Marcian thus indicteth the Synod of Nice, (after by him tranſlated to Chalcedon;) [e] *It properly ſeemeth good to our clemency, that an holy ſynod meet in the city of Nice, in the province of Bithynia.*

Again we may obſerve, that in the imperial edicts, or epiſtles, whereby councils effectually were convened, there is nothing ſignified concerning the Pope's having any authority to call them; it is not as by licence from the Pope's holineſs, but in their own name and authority they act: which were very ſtrange, if the popes had any plea then commonly approved for ſuch a power.

As commonly emperors did call ſynods by the ſuggeſtion of other biſhops [f], ſo again there be divers inſtances of popes applying themſelves to the emperors with petitions to indict ſynods; wherein ſometimes they prevailed, ſometimes they were diſappointed: ſo Pope Liberius did requeſt of Conſtantius to indict a ſynod for deciding the cauſe of Athanaſius. [g] *Eccleſiaſtical judgment* (ſaid he, as Theodoret reports) *ſhould be made with great equity: wherefore, if it pleaſe your piety, command a*

κατὰ τὸν προσιρημένον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸν ἀφορισθέντα τόπον σπουδαίως παραγινόμενος. *Theod. Jun. Ep. ad Cyril. Conc. Eph.* pars i. p. 2, 6.

[d] Εἰ δέ τις τὴν ὕτως ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλην παριδεῖν ἕλοιτο σύνοδον, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τὸν προσιρημένον καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα καταλάβοι τόπον, ἀδικίαν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ παρὸν, ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν. *Theod. in Ep. ad Dioſc. in Conc. Chalc. Act.* i. p. 53.

[e] Τῦτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἥρισιν ἡμερότησι, ἵνα ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαίων πόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συγκροτηθῇ. *In Epiſt. ad Epiſc. Syn. Chalc.* pars i. p. 34.

[f] Κύριλλος——εἰκότως ἰδίῃσι νύμασι τῷ νέῳ Θεοδοσίῳ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἰώας διέποντος τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτην σύνοδον ἀλισθῆναι. *Evagr.* i. 3.

[g] Διόπερ εἰ σε δοκεῖ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κριτήριον συναθῆναι κέλευσον. *Theod.* ii. 16.

judicatory to be conſtituted: and in his Epiſtle to Hoſius, produced by Baronius, he ſaith, [h] *Many biſhops out of Italy met together, who together with me had beſeeched the moſt religious emperor, that he would command, as he had thought fit, the council of Aquileia to meet.*

So Pope Damaſus, having a deſire that a general ſynod ſhould be celebrated in Italy for repreſſing hereſies and factions then in the church, did obtain the imperial letters for that purpoſe directed to the eaſtern biſhops, as they in their Epiſtle to the weſtern biſhops do intimate: [i] *But becauſe expreſſing a brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us, as your own members, by the moſt pious emperor's letters, to that ſynod which by the will of God ye are gathering at Rome.*

Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 13. It is a wonder that Bellarmine ſhould have the confidence to allege this paſſage for himſelf.

So again Pope Innocent I. being deſirous to reſtore St. Chryſoſtom, [k] *did*, as Sozomen telleth us, *ſend five biſhops and two prieſts of the Roman church to Honorius and to Arcadius the emperor, requeſting a ſynod, with the time and the place thereof:* in which attempt he ſuffered a repulſe; for the courtiers of Arcadius did repel thoſe agents, [l] *as troubling another government, which was beyond their bounds*, or wherein the Pope had nothing to do, that they knew of.

So alſo Pope Leo I. [m] (whom no pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the privileges and advance the eminence of his ſee) did in theſe terms requeſt Theodoſius

[h] Multi ex Italia epiſcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religioſiſſimum imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet ſicut ipſi placuerat, dudum concilium Aquileienſe congregari. *Baron.* ann. 353. §. 19.

[i] Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τὴν ἀδιλφικὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, σύνοδον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Θεῷ βυλήσει συγκροτεῖντες, ᾧ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη προσεκαλέσασθε, διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων. *Theod.* v. 9.

[k] Πέμπουσιν ἐπισκόπους πέντε ᾧ πρεσβυτέρους δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ονώριον, καὶ Ἀρκάδιον τὸν βασιλέα, σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, ᾧ καιρὸν ταύτης καὶ τόπον. *Soz.* viii. 28.

[l] Ὡς ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας *Ibid.*

[m] Humiliter ac ſapienter expoſcite, ut petitioni noſtræ, qua plenariam indici ſynodum poſtulamus, clementiſſimus imperator dignetur annuere, (ſaith Pope Leo, to the clergy and people of Conſtantinople, *Ep.* 23.)

to indict a ſynod; [m] *Whence if your pity ſhall vouchſafe conſent to our ſuggeſtion and ſupplication, that you would command an epiſcopal council to be held in Italy; ſoon, God aiding, may all ſcandals be cut off.* Upon this occaſion the Emperor did appoint a council (not in Italy, according to the Pope's deſire, but) at Epheſus; the which not ſucceeding well, Pope Leo again did addreſs to Theodoſius in theſe words; [n] *All the churches of our parts, all biſhops with groans and tears, do ſupplicate your grace, that you would command a general ſynod to be celebrated within Italy.* To which requeſt (although backed with the deſire of the weſtern emperor) Theodoſius would by no means conſent: for, as Leontius reporteth, [o] *when Valentinian, being importuned by Pope Leo, did write to Theodoſius II. that he would procure another ſynod to be held for examining whether Dioſcorus had judged rightly or no, Theodoſius did write back to him, ſaying, I ſhall make no other ſynod.*

The ſame Pope did again of the ſame Emperor petition for a ſynod to examine the cauſe of Anatolius, biſhop of Conſtantinople; *Let your clemency,* ſaith he, *be pleaſed to grant an univerſal council to be held in Italy; as with me the ſynod, which for this cauſe did meet at Rome, doth requeſt.* Thus did that Pope continually harp upon one ſtring, to get a general ſynod to be celebrated at his own doors; but never could obtain his purpoſe, the Emperor being ſtiff in refuſing it.

The ſame Pope, with better ſucceſs, (as [p] to the thing,

[m] Unde ſi pietas veſtra ſuggeſtioni ac ſupplicationi noſtræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis epiſcopale concilium, cito auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia ſcandala reſecari. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 9.

[n] Omnes partium eccleſiæ noſtrarum, omnes manſuetudini veſtræ cum gemitibus et lacrymis ſupplicant ſacerdotes, ut generalem ſynodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 42.

[o] Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐχλύμενος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα γεάφει Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μικρῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ σύνοδον γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι εἰ καλῶς ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος ἢ ὐ· ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντίγεαφεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι ὐ ποιῶ ἄλλην σύνοδον. *Leont. de Sect.* Act. 4.

[p] Sanctum clementiæ veſtræ ſtudium, quo ad reparationem pacis eccleſiaſticæ ſynodum habere voluiſtis, adeo libenter accepi, ut quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam popoſciſſem, &c. *Leo.* Ep. 50.

Popoſceram quidem a glorioſiſſima clementia veſtra, ut ſynodum, quam

though not as to the place,) did requeſt of the emperor Marcian a ſynod; for he (concurring in opinion that it was needful) [q] *did,* ſaith Liberatus, *at the petition of the Pope and the Roman princes, command a general council to be congregated at Nice.*

Now if the Pope had himſelf a known right to convocate ſynods, what needed all this ſupplication, or this application to the emperors? Would not the Pope have endeavoured to exerciſe his authority? would he not have clamoured or whined at any interruption thereof? Would ſo ſpiritful and ſturdy a Pope as Leo have begged that to be done by another, which he had authority to do of himſelf, when he did apprehend ſo great neceſſity for it, and was ſo much provoked thereto? Would he not at leaſt have remonſtrated againſt the injury therein done to him by Theodoſius?

Fortiſſimus Leo. *Liber.* cap. 12.

All that this daring Pope could adventure at was to wind in a pretence, that the Synod of Chalcedon was congregated by his conſent; for, [r] *It hath been the pleaſure* (of whom? I pray) *that a general council ſhould be congregated, both by the command of the Chriſtian princes, and with the conſent of the apoſtolick ſee,* ſaith he very cunningly; yet not ſo cunningly, but that any other biſhop might have ſaid the ſame for his ſee.

This power indeed upon many juſt accounts peculiarly doth belong to princes; it ſuiteth to the dignity of their ſtate, it appertaineth to their duty, they are moſt able to diſcharge it. They are the guardians of public tranquillity, which conſtantly is endangered, which commonly is violated, by diſſenſions in religious matters; (whence we

pro reparanda orientalis eccleſiæ pace a nobis etiam petitam neceſſariam judicaſtis, aliquantiſper differri ad tempus opportunius juberetis——. *P. Leo,* Ep. 43, 44, 50.

[q] Sed eo defuncto, cum Martianus imperii culmen fuiſſet adeptus, pro illa Papæ et principum Romanorum petitione univerſale concilium in Nicena congregari juſſit. *Lib. Brev.* cap. 13.

[r] —— in cauſa fidei, propter quam generale concilium et ex præcepto Chriſtianorum principum, et ex conſenſu apoſtolicæ ſedis placuit congregari. *Ep.* 61.

muſt pray for them, that by their care *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty*;) they alone can authorize their ſubjects to take ſuch journeys, or to meet in ſuch aſſemblies; they alone can well cauſe the expences needful for holding ſynods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain order and peace in them, can procure obſervance to their determinations; they alone have a ſword to conſtrain reſty and refractory perſons (and in no caſes are men ſo apt to be ſuch as in debates about theſe matters) to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree, to obſerve what is ſettled; they, as *nurſing fathers of the church*, as *miniſters of God's kingdom*, as *encouragers of all good works*, as the ſtewards of God, intruſted with the great talents of power, dignity, wealth, enabling them to ſerve God, are obliged to cauſe biſhops in ſuch caſes to perform their duty; according to the example of good princes in holy Scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature: for ſo king Joſias did convocate a general ſynod of the Church in his time; *Then*, ſaith the text, *the king ſent, and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jeruſalem*: in this ſynod he preſided, *ſtanding in his place, and making a covenant before the Lord*; its reſolutions he confirmed, *cauſing all that were preſent in Jeruſalem and Benjamin to ſtand to that covenant*; and he took care of their execution, *making all preſent in Iſrael effectually to ſerve the Lord their God.*

1 Tim. ii. 2.

Iſa. xlix. 23. Wiſd. vi. 4. Rom. xiii. 3.

2 Chron. xxxiv. 29, &c.

So alſo did King Hezekiah *gather the prieſts and Levites together*, did warn, did command them to do their duty, and reform things in the Church; *My ſons*, ſaid he, *be not now negligent; for the Lord hath choſen you to ſtand before him, to ſerve him, and that ye ſhould miniſter unto him, and burn incenſe.*

2 Chron. xxix. 4, 15, 20, 21, &c. ver. 11.

Beſide them none other can have reaſonable pretence to ſuch a power, or can well be deemed able to manage it: ſo great an authority cannot be exerciſed upon the ſubjects of any prince, without eclipſing his majeſty, infringing his natural right, and endangering his ſtate. He that at his pleaſure can ſummon all Chriſtian paſtors, and

make them trot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect emperor, or in a fair way to make himſelf ſo. It is not fit therefore that any other perſon ſhould have all the governors of the Church at his beck, ſo as to draw them from remote places whither he pleaſeth; to put them on long and chargeable journies; to detain them from their charge; to ſet them on what deliberations and debates he thinketh good. It is not reaſonable that any one, without the leave of princes, ſhould authorize ſo great conventions of men, having ſuch intereſt and ſway; it is not ſafe, that any one ſhould have ſuch dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to claſh with princes, and withdraw his ſubjects from their due obedience. Neither can any ſucceſs be well expected from the uſe of ſuch authority by any, who hath not power, by which he can force biſhops to convene, to reſolve, to obey; whence we ſee that Conſtantine, who was a prince ſo gentle and friendly to the clergy, was put to threaten thoſe biſhops, who would abſent themſelves from the ſynod indicted by him at Tyre; and Theodoſius [s] (alſo *a very mild and religious prince*) did the like, in his ſummoning the two Epheſine Synods. We likewiſe may obſerve, that when the *Pope and weſtern biſhops*, in a ſynodical epiſtle, [t] *did invite thoſe of the eaſt to a great ſynod indicted at Rome, theſe did refuſe the journey, alleging that it would be to no good purpoſe:* ſo alſo when the weſtern biſhops did call thoſe of the eaſt, for reſolving the difference between Flavianus and Paulinus, both pretending to be biſhops of Antioch, what effect had their ſummons? And ſo will they always or often be ready to ſay, who are called at the pleaſure of thoſe who want force to conſtrain them: ſo that ſuch authority in unarmed hands (and God keep

[s] Τῇ πραότητι ᾧ πάντας τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένους ἐνίκα.

—— ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος πραΰς σφόδρα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. *Socr.* vii. 42.

[t] Τὴν ἀποδημίαν παρητήσαντο ὡς ὐδὲν ἴχυσαν κέρδος. *Theod.* v. 8.

Ἔγραψεν αὐτοί τι, καὶ Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλῶντες εἰς τὴν δύσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους. *Soz.* vii. 11.

Both they and Gratian the emperor wrote, calling the eaſtern biſhops into the weſt.

arms out of the Pope's hands) will be only a source of discords.

Either the Pope is a subject, as he was in the first times, and then it were too great a presumption for him to claim such a power over his fellow-subjects in prejudice to his sovereign; (nor indeed did he presume so far, until he had in a manner shaken off subjection to the Emperor;) or he is not a subject; and then it is not reasonable that he should have such power in the territories of another prince.

The whole business of general synods was an expedient for peace, contrived by emperors, and so to be regulated by their order. Hence even in times and places where the Pope was most reverenced, yet princes were jealous of suffering the Pope to exercise such a power over the bishops their subjects; and to obviate it, did command all bishops not to stir out of their territories without licence; particularly our own nation, in the Council at Clarendon, where it was decreed, [u] *That they should not go out of the kingdom without the King's leave.*

Philip of France. *Bin.* tom. vii. p. 906. (an. 1302.)

To some things above said, a passage may be objected which occurreth in the acclamation of the Sixth Synod to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus; wherein it is said, that [x] Constantine and Sylvester did collect the Synod of Nice; Theodosius I. and Damasus, (together with Gregory and Nectarius,) the Synod of Constantinople; Theodosius II. with Celestine and Cyril, the Ephesine Synod: and so of the rest. To which I answer, that the Fathers mean only for the honour of those prelates to signify, that they in their places and ways did concur and cooperate to the celebration of those synods; otherwise we might, as to

[u] Decretum est —— non licere —— exire regnum absque licentia regis. *Conc. Clarend.* Vid. *Matt. Par.* ann. 1164.

[x] Syn. Sext. Act. xviii. p. 272. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀεισέβαστος, ϗ Σίλβεστρος ὁ ἀοίδιμος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλην τε ϗ περίβλεπτον συνέλεγεν σύνοδον.

—— ἀλλ' ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, ϗ Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως—— Γρηγόριός τε ϗ Νεκτάριος τὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει συνήθροιζον σύλλογον.

Πάλιν Νεστόριος, ϗ πάλιν Κελεστῖνος, ϗ Κύριλλος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν διήρει, καὶ κατεδίχαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῷ τῶν σκήπτρων δεσπόζοντι τὸν κατατομέα κατέβαλλον——.

matter of fact and hiſtory, conteſt the accurateneſs of their relation; and it is obſervable, that they join other great biſhops, then flouriſhing, with the popes; ſo that if their ſuffrage prove any thing, it proveth more than our adverſaries would have, viz. that all great biſhops and patriarchs have a power or right to convocate ſynods.

As for paſſages alleged by our adverſaries, that no ſynod could be called, or eccleſiaſtical law enacted, without conſent of the Pope, they are nowiſe pertinent to this queſtion; for we do not deny that the Pope had a right to ſit in every general ſynod; and every other patriarch at leaſt had no leſs; [y] as all reaſon and practice do ſhew; and as they of the Seventh Synod do ſuppoſe, arguing the Synod of Conſtantinople, which condemned the worſhip of images, to be no general council, [z] *becauſe it had not the Pope's cooperation, nor the conſent of the eaſtern patriarchs.* Syncellus, the patriarch of Jeruſalem's legate in the Eighth Synod, ſays, [a] *For this reaſon did the Holy Spirit ſet up patriarchs in the world, that they might ſuppreſs ſcandals ariſing in the Church of God:* and Photius is in the ſame ſynod told, [b] *That the judgment paſſed againſt him was moſt equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one, but all the four patriarchs.*

That a general ſynod doth not need a Pope to call it, or preſide in it, appeareth by what the Synods of Piſa and Conſtance define, for proviſion in time of ſchiſms.

Seſſ. xxxix. (p. 1109.)

II. It inſeparably doth belong to ſovereigns in the general aſſemblies of their ſtates to preſide, and moderate affairs; propoſing what they judge fit to be conſulted or

[y] Ἀναγνωσθέντων τίνων συνοδικῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δεῖν γίνεσθαι ποτὲ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν παρεκτὸς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριάρχων. *Antecſſa Syn. Nic. II.* p. 518.

[z] Οὐκ ἴσχυε συνεργὸν τὸν τηνικαῦτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πάπαν—καθὼς νόμος ἐπὶ ταῖς συνόδοις· ἀλλ' ὅτι συμφρονοῦντας αὐτὴ τοὺς πατριάρχας τῆς ἴσω, &c. *Syn.* 7. Act. vi. p. 725.

[a] Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἴδιστο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφυόμενα σκάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφανίζωνται. *Syn.* 8. Act. i. p. 930.

[b] Ἀπροσωπόληπτος ἡ κρίσις, ὡς ὑπ' ἐξ ἑνὸς μόνου ῥηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν γινομένη. *Act.* v. p. 945.

debated; ſtopping what ſeemeth unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and ſteering them to a good iſſue; checking diſorders and irregularities, which the diſtemper or indiſcretion of any perſons may create in deliberations or diſputes.

This privilege therefore the Pope doth claim; not allowing any general council to be legitimate, wherein he in perſon, or by his legates, doth not preſide and ſway. [c] *All Catholics,* ſays Bellarmine, *teach this to be the chief Pontiff's proper office, that either in perſon or by his legate he preſide, and as chief judge moderate all.*

But for this prerogative no expreſs grant from God, no ancient canon of the Church, no certain cuſtom can be produced.

Nor doth ancient practice favour the Pope's claim to ſuch a prerogative, it appearing that he did not exerciſe it in the firſt general ſynods.

St. Peter himſelf did not preſide in the apoſtolical ſynod at Jeruſalem, where he was preſent; but rather St. James, as we before have ſhewed. Act. xv.

In all the firſt ſynods, convocated by emperors, they did either themſelves in perſon, or by honourable perſons authorized by them, in effect preſide, governing the proceedings.

In the Synod of Nice, Conſtantine was the chief manager, director, and moderator of the tranſactions; and under him other chief-biſhops did preſide; but that the pope's legates had any conſiderable influence or ſway there, doth by no evidence appear, as we ſhall hereafter out of hiſtory declare. Προεδρεύει τοῦ λόγου τοῖς πρεσβεσι. Euſeb. iii. 13.

In the Synod of Sardica, (which in deſign was a general council, but in effect did not prove ſo, being divided by a ſchiſm into two great parts,) Hoſius, biſhop of Corduba, did preſide, or (by reaſon of his age and venerable worth) had the firſt place aſſigned to him, and bore the

[c] Catholici omnes id munus proprium eſſe docent ſummi Pontificis, ut per ſe, vel per legatos præſideat, et tanquam ſupremus judex omnia moderetur. *Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

office of prolocutor; ſo the ſynod itſelf doth imply; [d] *All we biſhops* (ſay they in their Catholic epiſtle) *meeting together, and eſpecially the moſt ancient Hoſius, who for his age, and for his confeſſion, and for that he hath undergone ſo much pains, is worthy all reverence:* ſo Athanaſius expreſsly doth call him; [e] *The holy ſynod,* ſaith he, *the prolocutor of which was the great Hoſius, preſently ſent to them,* &c. The canons of the ſynod intimate the ſame, wherein he propoſeth matters, and aſketh the pleaſure of the ſynod: the ſame is confirmed by the ſubſcriptions of their general Epiſtle, wherein he is ſet before Pope Julius himſelf; ([f] *Hoſius from Spain, Julius of Rome, by the preſbyters Archidamus and Philoxenus.*) In this all eccleſiaſtical hiſtories do agree; none ſpeaking of the Pope's preſiding there by his legates.

In the Second General Synod at Conſtantinople the Pope had plainly no ſtroke; the oriental biſhops alone did there reſolve on matters, [g] *being headed* by their patriarchs, (of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem,) as Sozomen ſaith; *being guided by Nectarius and St. Gregory Nazianzen,* as the Council of Chalcedon in its Epiſtle to the Emperor doth aver.

In the Third General Synod at Epheſus, Cyril, biſhop of Alexandria, did preſide, as Pope Leo himſelf doth teſtify: he is called [h] *the head of it,* in the Acts.

[d] Πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων, ϗ μάλιστα τῦ ἐυγηροτάτυ Ὁσίυ, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ϗ διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ϗ διὰ τὸν τοσῦτον κάματον ὑπομεμενηκέναι, πάσης αἰδῦς ἄξιον τυγχάνοντος, &c. *Athan. Apol.* ii. p. 761.

[e] Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἧς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, &c. *Athan. ad Solit.* p. 819.

Ἀμέλει Ὅσιος, καὶ πρωτογένης, οὗ τότε ὑπῆρχον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντων——. *Soz.* xii. 13.

Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντων πρωτεύσας. *Theod.* ii. 15.

Τῶν μὲν Ὅσιος ἐξῆρχε τῆς γνώμης——. *Syn. Chalc. ad Imp. Marc.* p. 468.

[f] Ὅσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰάλιος Ῥώμης δὶ Ἀρχιδάμυ, καὶ Φιλοξένυ πρεσβυτέρων, &c. *apud Athan* p. 767.

[g] Baron. ann. 553. §. 224. Ἡγῦντο. *Soz.* vii. 7. Τῶν δὶ Νικταρίυ σὺν Γρηγορίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤρατο. *Conc. Chalc. in Epiſt. ad Imp. Marc.* (p. 469.)

[h] Prioris Epheſinæ Synodi, cui ſanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus epiſcopus tunc præſedit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 47.

Κεφαλὴ

We may note, that the biſhop of the place where the ſynod is held did bear a kind of preſidency in all ſynods; ſo did St. James, biſhop of Jeruſalem, in the Firſt Synod, as St. Chryſoſtom noteth; ſo did Protogenes at Sardica, and Nectarius at Conſtantinople, and Memnon in this of Epheſus. Digreſſ.

It is true, that according to the Acts of that ſynod, and the reports of divers hiſtorians, Pope Celeſtine (according to a new politic device of popes) did authorize Cyril to repreſent his perſon, and act as his proctor in thoſe affairs; aſſigning to him, as he ſaith, *jointly, both the authority of his throne,* (that is, his right of voting) *and the order of his place,* (the firſt place in ſitting;) but it is not conſequent thence, that Cyril upon that ſole account did preſide in the ſynod [i]. He thereby had the diſpoſal of one ſo conſiderable ſuffrage, or a legal concurrence of the Pope with him in his actings; he thereby might pretend to the firſt place of ſitting and ſubſcribing, (which kind of advantages it appeareth that ſome biſhops had in ſynods by the virtue of the like ſubſtitution in the place of others,) but he thence could have no authoritative preſidency; for that the Pope himſelf could by no delegation impart, having himſelf no title thereto warranted by any law or by any precedent; that depended on the Emperor's will, or on the election of the Fathers, or on a tacit regard to perſonal eminence in compariſon to others preſent: this diſtinction Evagrius ſeemeth to intimate, when he ſaith, that the divine Cyril did [k] *adminiſter it, and the place of Celeſtine,* (where a word ſeemeth to have fallen out:) and Zonoras more plainly doth expreſs, ſaying, that [l] *Cyril, Pope of Alexandria, did preſide over the orthodox fathers, and*

Κιφαλὴ τῶν συνειλεγμένων ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων Κύριλλος. *Relat. Act. Eph.* cap. 60.

[i] Συνεφεδρίσης σοι τῆς αὐθεντίας τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θρόνῳ, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τῷ τόπῳ διαδοχῇ. *Celeſt. ad Cyril. Relat.* cap. 16.

N. Yet the Fathers in their Epiſtle to Pope Celeſtine do only take notice of Arcadius, Projectus, and Philippus ſupplying his place. *Act.* p. 353.

[k] Κυρίλλῳ τῷ θεσπεσίῳ διάδοχος καὶ τὸν Κελεστίνου τόπον. *Evagr.* i. 4.

[l] Πρωτεμένει τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων τῷ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλῳ Πάπᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντος δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεστίνου. *Zon. in Syn. Eph.* can. 1.

alſo did hold the place of Celeſtine: and Photius; [m] *Cyril did ſupply the ſeat and the perſon of Celeſtine.* If any latter hiſtorians do confound theſe things, we are not obliged to comply with their ignorance or miſtake.

Indeed as to preſidency there we may obſerve, that ſometime it is attributed to Cyril alone, as being the firſt biſhop preſent, and bearing a great ſway; ſometimes to Pope Celeſtine, as being in repreſentation preſent, and being the firſt biſhop of the Church in order; ſometimes to both Cyril and Celeſtine; ſometimes to Cyril, and Memnon, biſhop of Epheſus, who, as being very active, and having great influence on the proceedings, are ſtyled the preſidents and rulers of the ſynod [n]. The which ſheweth, that preſidency was a lax thing, and no peculiarity in right or uſage annexed to the Pope; nor did altogether depend on his grant or repreſentation, to which Memnon had no title.

The Pope himſelf and his legates are divers times in the Acts ſaid *συνεδρεύειν, to ſit together* with the biſhops; which confidence doth not well comport with his ſpecial right to preſidency [o].

Yea, it is obſervable that the oriental biſhops, which with John of Antioch did oppoſe the Cyrillian party in that

[m] Τῷ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνῳ ἐπλήρου τὴν καθέδραν ὁ πρόσωπον.

[n] Ἡγεῖτο ὁ μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος. *Con. Chalc.* Act. iv. p. 302. Συνῆν καθηγητής. *Cler. Conſt. in Syn. Eph.* p. 418. Cui præfuit Cyrillus. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 173.

Ἡς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελεστῖνος καὶ Κύριλλος. *Syn. Chalc. Defin.* in Act. v. p. 338. iv. p. 300.

The biſhops of Iſauria to the Emperor Leo, ſay, that Cyril was partaker with Pope Celeſtine, &c.

Dum B. Celeſtino incolumis eccleſiæ Romanorum particeps——. *Part.* 3. *Syn. Chalc.* p. 522.

Τῆς συνόδου πρόεδροι. *Eph. Act.* iv. p. 338. (p. 420, 422.)

Πρόεδροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Act.* v. p. 347.

Ἡμέτεροι πρόεδροι. *Relat. Syn.* p. 406.

Ἔξαρχοι τῆς συνόδου. *Relat.* p. 411.

[o] Σύνοδος, ἣν συνεδρεύει καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. *Relat. ad Imp.* p. 422.

Συνεδρευσάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, &c. *Act.* ii. p. 322.

Τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον συνεδρεύοντα ἡμῖν. *Act.* iv. p. 340.

synod, did charge on Cyril, that [p] *he (as if he lived in a time of anarchy) did proceed to all irregularity;* and that [q] *snatching to himself the authority, which neither was given him by the canons, nor by the emperor's sanctions, did rush on to all kind of disorder and unlawfulness:* whence it is evident, that, in the judgment of those bishops, (among whom [r] were divers worthy and excellent persons,) the Pope had no right to any authoritative presidency.

This word *presidency* indeed hath an ambiguity, apt to impose on those who do not observe it; for it may be taken for a privilege of precedence, or for authority to govern things: the first kind of presidence the Pope without dispute, when present at a synod, would have had among the bishops, (as being the [s] *bishop of the first see,* as the Sixth Synod calleth him; and [t] *the first of priests,* as Justinian calleth him;) and in his absence his legates might take up his chair, (for in general synods each see had its chair assigned to it, according to its order of dignity by custom.) And according to this sense the patriarchs and chief metropolitans are also often (singly or conjunctly) said to preside, as sitting in one of the first chairs.

But the other kind of presidency was (as those bishops in their complaint against Cyril do imply, and as we shall see in practice) disposed by the Emperor, as he saw reason; although usually it was conferred on him, who, among those present, in dignity did precede the rest: this is that authority, *αὐθεντία,* which the Syrian bishops complained against Cyril for assuming to himself, without the Emperor's warrant, and whereof we have a notable instance in the next general synod at Ephesus. For,

[p] Ὡς ἐν ἀβασιλεύτοις καιροῖς χωρεῖ πρὸς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν——.

[q] Ἁρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν μήτε παρὰ τῶν κανόνων αὐτῷ δεδομένην, μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων θεσπισμάτων, ὁρμᾷ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας. *Relat. ad Imper. Act. Eph.* p. 380.

[r] The bishops of Syria being then the most learned in the world; as John of Antioch doth imply. p. 377.

[s] Πρωτόθρονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Syn.* vi. p. 285.

Τῶν τε συνθρόνων αὐτῇ μετ' αὐτὴν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν. *Ibid.* p. 297.

[t] Πρῶτος ἱερέων. *Justin. Cod.* tit. 1.

In the Second Epheſine Synod, (which in deſign was a general ſynod, lawfully convened, for a public cauſe of determining truth and ſettling peace in the Church; but which by ſome miſcarriages proved abortive,) although the Pope had his legates there, yet by the Emperor's order Dioſcorus, biſhop of Alexandria, did preſide; [t] *We,* ſaid Theodoſius in his epiſtle to him, *do alſo commit to thy godlineſs the authority and the preeminency of all things appertaining to the ſynod now aſſembled:* and in the Synod of Chalcedon it is ſaid of him, that [u] *he had received the authority of all affairs, and of judgment:* and Pope Leo I. in his Epiſtle to the Emperor ſaith, that Dioſcorus did [x] *challenge to himſelf the principal place;* (inſinuating a complaint, that Dioſcorus ſhould be preferred before him, although not openly conteſting his right.)

The Emperor had indeed ſome reaſon not to commit the preſidency to Pope Leo, becauſe he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cauſe, having declared in favour of Flavianus, againſt Eutyches; whence Eutyches declined his legate's intereſſing in the judgment of his cauſe, ſaying, [y] *They were ſuſpected to him, becauſe they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard.* And Dioſcorus, being biſhop of the next ſee, was taken for more indifferent, and otherwiſe a perſon (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation; [z] *He did,* ſaith the Emperor, *ſhine by the grace of God, both in honeſty of life, and orthodoxy of faith:* and Theodoret himſelf, before thoſe differences aroſe, doth ſay of him, that he was by

[t] Καὶ μὴν (συνῆν) ᾧ Ἰούλιος ἐπίσκοπος τόπον πληρῶν Λέοντος, τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου. *Evag.* i. 10.

Ἀλλὰ ᾧ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ νῦν συναθροιζομένῃ συνόδῳ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, ᾧ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 59.

[u] Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων εἰληφὼς πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κρίσεως. *Ibid.* p. 160.

Ἧς ἔξαρχος καθεστήκει Διόσκορος. *Evag.* i. 10.

[x] —— Si is qui ſibi locum principalem vindicabat, ſacerdotalem moderationem cuſtodire voluiſſet——. *Leo I.* Ep. 25, 26, &c.

[y] Ὑποπτοί μοι γεγόνασι, &c. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* i. p. 80.

[z] —— τῇ σῇ ἀγιωσύνῃ ἐκλαμπούσῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐπί τε τῇ τοῦ βίου σεμνότητι, ᾧ τῇ ὀρθοτάτῃ πίστει. *Theod. Ep. ad Dioſc. in Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 59.

common fame [a] *reported a man adorned with many other kinds of virtue, and that eſpecially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind.*

It is true, that the legates of Pope Leo did take in dudgeon this preferment of Dioſcorus; and (if we may give credence to Liberatus) [b] *would not ſit down in the ſynod, becauſe the preſeſſion was not given to their holy ſee;* and afterwards, in the Synod of Chalcedon, the Pope's legate, Paſchaſinus [c], (together with other biſhops,) did complain, that Dioſcorus was preferred before the biſhop of Conſtantinople: but notwithſtanding thoſe ineffectual mutinies, the Emperor's will did take place, and according thereto Dioſcorus had (although he did not uſe it ſo wiſely and juſtly as he ſhould) the chief managery of things.

It is to be obſerved, that to other chief biſhops the preſidency in that ſynod is alſo aſcribed, by virtue of the Emperor's appointment; [d] *Let the moſt reverend biſhops* (ſay the imperial commiſſaries in the Synod of Chalcedon) *to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the royal ſovereignty granted, ſpeak why the epiſtle of the moſt holy archbiſhop Leo was not read:* and, [e] *You,* ſay they again, *to whom the power of judging was given:* and of Dioſcorus, Juvenalis (biſhop of Jeruſalem), Thalaſſius (of Cæſarea), Euſebius (of Ancyra), Euſtathius (of Beriſtus), Baſilius (of Seleucia), it is by the ſame commiſſioners ſaid, that they [f] *had received the authority, and did govern the ſynod which was then;* and Elpidius, the emperor's agent in the

[a] Πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν ἀρετῆς κοσμεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἀγιωσύνην ἀκούομεν— ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ἅπαντες ἔδυσι τὸ τῦ φρονήματος μέτριον. *Theod.* Ep. 60.

[b] Eccleſiæ Romanæ diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis aſſidere non paſſi ſunt, eo quod non data fuerit præſeſſio ſanctæ ſedi eorum. *Liber.* cap. 12.

[c] Πασχασῖνος εἶπεν—ἡδὺ ἡμῖν Θεῦ θέλοντος Κύριον τὸν Ἀνατόλιον πρῶτον ἔχομεν· ὕστι πίμπτον ἔταξαν τὸν μακάριον Φλαυιανόν. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 62.

[d] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς ἡ αὐθεντία τότε τῶν πραττομένων παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἰδίδοτο κορυφῆς, λεγέτωσαν——. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* i. p. 65.

[e] Ὑμῖν, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία τῦ δικάζειν ἰδίδοτο——. *Ibid.* p. 77.

[f] Τὸς ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότας, καὶ ἐξέχοντας τῆς τότε συνόδυ——. *Act.* ii. p. 202. iv. 288. (Evagr. 24. ἔξαρχον.)

Κοινῆς ἁπάντων φωνῆς συνθεμένης τι καὶ εὐφημησάσης τὴν ὑμῶν τῶν προεδρευσάντων ψῆφον——. *Ibid.* p. 70.

Epheſine Synod itſelf, did expreſsly ſtyle them *preſidents;* and Pope Leo himſelf calleth them [g] *preſidents and primates of the ſynod.*

Whence it appeareth, that at that time, according to common opinion and practice, authoritative preſidency was not affixed to the Roman chair.

In the Synod of Chalcedon, Pope Leo did indeed aſſume to himſelf a kind of preſidency by his legates [h]; and no wonder that a man of a ſtout and ardent ſpirit (impregnated with high conceits of his ſee, and reſolved with all his might to advance its intereſts, as his legates themſelves did in effect declare to the world) ſhould do ſo; having ſo favourable a time, by the miſbehaviour of Dioſcorus and his adherents; againſt whom the clergy of Conſtantinople, and other Fathers of the ſynod, being incenſed, were ready to comply with Leo, (who had been the champion and patron of their cauſe,) in allowing him extraordinary reſpect, and whatever advantages he could pretend to.

Act. i. p. 30, 202. ii. 211. Yet in effect the Emperor by his commiſſioners did preſide there; they propounding and allowing matters to be diſcuſſed; moderating debates by their interlocution, and driving them to an iſſue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing thoſe things, which the Pope's legates at Trent or otherwhere, in the height of his power, did undertake.

To them ſupplicatory addreſſes were made for ſuccour and redreſs by perſons needing it; as for inſtance, [i] *Command,* ſaid Euſebius of Dorylæum, *that my ſupplications may be read.*

Of them leave is requeſted for time to deliberate;

[g] Siquidem pene omnes, qui in conſenſum præſidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut coacti. *Leo.* Ep. 51.

Ibi primates ſynodi nec reſiſtentibus, &c. *P. Leo I. Ep.*

[h] In his fratribus — me ſynodo veſtræ fraternitas exiſtimet præſidere. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 47.

Ὧν σὺ μὲν ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνευες, ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν τάξιν ἐπέχουσι. *Syn. Chalc. Epiſt. ad Leon.* p. 473.

[i] Κελεύσατε τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἡμᾶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι. *Act.* i. p. 50.

[k] *Command,* (ſaith Atticus, in behalf of other biſhops,) *that reſpite be given, ſo that within a few days, with a calm mind, and undiſturbed reaſon, thoſe things may be formed which ſhall be pleaſing to God and the holy Fathers.*

Accordingly they order the time for conſultation; [l] *Let,* ſaid they, *the hearing be deferred for five days, that in the mean time your holineſs may meet at the houſe of the moſt holy archbiſhop Anatolius, and deliberate in common about the faith, that the doubtful may be inſtructed.*

They were acknowledged judges, and had thanks given them for the iſſue by perſons concerned; [m] *I,* ſaid Eunomius, biſhop of Nicomedia, *do thank your honour for your right judgment.* And in the cauſe between Stephanus and Baſſianus concerning their title to the biſhoprick of Epheſus, they having declared their ſenſe, [n] *the holy ſynod cried, This is right judgment; Chriſt hath decided the caſe, God judgeth by you:* and in the reſult, upon their declaring their opinion, [o] *the whole ſynod exclaimed, This is a right judgment, this is a pious order.*

When the biſhops, tranſported with eagerneſs and paſſion, did tumultuouſly clamour, they gravely did check them, ſaying, [p] *Theſe vulgar exclamations neither become biſhops, nor ſhall advantage the parties.*

In the great conteſt about the privileges of the Conſtantinopolitan ſee, they did arbitrate and decide the matter, even againſt the ſenſe and endeavours of the Pope's legates; the whole ſynod concurring with them in theſe

—κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. *Syn. Chalc. ad Leon.* Ep. p. 475.

[k] Ἐλεύσατε ἐνδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀκυμάντῳ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀταράχῳ λογισμῷ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι τυπωθῆναι. *Act.* i. p. 219.

[l] Τετιθήσεται ἡ ἀκρόασις ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ συνιλθεῖν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἁγιωσύνην εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀνατολίου, καὶ κοινῶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλεῦσασθαι, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφιβάλλοντες διδαχθῶσι. *Act.* iv. p. 289.

[m] Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ὑμῶν. *Act.* xiii. p. 420.

[n] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδίκασε τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν δικάζει. *Act.* xii. p. 409.

[o] Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, οὗτος εὐσεβὴς τύπος. *Ibid.* p. 414.

[p] Αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ ὅτι ἐπισκόπους πρέπουσιν, ὅτι τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν. *Act.* i. p. 55.

acclamations, [q] *This is a right ſentence; we all ſay theſe things; theſe things pleaſe us all; things are duly ordered: let the things ordered be held.*

The Pope's legates themſelves did avow this authority in them; for, [r] *If,* ſaid Paſchaſinus, in the caſe of the Egyptian biſhops, *your authority doth command, and ye enjoin that ſomewhat of humanity be granted to them,* &c.

And in another caſe, [s] *If,* ſaid the biſhops, *ſupplying the place of the apoſtolical ſee, your honours do command, we have an information to ſuggeſt.*

Neither is the prefidency of theſe Roman legates expreſſed in the Conciliar Acts; but they are barely ſaid * συνελθεῖν, (to concur,) and † συνεδρεύειν, (to fit together,) with the other Fathers: and accordingly, although they ſometimes talked high, yet it is not obſervable that they did much there; their prefidency was nothing like that at Trent, and in other like papal ſynods. It may be noted, that the emperor's deputies are always named in the firſt place, at the entrance of the Acts, before the Pope's legates, ſo that they who directed the notaries were not popiſh. In effect the Emperor was prefident, though not as a judge of ſpiritual matters, yet as an orderer of the conciliar tranſactions; as the ſynod doth report it to Leo; [t] *The faithful emperors,* ſaid they, *did prefide* (or govern it) *for good order ſake.*

* Act. v, vii, viii. p. 866. Act. ix, xi, xiii, xiv.
† Act. iii. (p. 230.)

In the Fifth General Synod, Pope Vigilius indeed was moved to be preſent, and (in his way) to preſide; but he out of ſtate or policy declined it; [u] wherefore the patriarch of Conſtantinople was the eccleſiaſtical prefident, as in the

[q] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, αὕτη δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, πάντα δεόντως ἐτυπώθη, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατείτω. *Act.* xvi. p. 464.

[r] Εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία, καὶ κιλεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παραχωρηθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον——. *Act.* iv. p. 315.

[s] Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐπίσχοντες τὸν τόπον τῆ ἀποστολικῆ θρόνου εἶπον· εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν. *Act.* xvi. p. 451.

[t] Βασιλεῖς δὲ πιστοὶ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἐξῆρχον. *Relat. Syn. ad Leon.* 473.

[u] Ideo petimus præſidente nobis veſtra beatitudine, ſub tranquillitate, et manſuetudine ſacerdotali, ſanctis propoſitis evangeliis, communi tractatu, &c. *Coll.* i. p. 212. (*et in Conſt. Vigil.*)

beginning of every collation doth appear: whence clearly we may infer that the Pope's preſidency is nowiſe neceſſary to the being of a general council.

In the Sixth General Synod the Emperor in each Act is expreſsly ſaid to preſide, in perſon or by his deputies; although Pope Agatho had his legates there.

Πρωκαθημένου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, &c.

In the Synod of Conſtance ſometimes the cardinal of Cambray, ſometimes of Hoſtia, did preſide, (by order of the ſynod itſelf,) and ſometimes the king of the Romans did ſupply that place[x]: ſo little eſſential was the Pope's preſidency to a council deemed even then, when papal authority had mounted to ſo high a pitch.

Nor is there good reaſon why the Pope ſhould have this privilege, or why this prerogative ſhould be affixed to any one ſee; ſo that (if there be cauſe; as if the Pope be unfit, or leſs fit; if princes or the Church cannot confide in him; if he be ſuſpected of prejudice or partiality; if he be party in cauſes or controverſies to be decided; if he do himſelf need correction) princes may not aſſign, or the Church with allowance of princes may not chooſe any other preſident, more proper in their judgment for that charge: in ſuch caſes the public welfare of Church and State is to be regarded.

Were an erroneous Pope (as Vigilius or Honorius) fit to govern a council, gathered to conſult about defining truth in the matter of their error?

Were a lewd Pope (as Alexander VI. John XII. Paul III. innumerable ſuch, ſcandalouſly vicious) worthy to preſide in a ſynod convocated to preſcribe ſtrict laws of reformation?

Were a furious, pugnacious Pope (as Julius II.——) apt to moderate an aſſembly drawn together for ſettlement of peace?

Were a Pope engaged in ſchiſm (as many have been) a proper moderator of a council deſigned to ſuppreſs ſchiſm?

[x] Dominus Rom. rex indutus veſtibus regalibus receſſit de ſede ſua ſolita, et tranſivit ad aliam ſedem poſitam in fronte altaris, tanquam præſidens pro tunc in concilio. *Syn. Conſt.* Seſſ. xiv. (p. 1044.)

Were a Gregory VII. or an Innocent IV. or a Boniface VIII. an allowable manager anywhere of controverſies about the papal authority?

Were now indeed any Pope fit to preſide in any council wherein the reformation of the Church is concerned, it being notorious that Popes, as ſuch, do moſt need reformation, that they are the great obſtructors of it, that all Chriſtendom hath a long time a controverſy with them for their detaining it in bondage?

In this and many other caſes we may reject their preſidency, as implying iniquity, according to the rule of an old Pope; [y] *I would know of them, where they would have that judgment they pretend, examined? What! by themſelves? that the ſame may be adverſaries, witneſſes, and judges? To ſuch judgment as this even human affairs are not to be truſted, much leſs the integrity of the divine law.*

It is not reaſonable that any perſon ſhould have ſuch a prerogative, which would be an engine of miſchief: for thereby (bearing ſway in general aſſemblies of biſhops) he would be enabled and irreſiſtibly tempted to domineer over the world; to abuſe princes, and diſturb ſtates; to oppreſs and enſlave the Church; to obſtruct all reformation; to enact laws; to promote and eſtabliſh errors ſerviceable to his intereſts: the which effects of ſuch power exerciſed by him in the Synod of Trent, and in divers other of the later general ſynods, experience hath declared.

Nic. II. Lugd. Lat. IV. V.

III. If the Pope were ſovereign of the Church, the legiſlative power, wholly or in part, would belong to him; ſo far, at leaſt, that no ſynod, or eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory, could without his conſent determine or preſcribe any thing; his approbation would be required to give life and validity to their decrees; he ſhould at leaſt have a negative, ſo that nothing might paſs againſt his will: this is a moſt eſſential ingredient of ſovereignty; and is therefore

[y] Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam poſſit agitari, an apud ipſos, ut iidem ſint inimici, et teſtes, et judices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas. *P. Gel.* Ep. 4.

claimed by the Pope, who long hath pretended that no decrees of ſynods are valid without his conſent and confirmation.

[z] *But the decrees made by the holy popes of the chief ſee of the Roman church, by whoſe authority and ſanction all ſynods and holy councils are ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed, why do you ſay, that you do not receive and obſerve them?*

[a] *Laſtly, as you know nothing is accounted valid, or to be received in univerſal councils, but what the ſee of St. Peter has approved; ſo, on the other ſide, whatever ſhe alone has rejected, that only is rejected.*

[b] *We never read of any ſynod that was valid, unleſs it were confirmed by the apoſtolick authority.*

[c] *We truſt no true Chriſtian is now ignorant, that no ſee is above all the reſt more obliged to obſerve the conſtitution of each council, which the conſent of the univerſal Church hath approved, than the prime ſee, which by its authority confirms every ſynod, and by continued moderating preſerves them according to its principality*, &c.

But this pretence, as it hath no ground in the divine law, or in any old canon, or in primitive cuſtom; ſo it doth croſs the ſentiments and practice of antiquity; for that in ancient ſynods divers things were ordained without the Pope's conſent, divers things againſt his pleaſure.

[z] Decretalia autem, quæ a ſanctis pontificibus primæ ſedis Romanæ eccleſiæ ſunt inſtituta, cujus auctoritate atque ſanctione omnes ſynodi, et ſancta concilia roborantur, et ſtabilitatem ſumunt, cur vos non habere, vel obſervare dicitis? *Papa Nic. I.* Ep. 6. (*ad Photium.*)

[a] Denique ut in univerſalibus conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorſus acceptum, niſi quod ſedes B. Petri probavit (ut ipſi ſcitis) habetur; ſicut e contrario quod ipſa ſola reprobavit, hoc ſolummodo confiſtat hactenus reprobatum. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 7.

[b] —— Nulla unquam ſynodus rata legatur, quæ apoſtolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta. *P. Pelag. II.* Ep. 8. (*Diſt.* 17.)

[c] Confidimus quod nullus jam veraciter Chriſtianus ignoret uniuſcujuſque ſynodi conſtitutum, quod univerſalis Eccleſiæ probavit aſſenſus, non aliquam magis exequi ſedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam; quæ et unamquamque ſynodum ſua auctoritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione cuſtodit, pro ſuo ſcilicet principatu, &c. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Epiſc. Dard.*) Vid. p. 647. Tract. de Anath.

God hath promiſed to bleſs particular ſynods. *Matt.* xviii. 19.

What particular or formal confirmation did St. Peter yield to the aſſembly at Jeruſalem?

That in ſome of the firſt general ſynods he was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenor and air of things, or by the little regard expreſſed toward him, ſufficiently clear. There is not in the ſynodical epiſtles of Nice, or of Sardica, any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively all thoſe decrees may be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent, which do thwart theſe pretences; for if theſe are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for ſuch; and being ſuch, we cannot ſuppoſe the Pope willingly to have conſented in derogation to them.

Wherefore the Nicene canons eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other metropolitans with him, may be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent.

The canons of the Second General Council, and of all others confirming thoſe; [c] as alſo the canons of all ſynods which advanced the ſee of Conſtantinople, his rival for authority, above its former ſtate, firſt to a proximity in order, then to an equality of privileges with the ſee of Rome, may, as plainly contrary to his intereſt and ſpirit, be ſuppoſed to paſs without his conſent: and ſo divers popes have affirmed. If we may believe Pope Leo, (as I ſuppoſe,) the canons of the Second Council were not tranſmitted to Rome: they did therefore paſs, and obtain in practice of the Catholic Church, without its conſent or knowledge. Pope Gregory I. ſaith, [d] *that the Roman church did not admit them;* wherein it plainly diſcorded

[c] Perſuaſioni tuæ in nullo penitus ſuffragatur, quorundam epiſcoporum ante 60, ut jactas, annos, nunquamque a prædeceſſoribus tuis ad apoſtolicæ ſedis tranſmiſſa notitiam ——. *Leo.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anat.*) Conc. Conſtant. can. 3. Concil. Chalc. can. 9, 17, 28. Syn. Trull. can. 36.

[d] Romana autem eccleſia eoſdem canones vel geſta ſynodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accipit; in hoc autem eandem ſynodum accepit quod eſt per eam contra Macedonium definitum. *P. Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31.

The ſame Pope Leo I. doth affirm. *Ep.* 53.

with the Catholic Church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them: and in despite to the canon of that synod, advancing the royal city to that eminency, Pope Gelasius I. [e] would not admit it for so much as a metropolitan see. O proud insolency! O contentious frowardness! O rebellious contumacy against the Catholic Church and its peace! (Such was the humour of that see, to allow nothing which did not suit with the interests of its ambition.)

But farther, divers synodical decrees did pass expressly against the Pope's mind and will: I pass over those at Tyre, at Antioch, at Ariminum, at Constantinople, in divers places of the east, (the which do yet evince that commonly there was no such opinion entertained of this privilege belonging to the Pope,) and shall instance only in general synods.

In the Synod of Chalcedon *equal privileges* were assigned to the bishop of Constantinople, as the bishop of Rome had; this with a general concurrence *was decreed and subscribed*, although the [f] *Pope's legates did earnestly resist, clamour, and protest against it*; the imperial commissioners and all the bishops not understanding or not allowing the Pope's negative voice.

*Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. Πάντα ἡ σύνοδος ἐκύρωσε. (in fine Actorum p. 464.)

And whereas Pope Leo (moved with a jealousy, that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him should aspire to get above him) did fiercely dispute, exclaim, inveigh, menace against this order, striving to defeat it, pretending to annul it, labouring to depress the bishop of Constantinople from that degree, which both himself and his legates in the synod had acknowledged due to him:

Ep. 53, 54 55, 61, 62

[e] —— ejus civitatis quæ non solum inter sedes numeratur, sed nec inter metropolitanorum jura censetur, &c. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Episc. Dard.*)

[f] Inde enim fratres nostri, ab apostolica sede directi, qui vice mea synodo præsidebant, probabiliter atque constanter illicitis ausibus obstiterunt, aperte reclamantes, &c. *Leo. I.* Ep. 53, 54.

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, οὐδεὶς ἠναγκάσθη. (*Act.* xvi. p. 469. against P. Leo's assertion, that the consent was extorted.)

Τὸ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος —— κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον, say the Fathers to Pope Leo, (p. 475.) By a synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient custom.

in which endeavour divers of his ſucceſſors did imitate him; [f] *Euſebius, biſhop of Dorylæum, ſaid, I have willingly ſubſcribed, becauſe I have read this canon to the moſt holy Pope of Rome, the clergy of Conſtantinople being preſent, and he received it.*

Yet could not he or they accompliſh their deſign; the veneration of that ſynod and conſent of Chriſtendom overbearing their oppoſition; the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſitting in all the ſucceeding general ſynods in the ſecond place, without any contraſt; ſo that at length popes were fain to acquieſce in the biſhop of Conſtantinople's poſſeſſion of the ſecond place in dignity among the patriarchs.

In the Fifth General Synod Pope Vigilius did make a Conſtitution, in moſt expreſs terms prohibiting the condemnation of the *three chapters*, (as they are called,) and the anathematization of perſons deceaſed in peace of the Church; [g] *We dare not ourſelves*, ſays he, *condemn Theodorus, neither do we yield to have him condemned by any other:* and in the ſame Conſtitution he orders and decrees, [h] *That nothing be ſaid or done by any to the injury or diſcredit of Theodoret, biſhop of Cyrus, a man moſt approved in the Synod of Chalcedon:* [i] *and the ſame*, ſays he, *have the decrees of the apoſtolical ſee determined, that no man paſs a new judgment upon perſons dead, but leave them as death found them.* [k] *Laſtly, by that Conſtitution he ſpecially provides, that* (as he had before ſaid) *nothing*

[f] Εὐσέβιος ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαίου εἶπεν· ἐκὼν ὑπέγραψα· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Πάπᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτόν. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* xvi. (p. 462.) *ſupra.*

[g] Eum (Theodorum) noſtra non audemus damnare ſententia, ſed nec ab alio quopiam condemnari concedimus. *Vig. Conſt.* p. 186.

[h] Statuimus atque decernimus nihil in injuriam atque obtrectationem probatiſſimi in Chalcedonenſi ſynodo viri, hoc eſt Theodoreti epiſcopi Cyri, ſub taxatione nominis ejus a quoquam fieri vel proferri. *Ibid.*

[i] Idemque regulariter apoſtolicæ ſedis definiunt conſtituta, nulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare perſonis; ſed in hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque ſupremus dies invenit ——.

[k] Hac præſentis Conſtitutionis diſpoſitione quam maxime providemus, ne (ſicut ſupra diximus) perſonis, quæ in pace et communione univerſalis Eccleſiæ quieverunt, ſub hac damnati a nobis perverſi dogmatis occaſione aliquid derogetur. *Ibid.*

might be derogated from perſons dying in the peace and communion of the univerſal Church, by his condemning that perverſe opinion.

Yet did the ſynod (in ſmart terms reflecting on the Pope, and giving him the lie, not regarding his opinion or authority) decree, that perſons deceaſed were liable to be anathematized; [l] they did anathematize Theodorus, they did expreſsly condemn each of the *chapters*; they threatened depoſition or excommunication on whoever ſhould oppoſe their Conſtitutions; [m] they anathematize whoever doth not anathematize Theodorus.

But Pope Vigilius did refuſe to approve their doctrine and ſentence; and therefore (which was the caſe of many other biſhops, as Baronius himſelf doth confeſs and argue) was driven into baniſhment; wherein he did expire [n]. Baron. ann. 553. §. 223.

Yet poſterity hath embraced this ſynod as a legitimate and valid general ſynod; and the Popes following did profeſs the higheſt reverence thereto, equally with the preceding general ſynods [o]: ſo little neceſſary is the Pope's

[l] Quoniam autem poſt hæc omnia impietatis illius defenſoris injuriis contra creatorem ſuum dictis gloriantes dicebant non oportere eum poſt mortem anathematizare——qui hæc dicunt nullam curam Dei judicatorum faciunt, nec apoſtolicarum pronunciationum, nec paternarum traditionum. *Coll.* viii. p. 289.

Condemnamus autem et anathematizamus una cum omnibus aliis hæreticis et Theodorum. *Coll.* viii. p. 291.

Quod dicitur a quibuſdam quod in communicatione et pace, defunctus eſt Theodorus, mendacium eſt, et calumnia magis adverſus eccleſiam. *Coll.* v. p. 250.

Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæ pie diſpoſuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel ſcribere, ſiquidem epiſcopus vel clericus ſit, iſte tanquam aliena a ſacerdotibus et ſtatu eccleſiaſtico faciens, denudabitur epiſcopatu vel clericatu: ſi autem monachus vel laicus ſit, anathematizabitur. (*Coll.* viii. p. 293.)

[m] Si quis defendit——et non anathematizat eum——anathema ſit. *Ibid.*

[n] —— contra ipſius (Pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (ſynodo) pariter ſententia dicta. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 219.

Non conſentientes depoſiti in exilium miſſi ſunt. *Lib.* cap. 24.

[o] Greg. Ep. i. 24. Quintam quoque ſynodum pariter veneror, &c. i. 24.

Pelag. II. Ep.—— Agatho. Syn. vi. Act. 4. Leo. Syn. vi. Act. 18. Hadrian. ad Nectar.

conſent or concurrence to the validity of ſynodical definitions.

Upon this Baronius hath an admirable reflection: [p] *Here ſtay*, ſaith he, *O reader, and conſider the matter attently*, (ay, do ſo, I pray,) *that it is no new thing, that ſome ſynod, in which the Pope was not even preſent by his legates, but did oppoſe it, ſhould yet obtain the title of an Œcumenical Synod; whenas afterward the Pope's will did come in, that it ſhould obtain ſuch a title.*

So in the opinion of this doctor, the Pope can eaſily change the nature of things, and make that become a general ſynod which once was none; yea which, as it was held, did not deſerve the name of any ſynod at all [q]. O the virtue of papal magick! or rather, O the impudence of papal advocates!

Can. 2, 7, 13, 86, 55, 58, 67. The canons of the Sixth General Council, exhibited by the Trullane (or Quiniſext) Synod, clearly and expreſsly do condemn ſeveral doctrines and practices of Rome: I aſk whether the Pope did confirm them? They will, to be ſure, as they are concerned to do, anſwer, No: and indeed Pope Sergius, as Anaſtaſius in his Life reporteth [r], did refuſe them; yet did they paſs for legitimate in the whole Church; for in their General Synod, (the ſecond Nicene,) without contradiction, one of them is alleged (out of the very original paper, wherein the Fathers had ſubſcribed) as a [s] *canon of the holy General Sixth Synod*; and avowed for ſuch by the patriarch Taraſius, both in way of argument of defence and of profeſſion in his Synodical Epiſtle to the patriarchs; (where he ſaith, that *together with the*

[p] Hic ſiſte, lector, atque rem attente conſidera; non eſſe hoc novum, ut aliqua ſynodus, cui nec per legatos ipſe Pontifex interfuerit, ſed adverſatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit œcumenicæ; cum poſtea ut hujuſmodi titulum obtineret, Romani Pontificis voluntas acceſſit. *Baron.* ann. 553. §. 224.

[q] Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plene conſenties ipſam non œcumenicæ tantum, ſed nec privatæ ſynodi mereri nomen. *Id.* ann. 553. §. 219.

[r] —— in quibus diverſa capitula Romanæ eccleſiæ contraria ſcripta inerant. *Anaſt. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

[s] Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου. *Syn. Nic. II.* Act. iv. (631.) Πεντάστιχος χάρτης ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρες. *Ibid.*

divine doctrines of the Sixth Synod, he doth also embrace the canons enacted by it [t];) of which Epistle Pope Adrian, in his answer thereto, doth recite a part containing those words, and [u] applaud it for orthodox; signifying no offence at his embracing the Trullane canons. And all those hundred and two canons are again avowed by the synod in their antithesis to the Synod of Constantinople. In fine, if we believe Anastasius, Pope John VII. did, [x] *being timorous, out of human frailty, direct these canons, without amendment, by two metropolites, to the Emperor;* that is, he did admit them so as they stand.

But it may be instanced that divers synods have asked the Pope's consent for ratification of their decrees and acts.

So the Fathers of the Second General Synod, having in an Epistle to Pope Damasus and the western bishops declared what constitutions they had made, in the close speak thus: [y] *In which things, being legally and canonically settled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquiesce, out of spiritual charity and fear of the Lord.*

So the Synod of Chalcedon did, with much respect, ask from Pope Leo the confirmation of its sanctions. [z] *That you may know how that we have done nothing for favour or out of spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done.*

[t] Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνθέσμως καὶ θειωδῶς ἐκφωνηθέντων δογμάτων παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι. *Act.* iii. p. 592.

[u] Ταύτῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c. *Ibid.* (p. 363.) Act. vi. p. 732. (Dist. xvi. cap. 5, &c.)

[x] Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per suprafatos metropolitas direxit ad principem. *Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

[y] Οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου, &c. *Theod.* v. 9.

[z] Ἵνα δὲ γνῶτε ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείῳ κυβερνώμενοι πνεύματι, πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν. *Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leon. I.* p. 476.

Of the Fifth Synod Pope Leo II. ſaith, [a] *that he agreed to what was determined in it, and confirms it with the authority of the bleſſed St. Peter.*

To theſe allegations we reply, that it was indeed the manner of all ſynods, (for notification of things, and promulgation of their orders; for demonſtration and maintenance of concord; for adding weight and authority to their determinations; for engaging all biſhops to a willing compliance in obſerving them, for atteſtation to the common intereſt of all biſhops in the Chriſtian truth, and in the governance and edification of the Church,) having framed decrees concerning the public ſtate, to demand in faireſt terms the conſent to them of all Catholic biſhops, who were abſent from them, to be atteſted by their ſubſcription.

So did Conſtantine recommend the Nicene decrees to all biſhops, undertaking that they would aſſent to them [b].

So (more expreſsly) the Synod of Sardica, in their epiſtle to all biſhops of the Catholic Church; [c] *Do ye alſo, our brethren and fellow-miniſters, the more uſe diligence, as being preſent in ſpirit with our ſynod, to yield conſent by your ſubſcription, that concord may be preſerved everywhere by all the fellow-miniſters.*

So did Pope Liberius requeſt of the Emperor Conſtantius, [d] *that the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the ſubſcription of all biſhops.*

So did Athanaſius [e] *procure a ſynod at Alexandria to*

[a] Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ὁρισθεῖσι συναινεῖ, καὶ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου βεβαιοῖ. *P. Leo II.* Ep. (p. 306.)

[b] Ἀσμένως δέχεσθε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολήν——. *De Vit. Conſt.* iii. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγχινοίᾳ ἀρέσαι ὑπισχόμην. *Ib.* iii. 19.

[c] Σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοί, ὡς τῷ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς ὑμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων τῶν πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν διασώζεσθαι. *Syn. Sard. Epiſt. apud Athan. in Apol.* ii. p. 766.

[d] Ἐζήτει δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς τῶν πάντων ἐπισκόπων κρατύνεσθαι. *Soz.* iv. 11.

[e] Σύνοδον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύαζε τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδοῖ ἡ Παλαιστίνη περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδογμένοις. *Id.* iv. 1.

confirm the decrees at Sardica and in Paleſtine concerning him.

So the Macedonian biſhops are ſaid to have authorized their agents [f] *to ratify the faith of conſubſtantiality.*

Many ſuch inſtances occur in ſtory, by which it may appear, that the decrees of ſynods concerning faith, or concerning any matters of common intereſt, were preſented to all biſhops, and their conſent requeſted or required; becauſe, ſay the Roman clergy in St. Cyprian, [g] *a decree cannot be firm, which has not the conſent of many.*

Whence it is no wonder, if any ſynods did thus proceed toward ſo eminent a biſhop as was he of Rome, that they ſhould endeavour to give him ſatisfaction; that they ſhould deſire to receive ſatisfaction from him of his conſpiring with them in faith, of his willingneſs to comply in obſerving good rules of diſcipline; that (as every vote had force, ſo) the ſuffrage of one in ſo great dignity and reputation might adjoin ſome regard to their judgment [h].

The Pope's confirmation of ſynods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and aſſent, the which did confirm by addition of ſuffrage; as thoſe who were preſent by their vote, and thoſe who were abſent by their ſubſcription, are ſaid to confirm the decrees of councils; every ſuch conſent being ſuppoſed to increaſe the authority; whence the number of biſhops is ſometimes reckoned according to the ſubſcriptions of biſhops abſent; as the Council of Sardica is ſometimes related to conſiſt of three hundred biſhops, although not two hundred were preſent, the reſt concurring by ſubſcription to its definitions.

Κατὰ τὴν συνοδικὴν ἰσχυρώσαμεν ψῆφον—. *Epiſt. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon.* p. 475.

Socr. ii. 20. et Valeſ. ann. ibid.

Other biſhops, in yielding their ſuffrage, do expreſs it by, [i] *I confirm, I define, I decree.*

[f] Ἐντιλαμένοι——κυρῶσαι τὴν τῦ ὁμουσίυ πίστιν. *Socr.* iv. 12.

[g] —— quoniam nec firmum decretum poteſt eſſe, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere conſenſum. *Cler. Rom. apud Cyp.* Ep. 31.

[h] Παρακαλῶμεν τοίνυν τίμησον ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὴν κρίσιν. *Syn. Chalc. ad Leon.* p. 476.

[i] Sententias fratrum omnes ſequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes obſervandas eſſe decernimus. *Conc. Rom. P. Hil.* p. 579.

But the effectual confirmation of ſynods, which gave them the force of laws, was in other hands, and depended on the imperial ſanction.

So Juſtinian affirmeth generally: [k] *All theſe things, at diverſe times following, our above named predeceſſors, of pious memory, corroborated and confirmed by their laws what each council had determined, and expelled thoſe hereticks who attempted to reſiſt the definitions of the aforeſaid four councils, and diſturb the churches.*

So particularly Conſtantine (as Athanaſius himſelf reporteth) [l] *did by law confirm the decrees of the great Synod of Nice:* and Euſebius aſſureth the ſame; [m] *He,* ſaith he, *did ratify the decrees of the ſynod by his authority.* His letters are extant, which he ſent about the world, exhorting and requiring all to conform to the conſtitutions of that ſynod.

So Theodoſius did confirm the decrees of the Second General Synod, [n] *adding,* ſaith Sozomen, *his confirmatory ſuffrage to their decree:* the which he did at the ſupplication of the Fathers, addreſſed to him in theſe terms; [o] *We therefore do beſeech your grace, that by your pious edict the ſentence of the ſynod may be authorized; that as by the letters of convocation you did honour the aſſembly, ſo you would alſo confirm the reſult of things decreed.*

The Third General Synod was alſo confirmed by Theodoſius II. as Juſtinian telleth us; [p] *The above-named Theo-*

[k] His itaque omnibus per diverſa tempora ſubſecutis, prædicti piæ recordationis noſtri patres ea quæ in unoquoque concilio judicata ſunt, legibus ſuis corroboraverunt, et confirmaverunt; et hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor conciliorum reſiſtere, et eccleſias conturbare conati ſunt, expulerunt. *Juſtin. in Conc. V. Coll.* i. (p. 210.)

[l] Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα, τῇ συνεδρίῳ κοινωνῶν, ἐκράτυνε νόμῳ. *Athan. apud Theod.* ii. 4.

[m] Τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπεσφραγίζετο. *Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt.* iii. 23. Ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ διατάττειν ὀφείλειν. *Id.* iii. 20.

[n] Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τῇ συνόδῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο. *Soz.* vii. 9.

[o] Διόμεθα τοίνυν τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος γράμμασι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῆς συνόδου τὴν ψῆφον, ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκας, ἕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος. *Præf. ad Can. Conc. Conſt.* (*apud Bin.* p. 660.)

[p] Sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodoſius vindicans ea, quæ ita recte

doſius, of pious memory, maintaining what had been ſo juſtly determined againſt Neſtorius and his impiety, made his condemnation valid.

And this emperor aſſerted this privilege to himſelf, as of right and cuſtom belonging to him; writing to the ſynod in theſe words; [q] *For all things, ſo as may pleaſe God, without contentiouſneſs and with truth being examined, ought ſo to be eſtabliſhed by our religiouſneſs.*

The other abortive Synod at Epheſus was alſo confirmed by Theodoſius junior, as Dioſcorus in his defence alleged in theſe words, which ſhew the manner of practice in this caſe; [r] *We then indeed did judge the things which were judged; the whole ſynod did accord with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and ſubſcribed; and they were referred to the moſt religious emperor Theodoſius, of happy memory; and he did by a general law confirm all things judged by the holy and œcumenical ſynod.*

So alſo did the emperor Marcian confirm the Synod of Chalcedon, as himſelf telleth us in his royal edict; [s] *We,* ſaith he, *having by the ſacred edict of our ſerenity confirmed the holy ſynod, did warn all to ceaſe from diſputes about religion:* with which Pope Leo ſignifieth his compliance in theſe terms; [t] *But becauſe by all means your piety and moſt religious will muſt be obeyed, I have willingly ap-*

contra Neſtorium, et ejus impietatem fuerant judicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem. *Juſtin. in Quinto Conc.* Coll. 1.

[q] Χρὴ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ μέλλον ἀρέσκειν δίχα φιλονεικίας καὶ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐξετασθέντα ὕτω παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας βεβαιωθῆναι. *Epiſt. Theod. ad Syn. Eph. in Actis Conc.* p. 375.

[r] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐκρίναμεν τὰ κεκριμένα· συνήνεσιν ἡμῖν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, ᾗ κατέθετο ἰδίαις φωναῖς, καὶ ὑπέγραψε· ᾗ ἀνηνέχθη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τῆς θείας λήξεως Θεοδοσίῳ· καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε πάντα τὰ κεκριμένα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 59.

[s] Ἱερῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος διατάγματι τὴν ἁγίαν βεβαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν ἅπαντας, ὅτι τῶν περὶ θρησκείας παύσασθαι διαλέξεων. *Conc. Chalc.* Part. iii. p. 478.

[t] Quia vero omnibus modis obediendum eſt pietati veſtræ, religioſiſſimæque voluntati, conſtitutionibus ſynodalibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei Catholicæ et hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci ſententiam meam. *P. Leo. l.* Ep. 59. (*ad Mart. Aug.*)

proved the Synodical Conſtitutions about confirming the Catholic faith and condemning heretics, which pleaſed me.

Juſtinian did with a witneſs confirm the Fifth Synod, puniſhing with baniſhment all who would not ſubmit to its determinations.

In the Sixth Synod the Fathers did requeſt the Emperor, according to cuſtom, to confirm its definitions, in theſe very words; [u] *To what we have determined ſet your ſeal, your royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all by your ſacred edicts and holy conſtitutions, according to cuſtom.*

[x] *We beg that by your ſacred ſigning of it you would give force to what we have defined and ſubſcribed.*

[y] *We entreat the power of our lord, guided by God's wiſdom, to confirm, for the greater ſtrength and ſecurity of the orthodox faith, the copies of our determination read in the hearing of your moſt ſerene majeſty, and ſubſcribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five patriarchal ſees with your pious confirmation.*

Accordingly he did confirm that ſynod by his edict; [z] *All theſe things being thus ordered by this ſixth holy and œcumenical Synod; we decree, that none whoſoever trouble himſelf farther about this faith, or advance any new inventions about it.*

So he told Pope Leo II. in his Epiſtle to him; [a] *This*

[u] Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὁρισθεῖσι σφραγῖδα παράσχῃ τὴν ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον βασιλικὴν ἐκκύρωσιν, ᾗ διὰ θείων ἠδίκτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἅπαντος εὐσεβῶν διατάξεων τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων βεβαίωσιν. *Syn. VI. Act.* xviii. p. 275.

[x] Αἰτοῦμεν διὰ θείας ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως τὸ κῦρος παρασχίσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκφωνηθέντι ἐνυπογράφῳ ὅρῳ. *Ibid.* p. 283.

[y] Αἰτοῦμεν τὸ θεόσοφον τῆ δεσπότῃ κράτος πρὸς μείζονα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν ἰσοτύπως ἐνυπογράφως ὅρους τοῦ ἀναγνωσθέντος κατὰ παρουσίαν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους ὅρῳ ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς πέντε πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως. *Ibid.* p. 284.

[z] Τούτων ὅτως ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης ᾗ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου διατυπωθέντων, Sancimus, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πάντων ἕτερόν τι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, ἢ καινότερον δόγματος ἐφεύρεμα μηχανήσασθαι, &c. *Ibid. Edict. Conſt.* p. 294.

[a] Θεῖον δὲ σεβάσμιον ὅρον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐξεθέσησεν, ᾧ καὶ συνυπογράψαμεν, καὶ δι' εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν ἠδίκτων τοῦτον ἐκκυρώσαμεν προτρέψαντες ἅπαντα τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένῃ πίστει συνέπεσθαι, &c. *Ibid.* p. 298, 302.

divine and venerable determination the holy ſynod has made, to which we alſo have ſubſcribed, and confirmed it by our religious edicts, exhorting all our people, who have any love for Chriſt, to follow the faith there written.

Pope Leo tells his nameſake Leo the emperor, [b] *that he muſt always remember that the imperial power was given him, not only to rule the world, but more eſpecially to protect the Church.*

So by long preſcription, commencing with the Firſt General Synod, did the Emperor enjoy this prerogative; and with good reaſon, he having an unqueſtionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the Church, deſigned by thoſe conventions; he being the guardian of concord among his ſubjects, and protector of their liberties, which might be nearly concerned in conciliar proceedings; the power of enacting laws being an incommunicable branch of ſovereign majeſty; he alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the obſervance of decrees, without which they would in effect ſignify little.

Becauſe alſo commonly the decrees of ſynods did in a manner retrench ſome part of the royal prerogative, tranſlating or imparting to others cauſes before appropriate to his juriſdiction, (as in the caſe of appeals, and of prohibiting addreſſes to court, ordered in the Sardican and other ſynods; of exempting clergymen from ſecular juriſdiction, from taxes and common burdens, &c.) which ought not to be done without his licence and authority.

So that the oriental biſhops had good reaſon to tell the Emperor, that [c] *it was impoſſible, without his authority, to order the matters under conſideration with good law and order.*

It is nowiſe reaſonable that any other ſhould have this power, it being inconſiſtent with public peace, that in one

[b] Debes incunctanter advertere regiam poteſtatem tibi non ſolum ad mundi regimen, ſed maxime ad Eccleſiæ præſidium eſſe collatam, &c. *Leo. M.* Ep. 75.

[c] Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἡγούμεθα δίχα τῆ ὑμετέρᾳ κράτους ὑπάρχοντος καὶ ἐνθέσμως τὰ προκείμενα τυποῦσθαι. *Rel. Orient. ad Imp. Act. Syn. Eph.* p. 372.

ſtate there ſhould be two legiſlative powers; which might claſh the one with the other, the one enacting ſanctions prejudicial to the intereſt and will of the other: wherefore the Pope being then a citizen of Rome, and a ſubject to the Emperor, could not have a legiſlative power, or a negative vote in ſynods, but that wholly did belong to the imperial authority.

But it is oppoſed, that ſome ſynods have been declared invalid for want of the Pope's confirmation; for to the decrees of the Synod at Ariminum it was excepted, [d] that they were null, becauſe the biſhop of Rome did not conſent to them: [e] *There could not* (ſay the Roman Synod in Theodoret) *be any prejudice from the number of thoſe aſſembled in Ariminum, it being plain, that neither the Roman biſhop, whoſe ſuffrage ought firſt to have been received, nor Vicentius, who for ſo many years did hold his epiſcopacy blameleſs, nor others agreeing to ſuch things.* To which exception I anſwer, that

1. That which is alleged againſt the Synod of Ariminum is not the defect of the Pope's confirmation ſubſequent, but of his conſent and concurrence before it, or in it; [f] which is very reaſonable, becauſe he had a right to be preſent, and to concur in all ſuch aſſemblies, eſpecially being ſo eminent a biſhop.

2. The ſame exception every biſhop might allege, all having a like right and common intereſt to vote in thoſe aſſemblies.

3. Accordingly the diſſent of other biſhops, particularly of thoſe eminent in dignity or merit, is alſo alleged in exception; which had been needleſs, if his alone diſſent had been of ſo very peculiar force.

[d] Τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ὑπεναντίων ταύτης ἀκύρων ὄντων, ὡς μήτε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συνθεμένων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν τῶν αὐτόθι συνειλεγότων ἀσαφεσθέντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις. *Soz.* vi. 23.

[e] Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρόκριμά τι ἠδυνήθη γενίσθαι ὑπὸ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συναχθέντων, ὁπότε συνίστηκε, μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου, ᾧ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδίξασθαι, ὅτι Οὐικεντίῳ ὃς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀσπίλως ἐφύλαξεν, ἤτε τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγκαταθεμένων ——. *Theod.* ii. 22.

[f] P. Liberius being abſent, detained from it by violence in baniſhment.

4. The Emperor, and many other biſhops, did not know of any peculiar neceſſity of his confirmation.

Again it may be objected, that Popes have voided the decrees of general ſynods, as did Pope Leo the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon, concerning the privileges of the Conſtantinopolitan ſee, in theſe blunt words; [g] *But the agreements of biſhops repugnant to the holy canons made at Nice, your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the bleſſed Apoſtle St. Peter, by a general determination we diſannul:* and in his Epiſtle to thoſe of that ſynod, [h] *For however vain conceit may arm itſelf with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulneſs ſufficiently ſtrengthened with the name of councils: yet whatever is contrary to the canons of the above-named Fathers will be weak and void.* Laſtly, in his Epiſtle to Maximus, biſhop of Antioch, he ſays, [i] *He has ſuch a reverence for the Nicene Canons, that he will not permit or endure that what thoſe holy Fathers have determined be by any novelty violated.*

This behaviour of Pope Leo (although applauded and imitated by ſome of his ſucceſſors) I doubt not to except againſt in behalf of the *ſynod*, that it was diſorderly, factious, and arrogant, (proceeding indeed from ambition and jealouſy;) the leading act of high preſumption in this kind, and one of the ſeeds of that exorbitant ambition, which did at length overwhelm the dignity and liberty of the Chriſtian republic: yet for ſomewhat qualifying the buſineſs it is obſervable, that he did ground his repugnancy and pretended annulling of that decree, (or of decrees

P. Gelaſ. Ep. 13. (a Epiſc. Dard.) p. 642. et in Tract. de Anathem. (p. 647.) P. Pelag. II Ep. 5. (ad Eliam.) p. 474.— Greg. M. Ep.

[g] Conſenſiones vero epiſcoporum, ſanctorum canonum apud Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unita nobiſcum veſtræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, et per authoritatem beati Petri Apoſtoli generali prorſus definitione caſſamus. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55. (*ad Pulcher. Aug.*)

[h] Quantumlibet enim extortis aſſentationibus ſeſe inſtruat vanitatis elatio, et appetitus ſuos conciliorum æſtimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit, quicquid a prædictorum patrum canonibus diſcreparit. *Ep.* 61. (*ad Syn. Chalced.*)

[i] Tanta apud me eſt Nicenorum Canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ ſunt a ſanctis patribus conſtituta nec permiſerim nec patiar aliqua novitate violari. *Leo.* Ep. 62. (*ad Max. Antioch.*)

concerning diſcipline,) not ſo much upon his authority to croſs general ſynods, as upon the inviolable firmneſs and everlaſting obligation of the Nicene Canons; the which he (although againſt the reaſon of things, and rules of government) did preſume no ſynod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this oppoſition of his did prove ineffectual by the ſenſe and practice of the Church, maintaining its ground againſt his pretence.

It is an unreaſonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one man (no wiſer or better commonly than others) ſhould be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the ſame office and order with him; ſo that he ſhould be able to overthrow and fruſtrate the reſult of their meetings and conſultations, when it did not ſquare to his conceit or intereſt; eſpecially ſeeing there is not the leaſt appearance of any right he hath to ſuch a privilege, grounded in holy Scripture, tradition, or cuſtom: for ſeeing that Scripture hath not a ſyllable about general ſynods, ſeeing that no rule about them is extant in any of the firſt Fathers, till after three hundred years, ſeeing there was not one ſuch council celebrated till after that time, ſeeing in none of the firſt general ſynods any ſuch canon was framed in favour of that biſhop, what ground of right could the Pope have to preſcribe unto them, or thwart their proceedings? Far more reaſon there is, (in conformity to all former rules and practice,) that he ſhould yield to all his brethren, than that all his brethren ſhould ſubmit to him: and this we ſee to have been the judgment of the Church, declared by its practice in the caſes before touched.

IV. It is indeed a proper endowment of an abſolute ſovereignty, immediately and immutably conſtituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will declared in way of precept, proclamations, concerning the ſanction of laws, the abrogation of them, the diſpenſation with them, ſhould be obſerved.

This privilege therefore in a high ſtrain the Pope challengeth to himſelf; aſſerting to his decrees and ſentences the force and obligation of laws; ſo that the body of that

canon law, whereby he pretendeth to govern the Church, doth in greateſt part conſiſt of papal edicts, or decretal epiſtles, imitating the reſcripts of Emperors, and bearing the ſame force.

In Gratian we have theſe aphoriſms from Popes concerning this their privilege.

[k] *No perſon ought to have either the will or the power to tranſgreſs the precepts of the apoſtolick ſee.*

[l] —— *Thoſe things which by the apoſtolick ſee have at ſeveral times been written for the Catholic faith, for ſound doctrines, for the various and manifold exigency of the Church, and the manners of the faithful, how much rather ought they to be preferred in all honour, and by all men altogether, upon all occaſions whatſoever to be reverently received!*

[m] *Thoſe decretal epiſtles which moſt holy Popes have at divers times given out from the city of Rome, upon their being conſulted with by divers biſhops, we decree that they be received with veneration.*

[n] *If ye have not the decrees of the biſhops of Rome, ye are to be accuſed of neglect and careleſſneſs; but if ye have them, yet obſerve them not, ye are to be chidden and rebuked for your temerity.*

[o] *All the ſanctions of the apoſtolick ſee are ſo to be underſtood, as if confirmed by the voice of St. Peter himſelf.*

[k] Nulli fas eſt vel velle vel poſſe tranſgredi apoſtolicæ ſedis præcepta. *P. Greg. IV.* Diſt. xix. cap. 5.

[l] —— Quanto potius quæ ipſa (ſedes apoſtolica) pro Catholica fide, profanis (l. pro ſanis) dogmatibus, pro variis et multifariis eccleſiæ neceſſitatibus et fidelium moribus diverſo tempore ſcripſit, omni debent honore præferri, et ab omnibus prorſus in quibuſlibet opportunitatibus diſcretione vel diſpenſatione magiſtra reverenter aſſumi? *P. Nic. I. Epiſt.* Diſt. xix. cap. 1.

[m] Decretales epiſtolas, quas beatiſſimi Papæ diverſis temporibus ab urbe Roma pro diverſorum patrum conſultatione dederunt, venerabiliter ſuſcipiendas decernimus. *P. Gelaſ. I.* (*in decreto*) *lit. a Nic. P.* Ep. 42. *ad Epiſt. Galliæ.* Diſt. xix. cap. 1.

[n] Si decreta Romanorum pontificum non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria eſtis arguendi; ſi vero habetis et non obſervatis, de temeritate eſtis corripiendi et increpandi. *P. Nic. I. Ep.* 6. *ad Phot.* Diſt. xx. cap. 2.

[o] Sic omnes apoſtolicæ ſedis ſanctiones accipiendæ ſunt, tanquam ipſius divini Petri voce firmatæ ſunt. *P. Agatho.* Diſt. xix. cap. 2. Vid. Syn. VI. Act. iv. p. 35.

[p] *Because the Roman church, over which by the will of Christ we do preside, is proposed for a mirror and example; whatsoever it doth determine, whatsoever that doth appoint, is perpetually and irrefragably to be observed by all men.*

[q] *We who according to the plenitude of our power have a right to dispense above law or right.*

[r] *This see—that which it might do by its own sole authority, it is often pleased to define by consent of its priests.*

But this power he doth assume and exercise merely upon usurpation, and unwarrantably; having no ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Eph. iv. 5. Jam. iv. 12. Originally the Church hath no other general lawgiver, beside our *one Lord* and *one Lawgiver*.

As to practice we may observe,

1. Anciently (before the First General Synod) the Church had no other laws, beside the divine laws; or those * which were derived from the Apostles by traditional custom; or those which each church did enact for itself in provincial synods; or which were propagated from one church to another by imitation and compliance; or which in like manner were framed and settled.

* ἀρχαῖα ἔθη. *Syn. Constantinop.* can. 2.

Whence, according to different traditions, or different reasons and circumstances of things, several churches did vary in points of order and discipline.

The Pope then could not impose his traditions, laws, or customs upon any church; if he did attempt it, he was liable to suffer a repulse; as is notorious in the case, when Pope Victor would (although rather as a doctor than as a lawgiver) have reduced the churches of Asia

[p] Quia in speculum, et exemplum S. Romana ecclesia, cui nos Christus præesse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est. *P. Steph.* (Dist. xix. cap. 3.) *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 9. *De Dispens.* (p. 633.)

[q] Qui secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare. *P. Inn. III. Decret. Greg.* lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.

[r] Sedes hæc—quod singulari etiam auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpe sacerdotum decernit definire consensu. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 18. (*ad Carolum R.*)

Leo I. Ep. i. cap. 5. P. Hilarius in Conc. Rom. p. 578. Caus. 25. qu. i. cap. 4. P. Urb. Caus. 25. qu. i. cap. 6. P. Anas. ad. Imp. Anast. P. Siric. Ep. i. (p. 691.)

to conform with the Roman, in the time of celebrating Eaſter; wherein he found not only ſtout reſiſtance, but ſharp reproof.

In St. Cyprian's time every biſhop had a free power, according to his diſcretion to govern his church; and it was deemed a tyrannical enterpriſe for one to preſcribe to another, or to require obedience from his colleagues; as otherwhere by many clear allegations out of that holy man we have ſhewed: [s] *For none of us,* ſaith he, *makes himſelf a biſhop of biſhops, or by a tyrannical terror compels his colleagues to a neceſſity of obedience; ſince every biſhop, according to the licence of his own liberty and power, hath his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another, than he himſelf can judge another.*

If any new law were then introduced, or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of biſhops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the reſt out of modeſty and peaceableneſs did yield compliance; according to that ſaying of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian, (upon occaſion of the debate concerning the manner of admitting lapſed perſons to communion,) [t] *That decree cannot be valid, that hath not the conſent of the major part.*

The whole validity of ſuch laws or rules did indeed wholly ſtand upon preſumption of ſuch conſent; whereby the common liberty and intereſt was ſecured.

2. After that by the Emperor's converſion the Church, enjoying ſecular protection and encouragement, did reduce itſelf, as into a cloſer union and freer communication of parts, ſo into a greater uniformity of practice; [u] eſpecially by means of great ſynods, wherein (the governors

[s] Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum epiſcopum ſe eſſe epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis epiſcopus pro licentia libertatis et poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium propium; tamque judicari ab alio non poſſit, quam nec ipſe poteſt alterum judicare. *Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.*

[t] Quoniam nec firmum decretum poteſt eſſe, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuiſſe conſenſum. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* (Epiſt. 31.)

[u] Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes cenſuræ et diſciplinæ conſenſione ſociati. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

and repreſentatives of all churches being called unto them, and preſumed to concur in them) were ordained ſanctions, taken to oblige all; the Pope had indeed a greater ſtroke than formerly, as having the firſt place in order, or *privilege of honour*, in eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies, where he did concur; yet had no caſting vote, or real advantage above others: all things paſſing by majority of vote: this is ſuppoſed as notorious in the Acts of the Fifth Council: [x] *This*, ſay they, *is a thing to be granted, that in councils we muſt not regard the interlocution of one or two, but thoſe things which are commonly defined by all, or by the moſt.*

Πρωτεῖα τιμῆς.

So alſo in the Fifth Council, George, biſhop of Conſtantinople, ſaith, that [y] *ſeeing every where the council of the multitude, or of the moſt, doth prevail, it is neceſſary to anathematize the perſons before mentioned.*

3. Metropolitan biſhops in their provinces had far more power, and more ſurely grounded, than the Pope had in the whole Church, (for the metropolitans had an unqueſtioned authority, ſettled by cuſtom, and confirmed by ſynodical decrees,) yet had not they a negative voice in ſynodical debates: for it is decreed in the Nicene Synod, that in the deſignation of biſhops, (which was the principal affair in eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations,) *plurality of votes ſhould prevail.*

Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. *Conc. Nic.* can. 6.

It is indeed there ſaid, that none ſhould be ordained, χωρὶς γνώμης, *without the opinion of the metropolitan:* but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the tranſaction ſhould not paſs in his abſence, or without his knowledge, advice, and ſuffrage: for ſo the Apoſtolical Canon (to which the Nicene Fathers there did allude and refer, meaning to interpret it) doth appoint, that the metropolitan ſhould [z] *do nothing* ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, *with-*

[x] Illo certe conſtituto, quod in conciliis non unius vel ſecundi interlocutionem attendere oportet, ſed hæc quæ communiter ab omnibus vel ampliori bus definiuntur. *Concil.* v. *Collat.* 6. p. 263.

[y] Ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει, ἤτοι τῶν πολλῶν πανταχοῦ ἡ βουλὴ κρατεῖ, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὀνόμασὶ τὰ λιχθέντα πρόσωπα ἀναθεματισθῆναι. *VI. Syn.* Act. xvi. p. 249.

[z] Κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι. *Apoſt. Can.* 34.

out the opinion of all, that is, without ſuffrage of the moſt, concluding all; (for ſurely that canon doth not give to each one a negative voice.) And ſo the Synod of Antioch (held ſoon after that of Nice, which therefore knew beſt the ſenſe of the Nicene Fathers, and how the cuſtom went) doth interpret it, decreeing, that [a] *a biſhop ſhould not be ordained without a ſynod, and the preſence of the metropolitan of the province;* in which ſynod yet they determine, that [b] *plurality of votes ſhould carry it;* no peculiar advantage in the caſe being granted to the *metropolitan.*

Seeing therefore provincial ſynods were more ancient than general, and gave pattern to them; if we did grant the ſame privilege to the *Pope* in *general* ſynods, as the *metropolitans* had in *provincial*, (which yet we cannot do with any good reaſon or ground,) yet could not the Pope thence pretend to an authority of making laws by himſelf.

4. It was then a paſſable opinion, that *he*, as one, was in reaſon obliged to yield to the common judgment of his colleagues and brethren; as the Emperor Conſtantius told Pope Liberius, that [c] *the vote of the plurality of biſhops ought to prevail.*

5. When Pope Julius did ſeem to croſs a rule of the Church, by communicating with perſons condemned by ſynods, the Fathers of Antioch did [d] *ſmartly recriminate againſt him, ſhewing that they were not to receive canons from him.*

6. So far was the Pope from preſcribing laws to others, that he was looked upon as ſubject to the laws of the Church no leſs than others; as the Antiochene Fathers

[a] Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. *Syn. Ant.* Can. 19.

[b] —— κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφον. *Ibid.*

Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. *Syn. Nic.* Can. 6.

[c] Τῶν γὰρ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύειν ὀφείλει. *Theod.* ii. 16.

[d] Γνόμῃ ποιῇ σφοδρότερον δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν παραδέχεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. *Socr.* ii. 15.

did ſuppoſe, [c] *complaining to Pope Julius of his tranſgreſſing the canons:* the which charge he doth not repel by pretending exemption, but by declaring that he had not offended againſt the canons, and retorting the accuſation againſt themſelves; as the African Fathers ſuppoſed, when they told Pope Celeſtine, [f] that he could not admit perſons to communion, which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a decree of the Nicene Synod; as the Roman church ſuppoſed itſelf, when it told Marcian, [g] that they could not receive him without leave of his father who had rejected him. This the whole tenor of eccleſiaſtical canons ſheweth, they running in a general ſtyle, never excepting the Pope from the laws preſcribed to other biſhops.

7. The privilege of diſpenſing with laws had then been a ſtrange hearing, when the Pope could in no caſe diſpenſe with himſelf for infringing them, without bringing clamour and cenſure upon him [h].

8. It had indeed been a vain thing for ſynods with ſo much trouble and ſolemnity to aſſemble, if the Pope without them could have framed laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the reſults of them by diſpenſation.

P.Hil.Ep.2. N. B. P. Innoc. I. Ep. ii. 12. P.Hil.Ep.4. P. Gelaſ. I. Ep. ix. p. 634. xiii. 639. De Anath. p. 645.

9. Even in the growth of papal dominion, and after that the ſeeds of Roman ambition had ſprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not Popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the univerſal canons, or exemption from them; but pretended to be the chief obſervers,

[c] Ὑμεῖς ὡς παρὰ κανόνας ποιήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψασθε——. *P. Julii Epiſt. apud Athanaſ. in Apol.* ii. p. 748.

Τινές εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς, &c. p. 748.

[f] Μηδὲ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους, &c. *Epiſt. ad P. Celeſt. I.*

[g] Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. *Epiph. Hær.* 42.

[h] It was then a maxim becoming the mouth of a Pope, Univerſæ pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit cuſtodiri, niſi ſua canonibus reverentia intemerata ſervetur. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 62.

The tranquillity of an univerſal peace cannot otherwiſe be kept, unleſs due reverence be paid to the canons.

guardians, defenders, and executors of them; or of the rights and privileges of churches eſtabliſhed by them: for while any footſteps of ancient liberty, ſimplicity, and integrity did remain, a claim of paramount or lawleſs authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope Zoſimus I.* denieth that he could alter the privileges of churches.

* P. Zoſ. I Ep. 7. (ad Epiſc. Vienn. et Narb.) Cauſ. xxv. qu. i. cap. 1

10. If they did talk more highly, requiring obſervance to their conſtitutions, it was either in their own precinct, or in the provinces where they had a more immediate juriſdiction, or in ſome corners of the weſt, where they had obtained more ſway; and in ſome caſes, wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience; for the Popes were commonly *wiſe in their generations*, accommodating their diſcourſe to the ſtate of times and places.

P. Siric. Ep. 1. Leo M. Ep. 1. cap. 5. P. Gelaſ. Ep. 9.

11. It is alſo to be obſerved, that often the Popes are ſuppoſed to ſpeak and conſtitute things by their own authority, which indeed were done by ſynods, conſiſting of weſtern biſhops more cloſely adhering to that ſee, in regard to thoſe regions; [i] the decrees of which ſynods were binding in thoſe places, not ſo much by virtue of papal authority, as proceeding from the conſent of their own biſhops: how ready ſoever he were to aſſume all to himſelf, pretending thoſe decrees as precepts of the apoſtolical ſee.

P. Siric. Ep. 4.

Whence all the acts of modern Popes are invalid, and do not oblige, ſeeing they do not act in ſynod; but only of their own head, or with the advice of a few partiſans about them, men linked in common intereſt with them to domineer over the Church.

12. Yet even in the weſtern countries, in later times, their decrees have been conteſted, when they did ſeem plainly to claſh with the old canons, or much to derogate from the liberties of churches; nor have there wanted

[i] Ἄπασα κατὰ δύσιν σύνοδος. *Conc. Eph.* p. 332.

Σύνοδοι ἀνήκουσαι τῇ συνόδῳ ἀποστολικῇ θρόνῳ. *Syn. VI.* Act. iv. p. 60.

N. The Pope did in thoſe councils aſk the placets. *P. Hil. in Conc. R.* (p. 578.)

learned perſons in moſt times, who, ſo far as they durſt, have expreſſed their diſlike of this uſurpation.

[k] *For although the biſhop of Rome be more venerable than the reſt that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the apoſtolical ſee, yet it is not lawful for him in any caſe to tranſgreſs the order of canonical governance: for as every biſhop who is of the orthodox Church, and the ſpouſe of his own ſee, doth entirely repreſent the perſon of our Saviour; ſo generally no biſhop ought pragmatically to act any thing in another's dioceſe.*

13. In the times of Pope Nicholas I. the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees; ſo that Pope in an Epiſtle to Photius complains, [l] *that he did not receive the decrees of the Popes, whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Moſaical, and what the law of grace required.* And in another Epiſtle he expoſtulates with him for ſaying, that [m] *they neither had nor did obſerve the decrees made by the holy Popes of the prime ſee of the Roman church.*

Circa an. 860.

14. That which greatly did advance the papal juriſdiction, and introduced his uſurpation of obtruding new decrees on the Church, was the venting of the forged Decretal Epiſtles under the name of old Popes; which when the Pope did allege for authorizing his practices, the French biſhops, endeavouring to aſſert their privileges, did allege, that [n] *they were not contained in the whole body of their canons.*

Vid. Hinom.

15. The power of enacting and diſpenſing with eccleſi-

[k] Licet namque pontifex Romanæ eccleſiæ ob dignitatem apoſtolicæ ſedis cæteris in orbe conſtitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet tranſgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem; ſicut enim unuſquiſque orthodoxæ Eccleſiæ pontifex ac ſponſus propriæ ſedis uniformiter ſpeciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare epiſcopi diœceſi. *Glab. Rod.* 2. 4. Vid. Baron. ann. 996. ſect. 22, 23.

[l] Noli quia decreta ipſorum non ſuſceperis amplius aſſeverare, cum ipſi nihil niſi quod naturalis, quod Moſaica, necnon et gratiæ lex juſſit, inſtituant. *P. Nic. l.* Ep. 11. (*ad Phot.*)

[m] Decretalia autem, quæ a ſanctis pontificibus primæ ſedis Romanæ eccleſiæ ſunt inſtituta,—cur vos non habere vel obſervare dicitis? *Id.* Ep. 6. (*ad Phot.*)

[n] Quanquam quidam veſtrum ſcripſerint haud illa decretalia priſcorum

aſtical laws, touching exterior diſcipline, did of old belong to the Emperor. And it was reaſonable that it ſhould; becauſe old laws might not conveniently ſuit with the preſent ſtate of things and the public welfare; becauſe new laws might conduce to the good of Church and State, the care of which is incumbent on him; becauſe the prince is bound to uſe his power and authority to promote God's ſervice, the beſt way of doing which may be by framing orders conducible thereto.

Accordingly the emperors did enact divers laws concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, which we ſee extant in the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian.

[o] *Theſe things,* ſaith the Council of Arles, *we have decreed to be preſented to our lord the Emperor, deſiring his clemency, that if any thing be defective, it may be ſupplied by his prudence; if any thing be unreaſonable, it may be corrected by his judgment; if any thing be reaſonably ordered, it may by his help, the divine grace aſſiſting, be perfected.*

We may obſerve that Popes did allow the validity of imperial laws. Pope Gregory I. doth allege divers laws of divers emperors concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, as authentic and obligatory rules of practice. P. Greg. l. Ep. xi. 56

16. Divers churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themſelves.

Such as the church of Cyprus in the Epheſine Synod did claim and obtain the confirmation of.

Such was the ancient church of Britain before Auſtin came into England.

[p] *The Welſh biſhops are conſecrated by the biſhop of St. David's, and he himſelf in like manner is ordained by others,*

pontificum in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri deſcripta, &c. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 42. (*ad Galliæ Epiſc.*)

[o] Hæc——domino Imperatori præſentanda decrevimus, poſcentes ejus clementiam ut ſiquid hic minus eſt, ejus prudentia ſuppleatur, ſi quid ſecus quam ſe ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; ſi quid rationabiliter taxatum eſt, ejus adjutorio divina opitulante clementia perficiatur. *Conc. Arel.* iv. cap. 26. ann. 813. (*ſub Carolo M.*)

[p] Epiſcopi Walliæ a Menevenſi Antiſtite ſunt conſecrati, et ipſe ſimiliter ab aliis tanquam ſuffraganeis eſt conſtitutus, nulla penitus alii eccleſiæ facta profeſſione vel ſubjectione. *Girald. Cambr. Itin.* ii. 1.

who are, as it were, his ſuffragans, profeſſing no manner of ſubjection to any other church.

V. Sovereign power, immediately by itſelf, when it pleaſeth, doth exerciſe all parts of juriſdiction, ſetting itſelf in the tribunal; or mediately doth execute it by others, as its officers or commiſſioners.

Bell. ii. 18, 26. Wherefore now the Pope doth claim and exerciſe univerſal juriſdiction over all the clergy; requiring of them engagements of ſtrict ſubmiſſion and obedience to him; demanding that all cauſes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their cauſes; condemning, ſuſpending, depoſing, cenſuring them, or acquitting, abſolving, reſtoring them, as he ſeeth cauſe, or findeth in his heart[q]; he doth encourage people to accuſe their paſtors to him, in caſe any doth infringe his laws and orders.

But (in general) that originally or anciently the Pope had no ſuch right appropriate to him may appear by arguments, by croſs inſtances, by the inſufficiency of all pleas, and examples alleged in favour of this claim. For,

1. Originally there was not at all among Chriſtians any juriſdiction like to that which is exerciſed in civil governments, and which now the papal court doth execute. For this our Saviour did prohibit, and St. Peter forbad the preſbyters κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων. And St. Chryſoſtom affirmeth the epiſcopal power not to be αὐθεντία, or ἀρχή. And eccleſiaſtical hiſtory doth inform us, that ſuch a juriſdiction was lately introduced in the Church, as by other great biſhops, ſo eſpecially by the biſhop of Rome: [r] *For*, ſaith Socrates, *from that time the epiſcopacy of Alexandria, beyond the ſacerdotal order, did aſſume a domineering power in affairs.*

1 Pet. v. Chryſ. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. in Eph. Orat. 11. Hier. Ep. 3, 62. Iſid. Peluſ. Ep. xx. 125. iv. 219.

[q] Per hoc illam de tota eccleſia judicare. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4.

Cunctos ipſe judicaturus a nemine eſt judicandus. *Diſt.* xl. cap. 6. *Cauſ.* 2. *qu.* 7. cap. 45, &c.

Sacra ſtatuta et veneranda decreta epiſcoporum cauſas, utpote majora negotia noſtræ definiendas cenſuræ mandarunt. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 38.

[r] Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως κατὰ δύναμίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. *Socr.* vii. 7.

The which kind of power the Roman bishops had long before assumed; for, saith he, [s] *the episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already a great while ago gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood.*

At first the episcopal power did only consist in paternal admonition, and correption of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they contumaciously did persist in disorderly behaviour, bringing them before the congregation; and the cause being there heard and proved, with its consent imposing such penance or correction on them as seemed needful for the public good, or their particular benefit; [t] *All things,* saith St. Cyprian, *shall be examined, you being present and judging:* and, (elsewhere,) [u] *according to your divine suffrages; according to your pleasure.*

1 Cor. v. 4, 12. 2 Cor. ii. 6.

2. Originally no one bishop had any jurisdiction over another, or authority to judge his actions; as St. Cyprian (who well knew the current judgment and practice of his age) in many places doth affirm; who particularly doth reflect on the Roman bishop, for presuming to censure his brethren, who dissented from him; [x] *Let us all,* saith he, *expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of what we do.*

3. Even the community of bishops did not otherwise take notice of, or intermeddle with, the proceedings of any bishop in his precinct and charge; except when his demeanour did concern the general state of the Church,

[s] —— τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυνατείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. *Socr.* vii. 11.

[t] Examinabuntur singulæ præsentibus, et judicantibus vobis. *Cypr.* Ep. 12. (*fratribus in plebe.*)

[u] Secundum vestra divina suffragia. *Cypr.* Ep. 40.
Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum. *Id.* (Ep. 46.)
Tertul. Apol. 39. *Ibidem*——.

[x] Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiam suam gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi. *Cypr. in Conc. Carth.*

intrenching upon the common faith, or public order and peace.

In other caſes, for one or more biſhops to meddle with the proceedings of their brother, was taken for an ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία, a pragmatical intruſion upon another's buſineſs; and an invaſion of that liberty which did belong to each biſhop, by the grant of our Lord, and the nature of his office.

As by thoſe paſſages of St. Cyprian, and the declaration of the ſynod with him, doth appear.

4. In caſes needing deciſion for the public good of the Church, the law and cuſtom of the Church, confirmed by the Nicene Synod, did order, that juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed, and all cauſes finally determined in each province; ſo that no regard is had to the Pope, no exception in favour of him being expreſſed or implied.

Can. 5.

The which conſtitution, if we believe Pope Leo himſelf, cannot in any caſe by any power be revoked or infringed [x].

That is moſt expreſsly confirmed by the Synod of Antioch, in the code of the univerſal Church; [y] *If any biſhop accuſed of certain crimes ſhall be condemned by all the biſhops in the province, and all ſhall unanimouſly vote againſt him, he ſhall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous ſentence of the biſhops of the province ſhall remain valid.*

Here is no conſideration or exception of the Pope.

5. Accordingly in practice, ſynods, without regard or recourſe to the Pope, did judge biſhops upon offences charged againſt them.

6. The execution of thoſe judgments was intruſted to

[x] In venerabilis Concilii Niceni contumelia ſæpe verſatus, alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerarie rapuiſti. *P. Felix Acacio. apud Baron.* ann. 484. ſect. 17.

[y] Εἴτις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορηθεὶς κριθείη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν καν' αὐτοῦ ἐξενέγκωσιν ψῆφον, τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἑτέρους δικάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν σύμφωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν. *Syn. Ant.* Can. 16.

metropolitan biſhops; or had effect by the people's conſent; for it being declared that any biſhop had incurred condemnation, the people did preſently deſert him.

Every biſhop was obliged to confer his part to the execution; as Pope Gelaſius affirmeth [z].

7. If the Pope had ſuch judicial power, ſeeing there were from the beginning ſo many occaſions of exerciſing it, there would have been extant in hiſtory many clear inſtances of it; but few can be alleged, and thoſe (as we ſhall ſee) impertinent or inſufficient.

8. Divers ſynods (great and ſmaller) did make ſanctions contrary to this pretence of the Pope; appointing the deciſion of cauſes to be terminated in each dioceſe, and prohibiting appeals to him; which they would not have done, if the Pope had originally, or according to common law and cuſtom, a ſupreme judicial power.

9. The moſt favourable of ancient ſynods to papal intereſt, that of Sardica, did confer on the Pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of cauſing epiſcopal cauſes to be reviſed; which ſheweth that before he had no right in ſuch caſes, nor then had an abſolute power.

10. The Pope's power of judging biſhops hath been of old diſclaimed as an illegal and upſtart encroachment.

When the Pope firſt nibbled at this bait of ambition, St. Cyprian and his biſhops did reprehend him for it.

The biſhop of Conſtantinople denied that Pope Gelaſius alone might condemn him; [a] according to the canons—the Pope ranteth at it, and reaſoneth againſt it; but hath no material argument or example for it, (concerning the papal authority peculiarly,) beſide the Sardican canon.

11. The Popes themſelves have been judged for miſdemeanour, hereſy, ſchiſm; as hereafter we ſhall ſhew.

12. The Popes did execute ſome judgments, only by a

[z] Quod non ſolum præſuli apoſtolico facere licet, ſed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoſlibet et quemlibet locum, ſecundum regulam hæreſeos ipſius ante damnatæ, a Catholica communione diſcernant. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4.

[a] Euphemium vero miror, ſi ignorantiam ſuam ipſe non perſpicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non poſſe damnari ——. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4.

Nobis opponunt canones ——. *Id. ibid.*

right common to all biſhops, as executors of ſynodical decrees [b].

13. Other biſhops did pretend to judicature, by privilege: as Juvenalis, biſhop of Jeruſalem, did pretend that to him did belong the judgment of the biſhop of Antioch [c].

Juſtin. Nov. cxxiii. cap. 3. Jubemus Epiſc. Rom.

14. The Popes were ſubject to the Emperors; who, when they pleaſed, did interpoſe to direct or qualify all juriſdiction; commanding the Popes themſelves — wherefore the Popes were not judges ſovereign, but ſubordinate.

Pope Gregory I. did refer the great queſtion about the title of *œcumenical biſhop* to the judgment of the emperor Mauricius [d].

Theſe things will more fully appear in the diſcuſſion of the particulars concerning the chief branches of juriſdiction; more eſpecially under the tenth branch of ſovereignty.

They allege that paſſage of Valentinian in his Epiſtle to Theodoſius, [e] *That the moſt bleſſed biſhop of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given a prieſthood over all, hath a ſee and power to judge both of faith and prieſts.*

This was ſuggeſted by Pope Leo and his adherents to the young emperor; but it ſignifieth no more, but that in the judgment of prieſts (as of faith) he was to have his ſhare, or at moſt to be a leading perſon therein.

Theodoſius (a mature, grave, pious prince) did not regard that pretence of Leo, nor the appeal of Flavianus [f].

[b] Quod non ſolum præſuli apoſtolico facere licet, &c. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4. (*ſupr. in Arg.* 6.) Vid. Epiſt. 13.

[c] Ἐχρῆν Ἰωάννην——τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ τιμήσαι· παρ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἴθος αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχίων θρόνον ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰθύνεσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι. *Syn. Eph.* Act. iv. (p. 400.)

[d] —— ut piiſſimus dominus Mauritius ipſum illud negotium judicare dignaretur. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 22.

[e] Ἵνα μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἱερωσύνην κατὰ πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης παρέσχε, χώραν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἔχειν περί τι πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων κρίνειν ——. *Act. Syn. Chalc.* p. 25.

[f] Ἵνα ὁ πρόλιχθεὶς συναχθέντων ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων——. *Ibid.* p. 28.

VI. To the ſovereign of any ſtate belongeth the choice, conſtitution, confirmation, commiſſionating of all inferior magiſtrates; that none uncapable, unworthy, or unfit for offices, or diſaffected to the ſtate, be intruſted with the management of affairs. Upon a ſovereign all inferior magiſtrates depend.

Wherefore the Pope doth claim and exerciſe theſe prerogatives ſo far as he can; pretending at leaſt that no biſhop can be conſtituted without his deſignation, or his licence, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation, or election.

And theſe privileges by the great advocates are upon higheſt terms aſſerted to him. Bell. iv. 24.

In this matter may be diſtinguiſhed,

1. The deſignation of the perſon by election, or otherwiſe.

2. The confirmation of that.

3. The ordination or conſecration of him to his office; the which conferreth on him his character and authority.

4. The authority by which he acteth.

Into all theſe the Pope hath intruded himſelf, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himſelf the collation and diſpoſal of all benefices, challenging a general right to diſpoſe of all at his pleaſure[s]: but not having been able wholly to deprive princes and patrons of their nominations, and corporations of their election; yet he hath by reſervations, proviſions, collations of vacancies *apud ſedem*, reſignations, devolutions, and other ſuch tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage, and miſchief of Chriſtendom. Clem. IV. in Sexto, lib. iii. tit. 4. cap. 14, &c.

2. He pretendeth that no biſhop ſhall be ordained without his licence.

3. He obligeth the perſon ordained to ſwear obedience to him.

[s] Licet eccleſiarum, perſonatuum, dignitatum, aliorumque beneficiorum eccleſiaſticorum plenaria diſpoſitio ad Romanum noſcatur pontificem pertinere, &c. *Clem. IV. in Sexto*, lib. iii. tit. 4. cap. 2. Vid. ibid. cap. iv. 10. xii. 20.

Although the plenary diſpoſal of all churches, parſonages, dignities, and other eccleſiaſtical benefices be known to belong to the Pope of Rome, &c.

4. He pretendeth that all biſhops are his miniſters and deputies.

But no ſuch privileges have any foundation or warrant in holy Scripture, in ancient doctrine, or in primitive uſage: they are all encroachments upon the original rights and liberties of the Church, derived from ambition and avarice; ſubſiſting upon uſurpation, upheld by violence.

This will appear from a ſurvey of ancient rules and practices concerning this matter.

The firſt conſtitution after our Lord's deceaſe of an ecAct. i. 15. cleſiaſtical perſon was that of Matthias into the vacant apoſtolate, or biſhoprick of Judas[h]; wherein (upon St. Peter's motion) [i] *all the diſciples* preſent did by conſent *preſent two*; [k] *out of whom God himſelf did elect one*, by determining the lot to fall upon Matthias; ſo that this deſignation being partly human, partly divine, ſo far as it was human, it went by free election of the whole fraternity; and St. Peter, beſide generally ſuggeſting the matter to be done, did aſſume nothing peculiar to himſelf.

The next conſtitution we meet with is that of deacons to aſſiſt the apoſtles and elders in diſcharge of inferior offices; wherein the Apoſtles did commit the deſignation of the perſons to the [l] *multitude of the diſciples*, who *elected them;* and *preſented* them to the Apoſtles, who, *by prayer and laying on of hands, did ordain them.* Nor had St. Peter in this action any particular ſtroke.

As to the conſtitution of biſhops, in the firſt apoſtolical times the courſe was this: the Apoſtles, and apoſtolical perſons, (who were authorized by the Apoſtles to act with their power, and in their ſtead,) did in churches founded by them conſtitute biſhops, ſuch as divine inſpiration, or their grace of diſcretion did guide them to [m]; ſo

h Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. Act. i. 20.

i Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο. Ver. 23.

k Ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξω. Ver. 24.

l Act. vi. 2, 5. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐξελέξαντο.

m Καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην. *Tit.* i. 5. Διαιρέσεις πνευμάτων. 1 *Cor.* xii. 10.

did St. John in Aſia, [n] *ſetting thoſe apart for the clergy whom the Spirit had marked out.*

This was not done without the conſent of the Chriſtian people, as Clemens Romanus telleth us in his excellent Epiſtle to the Corinthians [o]: but he doth not acquaint us (although he were himſelf biſhop of Rome) that the Pope had any thing to do in ſuch conſtitutions, or in confirmations of them; *the whole Church,* ſaith he, *conſenting;* why doth he not add, for his own ſake, *and the Pope confirming?*

In the next times, when thoſe extraordinary perſons and faculties had expired, when uſually the churches planted were in ſituation ſomewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the clergy and people of each church did elect its biſhop; in which action commonly the clergy did propound and recommend a perſon, or perſons, and the people by their conſent approve, or by their ſuffrages elect one [p]; a ſtrict examination of his life and doctrine intervening: the which order Tertullian briefly doth intimate in thoſe words, [q] *The preſidents of the Church are certain elders well approved, who have obtained that honour, not by price, but by proof.*

It may be inquired, how a biſhop then was ordained, in caſe his city was very remote from any other churches? Did they ſend for biſhops from diſtant places to ordain him? Or did the preſbyters of the place lay their hands on him? Or did he receive no other ordination than that he had before of preſbyter? Or did he abide no biſhop till opportunity did yield biſhops to ordain him? Or did Providence order, that there ſhould be no ſuch ſolitary

[n] Κλήρῳ ἵνα γε κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. *Euſ.* iii. 23.

[o] Τὰς ὖν καταστᾶντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης Ἐκκλησίας πάσης. *Clem. Epiſt.* p. 57.

[p] Καὶ ὅτου δοκιμαζίσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν, ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες. 1 *Tim.* iii. 10.

[q] Præſident probati quique ſeniores, honorem iſtum non pretio, ſed teſtimonio adepti. *Tertul. Apol.* 39.

Plena diligentia, exploratione ſincera. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

churches? The ancient commentator, contemporary to St. Ambroſe, and bearing his name, did conceive, that upon deceaſe of a biſhop the elder of the preſbyters did
In Eph. iv. 11. ſucceed into his place [q]. Whence had he this, out of his invention and conjecture, or from ſome tradition and hiſtory?

Afterward, when the faith was diffuſed through many provinces, that churches grew thick and cloſe, the general practice was this: the neighbour biſhops (being advertiſed of a vacancy, or want of a biſhop) did convene at the place; then in the congregation the clergy of the place did propound a perſon, yielding their atteſtation to his fitneſs for the charge; which the people hearing did give their ſuffrages, accepting him, if no weighty cauſe was objected againſt him; or refuſing him, if ſuch cauſe did appear: then upon ſuch recommendation and acceptance, the biſhops preſent did adjoin their approbation and conſent; then by their devotions, and ſolemn laying on of their hands, they did ordain or conſecrate him to the function.

Of this courſe moſt commonly practiſed in his time we have divers plain teſtimonies in St. Cyprian, the beſt author extant concerning theſe matters of ancient diſcipline: [r] *For which reaſon,* ſaith he, *that from divine tradition and apoſtolical obſervation is to be obſerved and held, which alſo is with us, and almoſt through all provinces, kept; that for duly celebrating ordinations unto that people, for*

[q] Primum preſbyteri epiſcopi appellabantur ut recedente uno ſequens ei ſuccederet, &c. Vid. *Diſt.* lxvi. cap. 2.

At firſt preſbyters were called biſhops, that one departing the next might ſucceed him.

[r] Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apoſtolica obſervatione obſervandum eſt et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias univerſas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpoſitus ordinatur, epiſcopi ejuſdem proximi quique conveniant, et epiſcopus deligatur plebe præſente, quæ ſingulorum vitam pleniſſime novit, et uniuſcujuſque actum de ejus converſatione perſpexit; quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ noſtri ordinatione, ut de univerſæ fraternitatis ſuffragio, et de epiſcoporum, qui in præſentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio epiſcopatus ei deferretur. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

whom a biſhop is ordained, all the neighbour biſhops of the ſame (province or people) *ſhould reſort; and a biſhop ſhould be choſen, the people being preſent, which moſt fully knoweth the life of each one, and hath from his converſation a thorough inſight into his practice; the which we ſee done with you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that by the ſuffrage of all the fraternity, and by the judgment of all the biſhops, which had aſſembled in the preſence, and had ſent letters to you about him, the biſhoprick ſhould be deferred to him.*

Again, [s] *A people obedient to the Lord's commands, and fearing God, ought to ſeparate itſelf from a wicked biſhop,* (ſuch a notoriouſly wicked biſhop as thoſe were of whom he treateth, who had renounced the faith,) *and not to mingle itſelf with the ſacrifices of a ſacrilegious prieſt; ſeeing eſpecially that it hath a power either to chooſe worthy prieſts, or to refuſe thoſe who are unworthy; the which alſo we ſee to deſcend from divine authority, that a biſhop ſhould be choſen, the people being preſent, before the eyes of all; and that he who is worthy and fit ſhould be approved by public judgment and teſtimony.*

Again, when (ſaith he concerning himſelf) [t] *a biſhop is ſubſtituted in the place of one deceaſed, when he is peaceably choſen by the ſuffrage of all the people;*—and *whom, if according to the divine inſtructions the whole fraternity would obey, no man would move any thing againſt the college of prieſts; none after the divine judgment, after the ſuffrage of the people, after the conſent of the fellow-biſhop, would make himſelf judge, not indeed of the biſhop, but of God.*

Suffragio totius populi Cypr anus eligitur. *Opt* 1.

[s] Plebs obſequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet, nec ſe ad ſacrilegi ſacerdotis ſacrificia miſcere; quando ipſa maxime habeat poteſtatem vel eligendi dignos ſacerdotes, vel indignos recuſandi; quod et ipſum videmus de divina auctoritate deſcendere; ut ſacerdos plebe præſente ſub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac teſtimonio comprobetur ——. *Cypr.* Ep.

[t] Cæterum quando epiſcopus in locum defuncti ſubſtituitur, quando populi univerſi ſuffragio in pace deligitur—cui ſi ſecundum magiſteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas univerſa, nemo adverſum ſacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo poſt divinum judicium, poſt populi ſuffragium, poſt coepiſcoporum conſenſum, judicem ſe jam non epiſcopi ſed Dei faceret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

Again, [u] *Cornelius was made biſhop by the judgment of God and his Chriſt, by the teſtimony of almoſt all the clergy, by the ſuffrage of the people, being then preſent, and by the college of prieſts, ancient and good men:* and, [x] *Cornelius being in the Catholic church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the ſuffrage of the clergy and people.*

Again, [y] *When a biſhop is once made, and is approved by the teſtimony and the judgment of his colleagues, and of the people*——.

Conſt. Apoſt. viii. 4. Poſtquam hæc erit precatus, &c.

The author of the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions thus in the perſon of St. Peter very fully and clearly deſcribeth the manner of ordination of biſhops in his times: *After one of the chief biſhops preſent has thus prayed, the reſt of the prieſts with all the people ſhall ſay, Amen; and after the prayer, one of the biſhops ſhall deliver the Euchariſt into the hands of the perſon ordained, and that morning he ſhall be placed by the reſt of the biſhops in his throne, all of them ſaluting him with a kiſs in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epiſtles, the Acts and Goſpel, he who is ordained ſhall ſalute the Church with theſe words, The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all, Amen. And let all anſwer, And with thy ſpirit. After which words let him exhort the people.*

Thus it was then, in a practice ſo obvious and obſervable, that a Pagan emperor took good notice of it, and choſe to imitate it in conſtituting the governors of provinces, and other officers; [z] *When* (ſaith Lampridius of

[u] Factus eſt autem Cornelius epiſcopus de Dei, et Chriſti ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium teſtimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, ſuffragio, et de ſacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[x] Cornelio in Catholica Eccleſia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis ſuffragio ordinato ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[y] Epiſcopo ſemel facto, et collegarum ac plebis teſtimonio et judicio comprobato ——. *Ep.* 41. (*ad Cornel.*)

[z] Ubi aliquos voluiſſet vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpoſitos facere, vel procuratores id eſt rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut ſiquid haberet criminis, probaret manifeſtis rebus; ſi non

Alexander Severus) *he would either give rulers to provinces, or make preſidents, or ordain procurators, he ſet up their names, exhorting the people, if they had any thing againſt them, to prove it by manifeſt evidence; if they could not make their accuſation good, they were to die for it: and he ſaid it would be hard not to do that in the choice of governors of provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were intruſted, which the Chriſtians and Jews did in ſetting up thoſe who were to be ordained prieſts.*

Afterward, in proceſs of time, when (the gaps of diſtance being filled up, and Chriſtendom becoming one continued body) eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was improved into a more complete ſhape, for conſtitution of a biſhop, all the *biſhops* of a *province* did convene, (or ſuch as could with convenience, the others ſignifying their mind by writing,) and having approved him who was recommended by the clergy, and allowed by the people, they did ordain him; the *metropolitan* of the *province* ratifying what was done.

Παλαιὸς θεσμός. *Syn. Conſtantinop.* Theod. v. 9

So the Nicene Synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, did appoint, with a qualification to be generally obſerved: [a] *It is moſt fit,* ſay they, *that a biſhop be conſtituted by all biſhops in the province; but if this be hard, either becauſe of urgent neceſſity, or for the length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together, (thoſe alſo who are abſent conſpiring in opinion, and yielding their conſent in writing,) let the ordination be performed, but let the ratification of what is done be aſſigned to the metropolite in each province.*

Vid. Can. Apoſt. 1. Conc. Antioch. Can 19. Conc. Laod. Can. 12— Conc. Afr. Can. 13.

In this canon (the which is followed by divers canons of other ſynods) there is no expreſs mention concerning the intereſt of the clergy and people in election of the bi-

probaſſet, ſubiret pœnam capitis; dicebatque grave eſſe, quum id Chriſtiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis ſacerdotibus qui ordinandi ſunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. *Lamprid. in Alex. Sev.* cap. 45.

[a] Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ πῆρος τῶν γινομένων δύσκολον εἴη καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῇ μητροπόλει ——. *Conc. Nic.* Can. 4.

ſhops; but theſe things are only paſſed over, as precedaneous to the conſtitution or ordination, about which only the Fathers did intend to preſcribe; ſuppoſing the election to proceed according to former uſual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the canon, ſo that the Fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, doth appear from their Synodical Epiſtle; wherein they decree concerning biſhops conſtituted by Meletius, who, returning to communion with the Church, did live in any city, that, [b] *If any Catholic biſhop ſhould happen to die, then ſhould thoſe who were already received aſcend into the honour of him deceaſed; in caſe they ſhould appear worthy, and the people ſhould chooſe, the biſhop of Alexandria withal adding his ſuffrage to him, and his confirmation:* the which words with ſufficient evidence do interpret the canon not to concern the election, but the ordination of biſhops.

Thus the Fathers of the Second General Synod plainly
Theod. v. 9. did interpret this canon by their proceeding; for they, in their Synodical Epiſtle to Pope Damaſus and the weſtern biſhops, did aſſure him, that they in the conſtitution of biſhops for the principal eaſtern ſees, had followed this order of the Synod of Nice, together with *the ancient law of the Church* [c]; in agreement whereto they had ordained Nectarius biſhop of Conſtantinople, [d] *with common conſent, under the eyes of the moſt religious emperor Theodoſius, and of all the clergy, the whole city adjoining alſo its ſuffrage;* and that for Antioch, [e] *the biſhops of the province, and of the eaſtern dioceſe concurring, had canonically*

[b] Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τηνικαῦτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευκότος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. *Socr.* i. 9. *Theod.* i. 9.

[c] Παλαιός τε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων ὅρος ——
Οἷς ἀκολούθως ——.

[d] —— μετὰ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας, ὑπ' ὄψεσι καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.

[e] —— ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

ordained Flavianus biſhop, the whole Church conſenting, as with one voice, to honour the perſon.

Indeed the practice generally doth confirm this, the people every where continuing to elect their biſhop: ſo did the people of Alexandria demand Athanaſius for their biſhop. So Pope Julius did complain, that Gregory was intruded into the place of Athanaſius; [f] *not being required by the preſbyters, not by the biſhops, not by the people.* So Gregory Nazienzen deſcribeth the elections of biſhops in his times, to be carried by the power of wealthy men, and impetuouſneſs of the people. So Auſtin intimateth the ſame in his ſpeech about deſignation of a ſucceſſor to himſelf; [g] *I know,* ſays he, *that after the deceaſe of biſhops the churches are wont to be diſturbed by ambitious and contentious men.* So the tumults at Antioch, in chooſing a biſhop after Euſtathius; at Rome, after Liberius; at Conſtantinople, after Alexander; at Milan, when St. Ambroſe was choſen.

Ath. Apol. ii. p. 726.

Orat. xix. 310. Epiſt. 21.

Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. iii. 59, 60. Socr. i. 24. Μεμισθίντες τῷ πλήθει—. *Sozom.* vi. 23. Marcell. lib. 27. Διχῇ διαιρεῖν τὸ πλῆθος—. *Socr.* i. 24. Soz. iii. 4. Theod. iv. 6.

So Stephanus, biſhop of Epheſus, in juſtification of himſelf, ſaith, [h] *Me forty biſhops of Aſia, by the ſuffrage of the moſt noble and of the ſubſtantial citizens, and of all the moſt reverend clergy, and of all the reſt of the whole city, did ordain:* and his competitor Baſſianus, [i] *Me, with great conſtraint and violence, the people and the clergy, and the biſhops did inſtall.*

In the Synod of Chalcedon, Euſebius, biſhop of Ancyra, ſaith, that [k] *the whole city of Gangra did come to him, bringing their ſuffrages:* Poſidius telleth us of St. Auſtin, that [l] *in ordaining prieſts and clergymen he deemed the*

[f] Μὴ αἰτηθέντα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν. *Ath. ibid.* p. 749.

[g] Scio poſt obitus epiſcoporum per ambitioſos aut contentioſos ſolere eccleſias perturbari ——. *Aug.* Ep. 110.

[h] Ἐμὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ παντὸς κλήρου, ᾧ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν. *Conc. Chalc.* Act. xi. p. 404.

[i] Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐνθρονίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἔφεσον ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι. *Ibid.*

[k] Ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν καὶ ἐκόμισαν τὰ ψηφίσματα. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. xvi. p. 462.

[l] In ordinandis vero ſacerdotibus et clericis conſenſum majorem Chriſ-

greater conſent of Chriſtians, and the cuſtom of the Church, was to be followed.

So Celeſtine the Firſt; [m] *Let no biſhop be given them againſt their wills; let the conſent and requeſt of the clergy, the people, and the order, be expected:* and Pope Leo the Firſt; [n] *When there ſhall be an election of a biſhop, let him be preferred who has the unanimous conſent of the clergy and people; ſo that if the votes be divided, and part for another perſon, let him, by the judgment of the metropolitan, be preferred, whoſe merits and intereſt are greateſt; only that none may be ordained againſt their wills, or without their deſire, leſt the unwilling people contemn or hate a biſhop whom they never deſired, and become leſs religious than they ought, becauſe they could not have ſuch a biſhop as they would.* And in other of his Epiſtles, [o] *There is no reaſon that they ſhould be accounted biſhops, who were neither choſen by the clergy, nor deſired by the people, nor with the metropolitan's order conſecrated by the provincial biſhops——.*

[p] *Certainly the deſires of the citizens, and the teſtimonies of the people ſhould have been expected, with the judgment of the honourable, and the choice of the clergy, which in the ordinations of prieſts uſe to be obſerved by thoſe who knew*

tianorum, et conſuetudinem Eccleſiæ ſequendam eſſe arbitrabatur. *Poſid. in Aug. Vit.* cap. 20.

[m] Nullus invitis detur epiſcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis conſenſum ac deſiderium requiratur ——. *Celeſt. I.* Ep. 2.

[n] Cum ergo de ſummi ſacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebiſque conſenſus concorditer poſtulârint; ita ut ſi in aliam forte perſonam partium ſe vota diviſerint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et ſtudiis juvatur et meritis, tantum ut nullus invitis, et non petentibus ordinetur; ne civitas epiſcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, et fiat minus religioſa quam convenit, cui non licuit habere quem voluit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 84. *ad Anaſtaſ.*

[o] Nulla ratio finit, ut inter epiſcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis ſunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a provincialibus epiſcopis cum metropolitani judicio conſecrati. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 92.

[p] Expectarentur certe vota civium, teſtimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum, quæ in ſacerdotum ſolent ordinationibus ab his qui norunt patrum regulas cuſtodiri. *P. Leo.* Ep. 89. *Diſt.* lxiii. cap. 27.

the rules of the Fathers.—[q] *When peaceably, and with ſuch concord as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by the agreement of all.*—[r] *Let prieſts who are to be ordained be required peaceably and quietly; let the ſubſcription of the clergy, the teſtimony of the honourable, the conſent of the order and people be obſerved; let him who is to preſide over all be choſen by all.* And Pope Nicholas I. [s] *Becauſe we know the cuſtom of your royal city, that none can arrive at the top of the higheſt prieſtly power without the aſſent of the eccleſiaſtical people and the Emperor's ſuffrage.*

Now in all theſe proceedings it is moſt apparent that there was no regard had to the Pope, or any thought of him, out of his particular territory; which he had as metropolitan, (or afterwards as primate in ſome parts of the weſt.) Nowhere elſe had he the leaſt finger in the conſtitution of a biſhop anywhere through the whole Church; no, not of the leaſt clergyman.

When by St. Cyprian ſo largely and punctually the manner of conſtituting biſhops is declared; when the Nicene Canons and thoſe of other ſynods do ſo carefully preſcribe about the ordination of them; when ſo many reports concerning the election of biſhops do occur in hiſtory, why is there not a tittle of mention concerning any ſpecial intereſt of the Roman biſhops about them? Vid. P. Le Ep. 84, 10 107.

So true is that of Alb. Crantzius; [t] *There was no need then of apoſtolical confirmation; it was ſufficient, if the election were approved by the archbiſhop: now the church of Rome has aſſumed to herſelf the rights of all churches.*

We may by the way obſerve, that in the firſt times

[q] Quum per pacem, et Deo placitam concordiam conſonis omnium ſtudiis qui doctor pacis futurus eſt ordinatur. *Ibid.*

[r] Per pacem et quietem ſacerdotes qui præfuturi ſunt poſtulentur; teneatur ſubſcriptio clericorum, honoratorum teſtimonium, ordinis conſenſus et plebis; qui præfuturus eſt omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. *Ibid.*

[s] *P. Nich. I. Ep.* 5. Quia conſuetudinem veſtram novimus in regia urbe, minimo apicem archieraticæ poteſtatis aliquem poſſe habere ſine eccleſiaſticæ plebis aſſenſu, atque imperiali ſuffragio——. P. Joh. VIII. Ep. lxx. Diſt. 62.

[t] Nihil tum opus erat apoſtolica confirmatione; ſatis erat electionem ab archiepiſcopo comprobari: nunc ad ſe omnium ecclefiarum jura traxit Romana eccleſia. *Crantz. Metrop.* vii. 45.

they had not ſo much as an abſolute power of ordaining a preſbyter in the church of his own city without leave of the clergy and people; as may be inferred from that paſſage in Euſebius, where Pope Cornelius relateth that the biſhop who ordained Novatus, [r] *being hindered from doing it by all the clergy and by many of the laity, did requeſt that it might be granted to him to ordain that one perſon:* and he that ſo hardly could ordain one prieſt in his own church, what authority could he have to conſtitute biſhops in all other churches?

Bell. ii. 18, 20. To all theſe evidences of fact our adverſaries do oppoſe ſome inſtances of Popes meddling in the conſtitution of biſhops; as, Pope Leo I. ſaith, that Anatolius did [s] *by the favour of his aſſent obtain the biſhoprick of Conſtantinople.* The ſame Pope is alleged as having confirmed Maximus of Antioch. The ſame doth write to the biſhop of Theſſalonica, (his vicar,) that he ſhould [t] *confirm the elections of biſhops by his authority.* He alſo confirmed Donatus, an African biſhop; [u] — *We will that Donatus preſide over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to ſend us an account of his faith.* Alſo Gregory I. doth complain of it, as of an inordinate act, that a biſhop of Salonæ was *ordained without his knowledge* [v]. Pope Damaſus did confirm the ordination of Peter Alexandrinus; [x] *The Alexandrians,* ſaith Sozomen, *did render the churches to Peter, being returned from Rome, with the letters of Damaſus, which confirmed both the Nicene decrees, and his ordination:*

[r] Διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, αἰτίσει συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. *P. Cornel. apud Euſ.* vi. 43.

[s] Satis eſt quod veſtræ pietatis auxilio, et mei favoris aſſenſu epiſcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit. *P. Leo.* Ep. 54. De Marc. iii. 14. ſect. 1.

[t] Ut ordinationem rite celebrandam tua quoque firmet authoritas. *P. Leo.* Ep. 84. (*ad Anaſtaſ.*)

[u] Donatum—ita Dominico volumus gregi præſidere, ut libellum fidei ſuæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 87.

[v] Salonitanæ civitatis epiſcopus ne ac reſponſali meo neſciente ordinatus eſt, et facta res eſt, quæ ſub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 34.

[x] Ἀλεξανδρεῖς· ἐπανιλθόντι δὲ τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τότε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δέξαντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτῷ χειροτονίαν κυρώντων, παρέδωκαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας. *Sozom.* vi. 39.

but what, I pray, doth confirmation here ſignify, but approbation? for did he otherwiſe confirm the Nicene decrees? did they need other confirmation?

To the former inſtances we anſwer, that being well conſidered they do much ſtrengthen our argument; in that they are ſo few, ſo late, ſo lame, ſo impertinent: for if the Pope had enjoyed a power of conſtituting biſhops, more inſtances of its exerciſe would have been producible; indeed it could not be but that hiſtory would have been full of them; the conſtitution of biſhops being a matter of continual uſe, and very remarkable. At leaſt they might have found one inſtance or other to allege before the times of that buſy Pope Leo; in whoſe time, and by whoſe means, papal authority began to overflow its banks. And thoſe which they produce do nowiſe reach home to the point; Anatolius did obtain the biſhoprick of Conſtantinople *by the help of the Emperor, and by the aſſent of the Pope's favour*[y]: what then? Anatolius being put into that ſee in the room of Flavianus, by the influence of Dioſcorus, (whoſe reſponſal he had been,) and having favoured the Eutychian faction, Pope Leo might thence have had a fair colour to diſavow him, as uncapable of that function and dignity, he being ſo obnoxious[z]; both having ſuch a flaw in his ordination, and having been guilty of great faults, adherence to the party of Dioſcorus, and irregularly ordaining the biſhop of Antioch; but he, *out of regard to the Emperor's intervention*, did acknowledge Anatolius for biſhop: this was the *favourable aſſent*, with which he upbraideth Anatolius, having diſpleaſed him: and what doth this ſignify?

Again, Pope Leo did not reject Maximus, biſhop of Antioch, from communion, nor diſclaimed his ordination, al-

[y] Nos enim veſtræ fidei et interventionis habentes intuitum, cum ſecundum ſuæ conſecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipſum quam juſtiores eſſe voluimus ——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 55. (*ad Martianum.*)

[z] Deceſſore enim tuo B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defenſionem Catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immerito credebatur quod ordinatores tui contra ſanctorum canonum conſtituta viderentur ſui ſimilem conſecraſſe——Poſt illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia ——. *P. Leo.* Ep. 53. *ad Anatol.* Liber. cap. 12.

though liable to exception [x]: what then? is this a confirmation of him? No ſuch matter; it was only, which in ſuch a vixonly Pope was a great favour, a forbearance to quarrel with him, as not duly ordained; which any other biſhop might have done. If a Pope had a flaw in his ordination, another biſhop might refuſe him.

Again, Pope Leo did enjoin the biſhop of Theſſalonica to confirm ordinations: what is that to the purpoſe? It belonged to that biſhop, as a *metropolitan*, by the canons, to confirm thoſe in his *province*, or, as a *primate*, to confirm thoſe in his *dioceſe;* it belonged to him, as the Pope's vicar in thoſe territories, to which the Pope had ſtretched his juriſdiction, to execute the Pope's orders: but what is this to univerſal authority? It is certain, that Illyricum was then in a more ſpecial manner ſubjected to the Pope's juriſdiction, than any of the other eaſtern churches; what therefore he did there, cannot be drawn into conſequence as to other places.

The ſame may be ſaid in anſwer to the complaint of Pope Gregory, and to any the like inſtances.

Moreover, ſurreptitious, preſumptuous, pragmatical intruſions, or uſurpations of power, do not ſuffice to found a right in this or any other caſe; to which purpoſe, and wholly to invalidate any ſuch pleas, theſe obſervations may be conſidered.

1. There do occur divers inſtances of biſhops, who did meddle in ordinations of other biſhops, ſo as to bear great ſtroke in conſtituting them, who did not thereby pretend to univerſal juriſdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence to infer they had any reaſonable claim thereto.

Thus it was objected to Athanaſius, [y] *that he preſumed to ordain in cities which did not belong to him.* [z] Euſebius

[x] Quod nos amore reparandæ fidei, et pacis ſtudio retractare ceſſavimus. *P. Leo.* Ep. 54. (*ad Marcian.*) Conc. Chalc. Act. 10.

[y] Ἀμίλει τοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπῆγον, ὡς ἐν πόλεσι μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαις χειροτονῖν ἐτόλμησεν. *Soz.* iii. 21.

[z] Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλιξανδρείας προεβλήθη θρόνον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου. *Soz.* ii. 5.

of Conſtantinople did obtrude Euſebius Emiſſenus to be biſhop of Alexandria. Euſtathius of Antioch did ordain Evagrius biſhop of Conſtantinople. [a] Euzoius delivered unto Lucius the biſhoprick of Alexandria. [b] Lucifer, a Sardinian biſhop, did ordain Paulinus biſhop of Antioch. They for a *ſalvo* ſay, as the Pope's legate: but upon what ground or teſtimony? Why did not hiſtorians tell us ſo much? The Pope had then been hiſſed at, if he had ſent legates about ſuch errands; it was indeed out of preſumption and pragmatical zeal to ſerve a party, then ordinary in perſons addicted to all parties, right and wrong; it not being then ſo expreſsly forbidden by the canons as afterward. Socr. iv. 14.

Theognis and Theodorus did make Macedonius biſhop of Conſtantinople. [c] Theophilus of Alexandria did ordain St. Chryſoſtom. [d] The Egyptian biſhops ſurreptitiouſly did conſtitute Maximus, the Cynic philoſopher, biſhop of Conſtantinople. [e] Acacius (who had as little to do there as the Pope) did thruſt Eudoxius into the throne of Conſtantinople. [f] Meletius, of Antioch, did conſtitute St. Gregory Nazianzen to the charge of Conſtantinople. [g] Acacius and Patrophilus, extruding Maximus, *did in his room conſtitute Cyril* biſhop of Jeruſalem. Pope Leo doth complain of Anatolius, that [h] *againſt the canonical rule he had aſſumed to himſelf the ordination of the biſhop of Antioch.* Soz. ii. 6.

2. To obviate theſe irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the diſſenſions in faith, and eſpecially upon occaſion of Gregory Nazianzen being

[a] Ἐπὶ τῷ παραδῦναι Λευκίῳ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ τὰς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας. *Socr.* iv. 21.

[b] Ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Παυλῖνον ἐπίσκοπον. *Socr.* iii. 6. vi. 2.

[c] Θεόφιλος Ἰωάννην ἐχειροτόνησε. *Socr.* vi. 2.

[d] Τούτῳ κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέστησαν οἱ τοτὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου συνελθόντες. *Soz.* vii. 9.

[e] Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἐνθρονισάντων αὐτόν. *Socr.* ii. 13.

[f] Ἤδη πρώην εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενος. *Soz.* vii. 2, 3.

[g] Ἀκάκιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πατρόφιλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξωθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν. *Socr.* ii. 238.

[h] Poſt conſecrationem Antiocheni epiſcopi, quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vendicaſti ——. *P. Leo I. Epiſt.* 53. (*ad Anatol.*)

conſtituted biſhop of Conſtantinople by Meletius, and Maximus being thruſt into the ſame ſee by the Egyptians, (whoſe party for a time the Roman church did countenance,) the Second General Synod did ordain, that no biſhop ſhould intermeddle about ordinations without the bounds of his own dioceſe.

3. In purſuance of this law, or upon the ground of it, the Pope was ſometimes checked, when he preſumed to make a ſally beyond his bounds in this or the like caſes.

As when Pope Innocent I. did ſend ſome biſhops to Conſtantinople for procuring a ſynod to examine the cauſe of St. Chryſoſtom; *thoſe of Conſtantinople*——[h] *did cauſe them to be diſmiſſed with diſgrace, as moleſting a government beyond their bounds.*

4. Even in the weſtern parts, after that the Pope had wriggled himſelf into moſt countries there, ſo as to obtain ſway in their tranſactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in ordinations;—[i] *We do not,* ſays Pope Leo I. *arrogate to ourſelves a power of ordaining in your provinces.*

Even in ſome parts of Italy itſelf the Pope did not confirm biſhops till the times of Pope Nicholas I. as may be collected from the ſubmiſſion then of the biſhop of Ravenna to that condition, [k] *that he ſhould have no power to conſecrate biſhops canonically elected in the regio Flaminia, unleſs it were granted him by letters from the apoſtolic ſee.*

And it was not without great oppoſition and ſtruggling that he got that power otherwhere than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things did afford him ſpecial advantage.

5. If examples would avail to determine right, there

h Τὴς μὲν ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας ἀτίμως ἐκπεμφθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν. *Sozom.* viii. 28.

i Non enim nobis ordinationes veſtrarum provinciarum defendimus. *P. Leo.* Ep. 89.

k —— et ne electos etiam canonice in Flaminia epiſcopos conſecrandi facultatem haberet, niſi id ſibi a ſede apoſtolica literis concederetur. *Plat. in P. Nichol. I.*

are more, and more clear inſtances of Emperors interpoſing in the conſtitution of biſhops, than of Popes; as they had ground in reaſon, and authority in holy Scripture: *And Zadock the prieſt did the king put in the room of Abiathar.* 1 Kings ii. 35. Conſtantine did interpoſe at the deſignation of a biſhop at Antioch in the room of Euſtathius. Upon Gregory Nazianzen's receſs from Conſtantinople, Theodoſius (that excellent Emperor, who would not have infringed right) [l] *did command the biſhops preſent to write in paper the names of thoſe whom each did approve worthy to be ordained, and reſerved to himſelf the choice of one;* and accordingly they obeying, he, out of all that were nominated, *did elect Nectarius.* [m] *Conſtantius did deliver the ſee of Conſtantinople to Euſebius Nicomedienſis.* Conſtantius was angry with Macedonius, [n] becauſe he was ordained *without his licence.* He [o] *rejecting Eleuſius and Sylvanus did order other to be ſubſtituted in their places.* When, before St. Ambroſe, the ſee of Milain was vacant, [p] a ſynod of biſhops *there did entreat the Emperor to declare one.* Flavianus ſaid to the emperor Theodoſius, [q] *Give forſooth, O king, the ſee of Antioch to whom you ſhall think good.* [r] The Emperor did call Neſtorius from Antioch to the ſee of Conſtantinople; and he was, ſaith Vincentius Lir. [s] *elected by the Emperor's judgment.* The favour of Juſtinian did advance [t] Menas to the ſee of Conſtantinople: Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. iii. 59, 60.

[l] Προστάξαντος τῷ βασιλίως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγγράψαι χάρτῃ τὰς προσηγορίας ὧν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξίων, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυλάξαντος τῷ ἕνες τὴν αἵρεσιν— ᾗ Νεκτάριον αἱρεῖται. *Sozom.* vii. 8.

[m] Εὐσεβίῳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρέδωκεν. *Id.* iii. 4.

[n] Ὅτι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐχειροτονήθη. *Id.* iii. 6.

[o] Τὰς μὲν ἐξήλασε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν κατασῆναι προσέταξε. *Theodor.* ii. 27.

[p] Αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἀξίῳ ψηφίσασθαι ——. *Id.* iv. 7.

[q] Τοι γάρ του δὸς ᾧ βύλει τὸν Ἀντιοχίων θρόνον, ὦ βασιλεῦ ——. *Id.* v. 23.

[r] Viſum eſt imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Conſtantinopolitana eccleſia pontificem ——.

Neſtorium quaſi utilem ad docendum Conſtantinopolin principes evocaverunt. *Lib. Brev.* 6. *Socr.* vii. 29.

[s] Quem tanto imperii judicio electum, tanto ſacerdotum ſtudio proſecutum ——. *Vinc. Lir.* p. 330.

[t] Tunc Papa principia favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit Antiſtitem. *Lib.* cap. 21.

and the same did prefer Eutychius thereto [u]. He did put in Pope Vigilius ——.

Conc. Tolet. xii. cap. 6. apud Gr. Dist. lxiii. cap. 25.

In Spain the kings had the election of bishops by the decrees of the Council of Toledo.

That the Emperor Charles did use to confirm bishops Pope John VIII. doth testify, reproving the archbishop of Verdun, for rejecting a bishop, [x] *whom the clergy and people of the city had chosen, and the Emperor Charles had confirmed by his consent.*

When Macarius, bishop of Antioch, for monothelitism was deposed in the Sixth Synod, the bishops under that throne did request the presidents of the synod to suggest another to the Emperor to be substituted in his room [y].

In Gratian there are divers passages wherein Popes declared, that they could not ordain bishops to churches, even in Italy, without the Emperor's leave and licence. As [z] indeed there are also in later times other decrees, (made by Popes of another kidney, or in other junctures of affairs,) which forbid princes to meddle in the elections of bishops; as in the Seventh Synod, and in the Eighth Synod as they call it, upon occasion of Photius being placed in the see of Constantinople by the power of the court. [a] And that of Pope Nicholas I. by which discordance in practice we may see the consistence and stability of doctrine and practice in the Roman church.

The Emperors for a long time did enjoy the privilege of constituting or confirming the Popes: for, says Platina,

[u] —— ἀνεβίβασε τὸν Εὐτύχιον. *Evag.* iv. 38.

[x] Quem clerus et populus civitatis eligerat, piæque memoriæ Carolus imperator suo consensu firmaverat ——. *P. Joh. VIII.* Ep. 70.

[y] Αἰτῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξότητα τῦ ἀναγάγαι τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ —— ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ ϗ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἕτερον ἀντὶ Μακαρίου—διὰ τὸ μὴ χηρεύειν τὸν τοιῦτον θρόνον. *Syn. VI.* Act. xii. (p. 208.)

[z] Dist. lxiii. cap. 9. Greg. I. Ep. iv. 15. cap. 15, 16, 17, 18. P. Leo IV. et Steph. Dist. lxiii. cap. 6, 7. Ibid. cap. 1, 2.

[a] Ibid. cap. 4.

[It is a notorious thing, that most princes in the West, in Germany, France, England, did invest bishops, till the time of Pope Gregory VII. when that boisterous man did raise so much stir in Christendom to dispossess them of that right; which they enjoyed, not only as princes, but as founders, patrons, benefactors, protectors of churches.]

in the Life of Pelagius II. [b] *nothing was then done by the clergy in electing a Pope, unleſs the Emperor approved the election.* He did confirm Pope Gregory I. and Pope Agatho.

[c] *Pope Adrian, with his whole ſynod, did deliver to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the Pope and ordaining the apoſtolick ſee. He moreover defined that archbiſhops and biſhops in every province ſhould receive inveſtiture from him; and that if a biſhop were not commended and inveſted by the king, he ſhould be conſecrated by none; and whoever ſhould act againſt this decree, him he did nooſe in the band of anathema.*

The like privilege did Pope Leo VIII. attribute to the Emperor Otho I. [d] *We give him,* ſays he, *for ever power to ordain a ſucceſſor and biſhop of the chief apoſtolick ſee, and change archbiſhops,* &c. And Platina, in his Life, ſays, [e] *That being weary of the inconſtancy of the Romans, he transferred all authority to chooſe a Pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the Emperor.*

Now, I pray, if this power of confirming biſhops do by divine inſtitution belong to the Pope, how could he part with it, or transfer it on others? is not this a plain renunciation in Popes of their divine pretence?

6. General Synods, by an authority paramount, have aſſumed to themſelves the conſtitution and confirmation of biſhops. So the Second General Synod did confirm the Conc. Conſt. Seſſ. 40. Conc. Baſ. Seſſ. xxxvii. (p. 98.)

[b] Nihil a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, niſi ejus electionem imperator approbaſſet. *Plat. in Pelagio II.* (p. 154.) Diſt. 63. Plat. p. 155. Vid. Joh. Diac. et Anaſtaſ. Diſt. lxiii. cap. 21.

[c] Hadrianus autem Papa cum univerſa ſynodo tradiderunt jus et poteſtatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apoſtolicam ſedem——inſuper archiepiſcopos et epiſcopos per ſingulas provincias ab eo inveſtituram accipere definivit; et niſi a rege laudetur et inveſtiatur epiſcopus, a nemine conſecretur; et quicunque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit. *Diſt.* lxiii. cap. 22.

[d] Largimur in perpetuum facultatem ſucceſſorem, atque ſummæ ſedis apoſtolicæ pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc archiepiſcopos ſeu epiſcopos, &c. *Ibid.* cap. 23.

[e] Qui ſtatim Romanorum inconſtantiæ pertæſus authoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero populoque Romano ad imperatorem tranſtulit——. *Plat. in Leo. VIII.* p. 291.

ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and of Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, ([f] *this ordination*, say they, *the synod generally have admitted*,) although the Roman Church did not approve the ordination of Nectarius, and for a long time after did oppose that of Flavianus. So the Fifth Synod, it seemeth, did confirm the ordination of Theophanius, bishop of Antioch. So the Synod of Pisa did constitute Pope Alexander V. that of Constance, Pope Martin V. that of Basil, Pope Felix V.

7. All Catholic bishops in old times might, and commonly did, confirm the elections and ordinations of bishops, to the same effect as Popes may be pretended to have done; that is, by signifying their approbation or satisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their faith, the attestation to their manners, the legality of their ordination, no canonical impediment; and consequently by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and correspondence in all good offices, which they express by returning κοινονικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ in answer to their synodical-communicatory letters.

Thus did St. Cyprian and all the bishops of that age confirm the ordination of Pope Cornelius, being contested by Novatian; as St. Cyprian in terms doth affirm; [g] *When the see of St. Peter, the sacerdotal chair, was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied, and by all our consents confirmed*, &c. — [h] *to confirm thy ordination with a greater authority.*

To which purpose, each bishop did write epistles to other bishops, (or at least to those of highest rank,) acquainting them with his ordination and instalment, making a profession of his faith, so as to satisfy them of his capacity of the function.

8. But bishops were complete bishops before they did

[f] Ἥνπερ ἔνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινὸν ——. *Theod.* v. 9.

[g] Cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

[h] Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam factam auctoritate majore ——. *Ep.* 45. *ad Corn.*

give ſuch an account of themſelves; ſo that it was not in the powèr of the Pope, or of any others, to reverſe their ordination, or diſpoſſeſs them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any ſuch matter: this is plain; and one inſtance will ſerve to ſhew it; [i] that of Pope Honorius, and of Sergius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, who ſpeak of Sophronius, patriarch of Jeruſalem; that he was conſtituted biſhop before their knowledge, and receipt of his ſynodical letters.

9. If the deſignation of any biſhop ſhould belong to the Pope, then eſpecially that of metropolitans, who are the chief princes of the Church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In Africk the moſt ancient biſhop of the province (without election) did ſucceed into that dignity. Where the metropoles were fixed, all the biſhops of the province did convene, and with the conſent of the clergy, perſons of quality, and the commonalty, did elect him [k]. So was St. Cyprian, biſhop of Carthage, elected. So Nectarius of Conſtantinople, Flavianus of Antioch, and Cyril of Jeruſalem, as the Fathers of Conſtantinople tell us. So Stephanus and Baſſianus, rival biſhops of Epheſus, did pretend to have been choſen, as we ſaw before.

And for confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any; except that confirmation of which we ſpake, a conſequent approbation of them from all their fellow biſhops, as having no exception againſt them, rendering them unworthy of communion. In the Synod

[i] Ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθεὶς πρόεδρος· ὅπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτῷ συνοδικὰ μίχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα. *Syn. VI.* Act. xii. 198.

Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν ἐπισκόπου καθῃρῆσθαι τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ——. *P. Honor.* ib. p. 198.

[k] Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit ſubrogandus, provinciales epiſcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate diſcuſſa ex preſbyteris ejuſdem eccleſiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur. *P. Leo.* Ep. 88.

The metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the provincial biſhops ought to meet in the metropolitan city, that by the votes of the whole clergy and citizens, out of the prieſts or deacons of the ſame church, the fitteſt perſon may be choſen.

of Chalcedon it was defined, that the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſhould have equal privileges with the biſhop of Rome; yet it is expreſsly cautioned there, that he ſhall not meddle in ordination of biſhops in any province, that being left to the metropolitan: [l] for a good time, even in the weſtern parts, the Pope did not meddle with the conſtitution of metropolitans; leaving the churches to enjoy their liberties. Afterwards, with all other rights, he ſnatched the *collation, confirmation,* &c. of metropolitans.

Vid. Concil. Aur. can. 7. Apud de Marc. VI. iv. ſect. 8.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to cenſure and correct all inferior magiſtrates in proportion to their offences; and in caſe of great miſdemeanour, or of incapacity, they can wholly diſcharge and remove them from their office.

Vid. Gelaſ. Ep. xiii. (p. 640.)

This prerogative therefore he of Rome doth claim, as moſt proper to himſelf, by divine ſanction.

God Almighty alone can diſſolve the ſpiritual marriage between a biſhop and his church. [m] *Therefore thoſe three things premiſed* (the confirmation, tranſlation, and depoſition of biſhops) *are reſerved to the Roman biſhop, not ſo much by canonical conſtitution, as by divine inſtitution.*

This power the Convention of Trent doth allow him; thwarting the ancient laws, and betraying the liberties of the Church thereby, and endangering the Chriſtian doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of papal intereſt [n].

But ſuch a power anciently did not by any rule or cuſtom in a peculiar manner belong to the Roman biſhop [o].

Premiſing what was generally touched about juriſdiction; in reference to this branch we remark,

[l] Μηδὲν ἐπιτιμῶντος ταῖς ἐκείνου χειροτονίαις τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς βασιλίδος ——. *Act.* xvi. p. 464.

[m] Et ideo tria hæc quæ præmiſimus non tam conſtitutione canonica, quam inſtitutione divina ſoli ſunt Romano pontifici reſervata. *P. Innoc. III. in Gregor. Decret.* lib. i. tit. 7. cap. 2.

[n] Cauſæ criminales graviores contra epiſcopos, etiam hæreſis quod abſit, quæ depoſitione aut privatione dignæ ſunt, ab ipſo tantum ſummo Romano Pontifice cognoſcantur, et terminentur. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. xxiv. cap. 5.

[o] Ἐπίσκοπος καθαιρεῖ πάντα κληρικὸν ἄξιον ὄντα καθαιρέσεως, πλὴν ἐπισκόπου, μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ἱκὸς τι. *Conſt. Ap.* viii. 28.

A biſhop may depoſe any clerk who deſerves it, except he be a biſhop; whom to deprive, one biſhop alone is not ſufficient.

1. The exerciſing of judgment and cenſure upon biſhops (when it was needful for general good) was preſcribed to be done by ſynods; provincial or patriarchal, (dioceſan.) In them cauſes were to be diſcuſſed, and ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe who had deviated from faith, or committed miſdemeanours. So it was appointed in the Synod of Nice; as the African Synod (wherein St. Auſtin was one biſhop) did obſerve, and urge in their Epiſtle to Pope Celeſtine, in thoſe notable words; [p] *Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be biſhops, the Nicene decrees have moſt plainly committed them to the metropolitan's charge: for they have moſt prudently and juſtly diſcerned, that all matters whatſoever ought to be determined in the places where they do firſt begin; and that the grace of the holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular province.* The ſame law was enacted by the Synod of Antioch, by the Synods of Conſtantinople, Chalcedon, &c.

Syn. Nic. can. 5.

Syn. Ant. can. 15.

Thus was Paulus Samoſatenus for his error againſt the divinity of our Lord, and for his ſcandalous demeanour, depoſed by the Synod of Antioch. Thus was Euſtathius, biſhop of Antioch, (being accuſed of Sabellianiſm and of other faults,) removed by a ſynod of the ſame place; the which ſentence he quietly did bear [q]. Thus another Euſtathius, biſhop of Sebaſtia, (for his uncouth garb, and fond conceits againſt marriage,) was diſcarded by the Synod of Gangra. Thus did a Synod of Conſtantinople abdicate Marcellus, biſhop of Ancyra, for heterodoxy in the point concerning our Lord's divinity. For the like cauſe was Photinus, biſhop of Sirmium, depoſed by a ſynod there, *gathered by the Emperor's command.* So was Athanaſius tried and condemned (although unjuſtly as to the matter and cauſe) by the Synod of Tyre. So was St. Chryſoſtom (although moſt injuriouſly) depoſed by a Sy-

(An. 269.) Euſeb. vii. 30.

Socr. i. 24.

Socr. ii. 43.

Soz. iii. 14.

Socr. i. 36.

Socr. ii. 29.

Socr. i. 28.

[p] Decreta Nicena ſive inferioris gradus clericos, ſive ipſos epiſcopos ſuis metropolitanis apertiſſime commiſerunt? prudentiſſime enim juſtiſſimeque viderunt quæcunque negotia in ſuis locis ubi orta ſunt finienda; nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam. *Syn. Afr. Ep. ad P. Celeſt. 1.*

[q] Ἡσυχῇ τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἤνεγκε. *Soz.* ii. 9.

Theod. ii. 10. nod at Conſtantinople. So the biſhops at Antioch (according to the Emperor's order) depoſed Stephanus, biſhop of that place, for a wicked contrivance againſt the fame of Euphratas and Vincentius.

In all theſe condemnations, cenſures, and depoſitions of biſhops, (whereof each was of high rank and great intereſt in the Church,) the biſhop of Rome had no hand, nor ſo much as a little finger. All the proceedings did go on ſuppoſition of the rule and laws, that ſuch judgments were to be paſſed by ſynods.

Act. xi. Syn. Chalc. p. 411. St. Chryſoſtom δεκαπέντε ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν—*depoſed fifteen biſhops.*

Hæc §. cum 4. jungenda. 2. In ſome caſe a kind of depoſing of biſhops was aſſumed by particular biſhops, as defenders of the faith, and executors of canons; their depoſition conſiſting in not allowing thoſe to be biſhops, whom for erroneous doctrine, or diſorderly behaviour, (notoriouſly incurred,) they deemed incapable of the office, preſuming their places, *ipſo facto*, void [s].

This Pope Gelaſius I. [t] propoſed for a rule, *That not only a metropolitan, but every other biſhop, hath a right to ſeparate any perſons or any place from the Catholic communion, according to the rule by which his hereſy is already condemned.* And upon this account did the Popes for ſo long time quarrel with the ſee of Conſtantinople, becauſe they did not expunge Acaſius from the roll of biſhops, who had communicated with heretics [u]. So did St. Cyprian reject Marcianus, biſhop of Arles, for adhering to the Novatians. So Athanaſius was ſaid to have depoſed Arian biſhops, and ſubſtituted others in their places. So Acaſius and his complices depoſed Macedonius and divers

Cypr. Ep. 67.

Soz. iii. 21.

Socr. ii. 42.

[s] Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι σεαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνεύλεγκτον πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιῶν τῶν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἰσχατικῆς. *P. Celeſt. in Neſt. Sent. Eph.* Act. p. 195.

[t] Quod non ſolum præſuli apoſtolico facere licet, ſed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoſlibet et quemlibet locum ſecundum regulam hæreſeos ipſius ante damnatæ, a Catholica communione diſcernant. *Ep.* 4.

[u] Ἐπεὶ ἐν ἐχρὴν τὸν ἐπὶ κακοδοξίᾳ φωραθέντα μητ' ἐπίσκοπος ἄρχειν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδασκάλου ὄνομα περιφέρειν. *Conc. ſub Men.* (p. 10.)

other biſhops. And the biſhops of thoſe times καθεῖλον ἀλλήλους, factiouſly applying a rule taken for granted then, *depoſed one another:* [y] ſo Maximus, biſhop of Jeruſalem, depoſed Athanaſius. So [z] Euſebius of Nicomedia threatened to depoſe Alexander of Conſtantinople, if he would not admit Arius to communion. Acacius and his complices did *extrude* Maximus, biſhop of Jeruſalem. He alſo depoſed and *expelled* Cyril of Jeruſalem: and depoſed many other biſhops at Conſtantinople. [a] Cyril depoſed Neſtorius, and Neſtorius depoſed Cyril and Memnon. Cyril and Juvenalis depoſed John of Antioch. [b] John of Antioch, with his biſhops, depoſed Cyril and Memnon. Yea after the Synod of Epheſus, [c] John of Antioch, *gathering together many biſhops, did depoſe Cyril.* Stephanus, concerning Baſſianus; [d] *Becauſe he had entered into the Church with ſwords—therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy Fathers, both by Leo of Rome, the imperial city, and by Flavianus; by the biſhop of Alexandria, and alſo by the biſhop of Antioch.* Anatolius of Conſtantinople did reject Timotheus of Alexandria. Acacius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, did reject Petrus Fullo.

Ἐξωθήσαντες. Socr. ii. 38. Theod. ii. 26. Sozom. iv. 24.

3. St. Cyprian doth aſſert the power of cenſuring biſhops, upon needful and juſt occaſion, to belong to all biſhops, for maintenance of common faith, diſcipline, and peace.

[y] Πρότερον καθειλών. *Socr.* ii. 24.

[z] Εὐσέβιος πολλὰ διηπείλει αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅσον οὐδέπω καθαιρήσειν αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται τὸν Ἄρειον. *Id.* i. 37.

[a] Κύριλλος δὲ ἅμα καὶ Ἰουβεναλίῳ, ἀμυνόμενος τὸν Ἰωάννην καθαιρεῖ καὶ αὐτόν. *Id.* vii. 34.

[b] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος —— τοῦτον μὲν καθαιρεῖ διὰ τὰ προειρημένα πάντα, Μέμνονα δὲ ὡς συνεργὸν αὐτοῦ. *Act. Syn. Eph.* p. 380.

Ὡς τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνας καθελεῖν ἠναγκάσθημεν. *Ibid.* p. 320.

[c] Ἰωάννης δὲ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπισκόπους καθαιρεῖ Κύριλλον, ἤδη καταληφότα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. *Socr.* vii. 34.

[d] Ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐπεισῆλθε τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ ξιφῶν —— ἐξώσθη διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων παρά τε τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης Λέοντος, καὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Φλαυιανοῦ —— καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. *Syn. Chalc. Act.* xi. p. 405.

Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίοις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξώσατο αὐτόν. *Ibid.* p. 406. Baron. ann. 457. ſect. 34. P. Felix III. Ep. 4.

[e] *Therefore,* (ſaith he, writing to Pope Stephanus himſelf,) *dear brother, the body of biſhops is copious, being coupled by the glue of concord, and the band of unity, that if any of our college ſhall attempt to frame a hereſy, or to tear and ſpoil the flock of Chriſt, the reſt may ſuccour, and like uſeful and merciful ſhepherds may gather together the ſheep of our Lord into the flock.*

The like doctrine is that of Pope Celeſtine I. in his Epiſtle to the Epheſine ſynod [f].

Vid. Hier. 67 et 78. In matter of faith any biſhop might interpoſe judgment; Theophilus did proceed to condemn the Origeniſts without regard to the Pope.

Epiphanius did demand ſatisfaction of John of Jeruſalem.

4. This common right of biſhops in ſome caſes is confirmed by the nature of ſuch cenſures, which conſiſted in diſclaiming perſons notoriouſly guilty of hereſy, ſchiſm, or ſcandal; and in refuſing to entertain communion with them: which every biſhop, as entitled to the common intereſts of faith and peace, might do [g].

5. [h] Indeed in ſuch a caſe every Chriſtian had a right

[e] Idcirco enim, frater chariſſime, copioſum corpus eſt ſacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo cōpulatum, ut ſiquis ex collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, et gregem Chriſti lacerare, et vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri, et quaſi paſtores utiles et miſericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. (*ad Steph.*)

[f] Ἀκυίσθω ταῦτα παρὰ πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ —— ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φροντίδι σφιγγόμεθα οἱ πανταχῇ ᾗ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκυμένην τῇ ἐκείνων διαδοχῇ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίῳ κηρύττοντες —— &c. *Conc. Eph.* Act. ii. p. 324.

Τοιγαροῦν περισπούδαστόν ἐστι, καὶ πρακτέον ὅπως καμάτῳ κοινῷ τὰ ἐμπεσευθέντα, ᾗ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἕως τῦ νῦν συνεχιθέντα φυλάξωμεν. *Ibid.* p. 325.

[g] Cypr. Ep. 67. Ὅσοι παρὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν πατέρων τύπυς διαπράττονται, ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγυσι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτίμια. *Thalaſſ. in Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 191.

Ἔχρην γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην μεμνημένην τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων μηδένα συγχωρεῖν τὰ κεκωλυμένα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ᾗ εἴ τις τολμηρὸς φανείη πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναντιῦσθαι. *P. Agapet. ad Petr. Hier.* (p. 24.)

[h] Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ἐπισάμενοι τὴν τῶν θείων κανόνων ἐκδίκησιν ἀρχιερεῦσιν μόνον ἀρμόττυσαν, τήνδε τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως ᾗ μόνον ἱερωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ Χριστιανῷ. *Menas.* (tom. iv. p. 10.)

Plebs, &c. Deum metuens ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 68. Vid. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 506.)

11. If inſtances were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the depoſing power. Particular biſhops would have it, as we before ſhewed.

12. The people would have the power; for they have ſometimes depoſed Popes themſelves, with effect.

So of Pope Conſtantine Platina telleth us, [n] *at length he is depoſed by the people of Rome, being very much provoked by the indignity of the matter.*

13. There are many inſtances of biſhops being removed or depoſed by the imperial authority. This power was indeed neceſſarily annexed to the imperial dignity; for all biſhops being ſubjects of the Emperor, he could diſpoſe of their perſons, ſo as not to ſuffer them to continue in a place, or to put them from it, as they demeaned themſelves, to his ſatisfaction or otherwiſe, in reference to public utility. It is reaſonable, if they were diſloyal or diſobedient to him, that he ſhould not ſuffer them to be in places of ſuch influence, whereby they might pervert the people to diſaffection. It is fit that he ſhould deprive them of temporalties.

The example of Solomon depoſing Abiathar. 1 Kings ii. 35.

Conſtantine M. [o] *commanded Euſebius and Theogonius to depart out of the cities over which they preſided as biſhops.*

Conſtantius depoſed Paulus of Conſtantinople [p].

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ſedes gubernare noſcuntur ——. *P. Felix ad Petrum Antioch. apud Baron. ann.* 483. ſect. 68.

[n] Tandem a ſede dejicitur a populo Romano ira et indignitate rei percito. *Plat.* p. 223. *P. Leo VIII.* p. 291. *Anaſtaſius. Plat.* p. 131.

[o] Εὐσέβιον δὲ καὶ Θεογόνιον φεύγειν προσέταξεν ἃς ἐπισκόπων πόλεις. *Soz.* i. 21.

Τότε μὲν ὅτοι καθηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐξηλάθησαν. *Theodor.* i. 20.

He threatened Athanaſius to depoſe him — ἐὰν γὰρ γνῶ ὡς κινόλυπας τινὰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταποιουμένους, ἢ ἀπείξας τῆς ἱσόδου, ἀποστελῶ παρεχρῆμα τὸν καθαιρήσοντά σε ἐξ ἁμῆς κιλεύσεως, καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσοντα. *Socr.* i. 27. *Athanaſ. Apol.* ii. p. 778.

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a great mind to exert their utmoſt power, have not yet preſumed by themſelves, *without joint authority of ſynods*, to condemn biſhops.[1] So Pope Julius did not preſume to depoſe Euſebius of Nicomedia, his great adverſary, and ſo much obnoxious by his patronizing Arianiſm. Pope Innocent did not cenſure Theophilus and his complices, who ſo irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St. Chryſoſtom, although much diſpleaſed with them; but endeavoured to get a general ſynod to do the buſineſs. Pope Leo I. (though a man of ſpirit and animoſity ſufficient) would not, without aſſiſtance of a ſynod, attempt to judge Dioſcorus, who had ſo highly provoked him, and given ſo much advantage againſt him, by favouring Eutyches, and perſecuting the orthodox.

Indeed often we may preſume that Popes would have depoſed biſhops, if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, ſo that they could have expected ſucceſs in their attempting it. But they many times were angry when their horns were ſhort, and ſhewed their teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by Popes jointly with others, or in ſynods, (eſpecially upon advantage, when the cauſe was juſt and plauſible,) is not to be aſcribed to the authority of Popes as ſuch. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority: [m] ſo the Synod of Sardica (not Pope Julius) caſhiered the enemies of Athanaſius; ſo the Synod of Chalcedon (not Pope Leo) depoſed Dioſcorus; ſo the Roman Synod (not Pope Celeſtine) checked Neſtorius; and that of Epheſus depoſed him. The whole weſtern ſynod (whereof he was preſident) had a great ſway.

[1] An qui in hominem imperatorem peccaſſe dicebatur, nulla interveniente ſynodo dejici debuerunt? *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 13.

[m] Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τετύπωκε. *Cyril. ad Joh. Ant. Conc. Eph.*— p. 197, 332. *Syn.* p. 11, 60.

Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, ᾧ ἡ σύνοδος αὐτῆ. *Conſt. Sacr. in Syn. VI.* p. 11.

Ἀγάθων ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πάσαις ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῇ συνόδῳ τῆ ἀποστολικῆ θρόνῳ ——. *Ibid.* p. 60.

Ἁπάσης κατὰ δύσιν συνόδου. *Act. Eph.* p. 332.

Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio a me, et ab his qui ſub me conſtituti epiſcopales

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Evag. ii. 11. Lib. cap. 15. P. Leo I. Epist. 99. The Emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, for which Pope Leo did highly commend and thank him.

The Emperors discarded divers Popes.

Constantius banished Pope Liberius, and caused another to be put in his room.

Otho put out John the Twelfth.

Lib. cap. 22. Justinian deposed Pope Silverius, and banished Pope Vigilius.

Evag. iv. 41, 11. Justinian banished Anastasius, bishop of Antioch; extruded Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodosius of Alexandria.

Neither indeed was any great patriarch effectually deposed without their power or leave.

Flavianus was supported by Theodosius against the Pope.

Dioscorus subsisted by the power of Theodosius Junior.

The deposition of Dioscorus, in the Synod of Chalcedon, was voted with a reserve of, [r] *If it shall please our most sacred and pious lord.*

In effect the Emperors deposed all bishops which were ordained beside their general laws: as Justinian having prescribed conditions and qualifications concerning the ordinations of bishops, subjoineth, [s] *But if any bishop be ordained without using our forementioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his bishoprick.*

14. The instances alleged to prove the Pope's authority in this case are inconcludent and invalid.

They allege the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles; concerning whom (for abetting Novatianism) St. Cyprian doth exhort Pope Stephanus, that he would direct letters to the bishops of Gaul and the people of Arles, that he being for his schismatical behaviour removed from communion, another should be substituted in his room [t].

[r] Εἰ παρασταίη τῷ θειοτάτῳ, καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ. *Act.* ii. p. 202.

[s] Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis episcopatu depelli. *Justin. Novell.* cxxiii. cap. 1.

[t] Cypr. Ep. 67. Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstento Marciano alius in ejus locum substituatur ——.

The Epiſtle, grounding this argument, is queſtioned by a great critic; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, ſeeing it hath the ſtyle and ſpirit of St. Cyprian, and ſuiteth his age, and I ſee no cauſe why it ſhould be forged; wherefore, omitting that defence, I anſwer, that the whole matter being ſeriouſly weighed, doth make rather againſt the Pope's cauſe than for it; for if the Pope had the ſole or ſovereign authority of rejecting biſhops, why did the Gauliſh biſhops refer the matter to St. Cyprian? why had Marcianus himſelf a recourſe to him?

St. Cyprian doth not aſcribe to the Pope any peculiar authority of judgment or cenſure, but a common one, which himſelf could exerciſe, which all biſhops might exerciſe; [u] *It is*, ſaith he, *our part to provide and ſuccour in ſuch a caſe*; for *therefore is the body of prieſts ſo numerous*, that — *by joint endeavour they may ſuppreſs hereſies and ſchiſms.*

The caſe being ſuch, St. Cyprian earneſtly doth move Pope Stephanus to concur in exerciſe of diſcipline on that ſchiſmatic, and to proſecute effectually the buſineſs by his letters; perſuading his fellow-biſhops in France, [x] *that they would not ſuffer Marcianus to inſult over the college of biſhops*; (for to them it ſeemeth the tranſaction did immediately belong.)

To do thus St. Cyprian implieth and preſcribeth to be the Pope's ſpecial duty, not only out of regard to the common intereſt, but for his particular concernment in the caſe; that ſchiſm having been firſt advanced againſt his predeceſſors. Multo magis tu—.

St. Cyprian alſo (if we mark it) covertly doth tax the Pope of negligence, in not having ſoon enough joined with himſelf and the community of biſhops in cenſuring that delinquent. Quod nedum videatur a nobis abſtentus.

We may add, that the church of Arles and Gaul, be-

[u] Cui rei noſtrum eſt conſulere, et ſubvenire ——.
Idcirco copioſum eſt corpus ſacerdotum ——.
Quando ipſe eſt ab univerſis ſacerdotibus judicatus ——.

[x] Facere te oportet pleniſſimas literas ad coepiſcopos noſtros in Galliis conſtitutos, ne ultra Marcianum collegio noſtro inſultare patiantur ——.

ing near Italy, the Pope may be allowed to have ſome greater ſway there, than otherwhere in more diſtant places; ſo that St. Cyprian thought his letters to quicken diſcipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

Theſe things being duly conſidered, what advantage can they draw from this inſtance? doth it not rather prejudice their cauſe, and afford a conſiderable objection againſt it?

We may obſerve, that the ſtrength of their argumentation mainly conſiſteth in the words *quibus abſtento*; the which (as the drift of the whole Epiſtle and parallel expreſſions therein do ſhew) do ſignify no more than *quibus efficiatur ut abſtento*, which may procure him to be excommunicated; not *quæ contineant abſtentionem*, which *contain excommunication*, as P. de Marca gloſſeth: although admitting that ſenſe, it would not import much, ſeeing only thereby the Pope would have ſignified his conſent with other biſhops: wherefore de Marca hath no great cauſe to blame us, that we do *not deprehend any magnificent thing in this place for the dignity of the papal ſee*: indeed he hath, I muſt confeſs, better eyes than I, who can ſee any ſuch mighty things there for that purpoſe.

Marc. vii. 1, 6.

As for the ſubſtitution of another in the room of Marcianus, that was a conſequent of the excommunication; and was to be the work of the clergy and people of the place; for when by common judgment of Catholic biſhops any biſhop was rejected, the people did apply themſelves to chooſe another.

I adjoin the reſolution of a very learned writer of their communion, in theſe words:

[y] *In this caſe of Marcianus, biſhop of Arles, if the right*

[y] In hac Marciani epiſcopi Arelatenſis cauſa ſi jus abſtinendi ſive excommunicandi competebat ſoli epiſcopo Romano, cur Fauſtinus epiſcopus Lugdunenſis Cypriano epiſcopo Carthaginienſi longe diſſito ſemel atque iterum ſignificat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipſe Fauſtinus et alii ejuſdem provinciæ epiſcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, et omnium epiſcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuiſſe aut per negligentiam Stephani;

of excommunication did belong ſolely to the biſhop of Rome, wherefore did Fauſtinus, biſhop of Lyons, adverſe Cyprian, biſhop of Carthage, who was ſo far diſtant, concerning thoſe very things touching Marcianus, which both Fauſtinus himſelf, and other biſhops of the ſame province, had before ſent word of to Stephen, biſhop of Rome, who lived neareſt, being moreover of all biſhops the chief? It muſt either be ſaid, that this was done becauſe of Stephen's negligence; or, what is more probable, according to the diſcipline then uſed in the Church, that all biſhops of neighbouring places, but eſpecially thoſe preſiding over the moſt eminent cities, ſhould join their counſels for the welfare of the Church, and that Chriſtian religion might not receive the leaſt damage in any of its affairs whatſoever: hence it was, that in the caſe of Marcianus, biſhop of Arles, the biſhop of Lyons writ letters to the biſhop of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the biſhop of Carthage, as being moſt remote, did write to the biſhop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who by reaſon of his propinquity might more eaſily know and judge of the whole matter.

The other inſtances are of a later date, (after the Synod of Nice,) and therefore of not ſo great weight; yea, their having none more ancient to produce, doth ſtrongly make againſt the antiquity of this right; it being ſtrange, that no memory ſhould be of any depoſed thereby for above three hundred years: but however ſuch as they are, they do not reach home to the purpoſe.

They allege Flavianus, biſhop of Antioch, depoſed by Pope Damaſus, as they affirm. But it is wonderful they ſhould have the face to mention that inſtance; the ſtory in ſhort being this: [z] *The great Flavianus* (a moſt worthy Bell. de Pont. R. il. 18.

aut quod magis videtur, per diſciplinam quæ tunc in eccleſia vigebat, ut omnes quidem in circumpoſitis locis, ſed præſertim urbium clariſſimarum epiſcopi in commune conſulerent Eccleſiæ, viderentque ne quid detrimenti res Chriſtiana Catholica caperet. Itaque ſuper iſto Marciani Arelatenſis facinore, Lugdunenſem epiſcopum ad Romanum et Carthaginienſem dediſſe literas, iſtum vero ut remotiſſimum dediſſe viciſſim ſuas ad Romanum, ut fratrem et collegam, qui in propinquo facilius poſſet de negotio et cognoſcere et ſtatuere. *Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 67.

[z] Τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνουσιν ——. *Theod.*

and orthodox prelate, whom St. Chrysostom in his Statuary Orations doth so highly commend and celebrate) being substituted in the place of *Meletius by the quire of bishops*, a party did adhere to Paulinus; and after his decease they set up Evagrius, ordaining him (as Theodoret, who was best acquainted with passages on that side of Christendom, reporteth) against many canons of the Church.

Theod. v. 23. Socr. v. 15. Soz. viii. 3.

Yet with this party, the Roman bishops, [a] *not willing to know any of these things*, (three of them in order, Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius,) did conspire, instigating the Emperor against Flavianus, and reproaching him as *supporter of a tyrant against the laws of Christ.*

But the Emperor having called Flavianus to him, and received much satisfaction in his demeanour and discourse, did remand and settle him in his place; [b] *The Emperor*, saith Theodoret, *wondering at his courage and his wisdom, did command him to return home, and to feed the church committed to him:* at which proceeding when the Romans afterward did grumble, the Emperor gave them such reasons and advices, that they complied, and did entertain communion with Flavianus.

It is true, that upon their suggestions and clamours, the Emperor was moved at first to order that Flavianus should go to Rome, and give the western bishops satisfaction: but after that he understood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance settled him in his see.

Here is nothing of the Pope's deposing Flavianus; but of his embracing in a schism the side of a competitor, it being in such a case needful that the Pope or any other bishop should choose with whom he must communicate, and consequently must disclaim the other; in which choice the Pope had no good success; not deposing Flavianus, but vainly opposing him; wherefore this allega-

[a] Ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδέναι θέλοντες τὴν Εὐαγρίου μὲν κοινωνίαν ἠσπάζοντο, κατὰ Φλαβιανοῦ τὰς βασιλίκας ἐκίνησαν ἀκοάς. *Theod.* ib.

[b] Αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν ποιμαίνειν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν. *Theod.* ib.

tion is strangely impertinent, and well may be turned against them.

Indeed in this instance we may see how fallible that see was in their judgment of things, how rash in taking parties and fomenting discords, how pertinacious in a bad cause, how peevish against the common sense of their brethren; (especially considering, that before this opposition of Flavianus the Fathers of Constantinople had, in their letter to Pope Damasus and the occidental bishops, approved and commended him to them; highly asserting the legitimateness of his ordination;) in fine, how little their authority did avail with wise and considerate persons, such as Theodosius M. was [c].

De Merca representeth the matter somewhat otherwise out of Socrates: but take the matter as Socrates hath it, and it signifieth no more, than that both Theophilus and Damasus would not entertain communion with Flavianus, as being uncapable of the episcopal order, for having violated his oath, and caused a division in the church of Antioch: what is this to judicial deposition? and how did Damasus more depose him than Theophilus, who upon the same dissatisfaction did in like manner forbear communion? whenas indeed a wiser and better man than either of them, St. Chrysostom, did hold communion with him, and did at length (saith Socrates, not agreeing with Theodoret) reconcile him to them both. Socr. v. 15. Marc. iii. 14. sect. 1.

They allege the deposition of Nestorius. But who knoweth not, that he was for heretical doctrine deposed in and by a general synod? [d] Pope Celestine did indeed threaten to withdraw his communion, if he did not renounce his error. But had not any other bishop sufficient

[c] Theod. v. 9. —— *οἵτε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν——ἥνπερ ἔνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο ϗ τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν.*

[d] *Γινωσκέτω, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν ὐ δυνήσεται, ἢν μὴ ——. P. Celest. ad Cyril. in Conc. Eph. Act.* p. 281.

Παντελῶς ἀπὸ τῦ συνεδρίυ ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν συνόδυ ἀπεκλείσθης, ἐὰν μὴ εὐθέως τὰ κακῶς εἰρημένα ὑπὸ σῦ διορθωθῇ. Ibid. Epist. ad Nest. p. 186.

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζομεν. (*ad Joh. Ant.* p. 196.)

authority to deſert a perverter of the faith? [e] Did not his own Clergy do the ſame, being commended by Pope Celeſtine for it? [f] Did not Cyril in writing to Pope Celeſtine himſelf affirm, that he might before have declared, that he could not communicate with him? Did Neſtorius admit the Pope's judgment? No, as the papal legates did complain, [g] *he did not admit the conſtitution of the apoſtolical chair.* Did the Pope's ſentence obtain effect? No, not any; for, notwithſtanding his threats, Neſtorius did hold his place till the ſynod; the Emperor did ſeverely rebuke Cyril for his fierceneſs, (and implicitly the Pope,) and did order that no change ſhould be made, till the ſynod ſhould determine in the caſe; not regarding the Pope's judgment: ſo that this inſtance may well be retorted, or uſed to prove the inſignificancy of papal authority then.

They allege alſo Dioſcorus of Alexandria depoſed by Pope Leo: but the caſe is very like to that of Neſtorius, and argueth the contrary to what they intend: he was, for his miſdemeanours, and violent countenancing of hereſy, ſolemnly in a general ſynod accuſed, tried, condemned, and depoſed; the which had long before been done, if in the Pope, his profeſſed and provoked adverſary, there had been ſufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmine alſo allegeth Pope Sixtus III. depoſing Polycronius, biſhop of Jeruſalem: but no ſuch Polycronius is to be found in the regiſters of biſhops then, or in the hiſtories of that buſy time, between the two great ſynods of Epheſus and Chalcedon; and the Acts of Sixtus, upon which this allegation is grounded, have ſo many inconſiſtencies, and ſmell ſo rank of forgery, that no conſcionable noſe could endure them; and any *prudent man,* as

[e] Μακαρία δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη, ἣ παρέσχεν ὁ κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς. *P. Celeſt. ad Clerum,* &c. *Conſt. Act. Eph.* p. 190.

[f] Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ καί σοι βυλητῆς συνοδικῷ γράμματι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πεποιῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντι καὶ φρονοῦντι κοινωνεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. *Cyril. Ep. ad Celeſt. Act. Eph.* p. 177.

[g] Τὸν τύπον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο. *Conc. Eph.* Act. iii. p. 331. Vid. Theodoſ. 2. Epiſt. in Conc. Eph. p. 224, 225.

Binius himſelf confeſſeth, *would aſſert them to be ſpurious.* Wherefore Baronius himſelf doth reject and deſpiſe them; who gladly would loſe no advantage for his maſter. Yet Pope Nicholas I. doth precede Bellarmine in citing this traſh; no wonder, that being the Pope who did avouch the wares of Iſidore Mercator. Baron. ann 433. ſect. 38, 39. P. Nich. I Epiſt. 8. (ad Mich.)

They allege Timotheus, the uſurper of Alexandria, depoſed by Pope Damaſus; and they have indeed the ſound of words atteſting to them; [h] *Theſe are heads upon which the B. Damaſus depoſed the hereticks Apolinarius, Vitalius, and Timotheus.* Fac. Herm. p. 150.

The truth is, that Apolinarius, with divers of his diſciples, in a great ſynod at Rome, at which Petrus, biſhop of Alexandria, together with Damaſus, was preſent, was condemned and diſavowed for heretical doctrine; whence Sozomen ſaith, that [i] *the Apolinarian hereſy was by Damaſus and Peter, at a ſynod in Rome, voted to be excluded from the Catholic Church.*

On which account if we conclude that the Pope had an authority to depoſe biſhops, we may by like reaſon infer that every patriarch and metropolitan had a power to do the like; there being ſo many inſtances of their having condemned and diſclaimed biſhops ſuppoſedly guilty of hereſy; as particularly John of Antioch, with his convention of oriental biſhops, did pretend to depoſe Cyril and Memnon, as guilty of the ſame Apolinarian hereſy; alleging that to [k] *exſcind them was the ſame thing as to ſettle orthodoxy.* The which depoſition was at firſt admitted by the Emperor.

The next inſtance is of Pope Agapetus (in Juſtinian's Ann. 536. Vict. Tun.

h Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τρισμακάριος Δάμασος καθεῖλεν Ἀπολινάριον, καὶ Βιτάλιον, καὶ Τιμόθεον τοὺς αἱρετικούς. *Orient. ad Rufum, apud Bin.* p. 396.

i Μαθὼν δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς πολλοὺς ἥρπαν πρῶτος Δάμασος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδου γενομένης ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο. *Soz.* vi. 25.

k Τὸ γὰρ τούτους ἐκκόψαι ἐδόκει ἴσον εἶναι καὶ ἀρθοδοξίαν θῆσαι. *Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act. Eph.* p. 380.

Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῆς Εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νεστορίῳ, καὶ Κυρίλλῳ, καὶ Μέμνονος καθαίρεσιν ἐδεξάμεθα. *Act.* p. 385.

time, for ſo deep into time is Bellarmine fain to dive for it) depoſing Anthimus, biſhop of Conſtantinople. But this inſtance being ſcanned will alſo prove ſlender and lame. The caſe was this: Anthimus having deſerted his charge at Trabiſonde did creep into the ſee of Conſtantinople, (a courſe then held irregular and repugnant to the canons,) and withal he had imbibed the Eutychian hereſy. Yet for his ſupport he had wound himſelf into the favour of the Empreſs Theodora, * a countenancer of the Eutychian ſect. Things ſtanding thus, Pope Agapetus (as an agent from Rome to crave ſuccour againſt the Goths, preſſing and menacing the city) did arrive at Conſtantinople. Whereupon the Empreſs defired of him to ſalute and conſort with Anthimus.[m] But he, by petitions of the monks, &c. underſtanding how things ſtood, did refuſe to do ſo, except Anthimus *would return to his own charge, and profeſs the orthodox doctrine.* Thereupon the Emperor joined with him to extrude Anthimus from Conſtantinople, and to ſubſtitute Menas. [n] *He,* ſay the monks in their libel of requeſt to the Emperor, *did juſtly thruſt this Anthimus from the epiſcopal chair of this city; your grace affording aid and force both to the Catholic faith and the divine canons.* The act of Agapetus was (according to his ſhare in the common intereſt) [o] to declare Anthimus, in his judgment, uncapable of catholic communion and of epiſcopal function by reaſon of his heretical opinions, and his tranſgreſſion of eccleſiaſtical orders; which moved Juſtinian effectually to depoſe and extrude him; [p] *You,* ſay they, *fulfilling that which he*

* Evag. iv. 10.

[m] Denique petentibus principibus, ut Anthimum Papa in ſalutatione et communicatione ſuſciperet; ille fieri inquit poſſe, ſi ſe libello probaret orthodoxum, et ad cathedram ſuam reverteretur. *Lib.* cap. 21.

Τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀθέσμως τολμώμενα μαθὼν ——. *Libell. Monach.* p. 7.

[n] Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον δικαίως ἐξωθήσας τοῦ τῆς δὶ τῆς πόλεως ἱερατικοῦ θρόνου, συνεκαμυήσης, καὶ συνεκισχυήσης τῇ τε καθολικῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς θείοις κανόσι τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας ——. *Ibid.* Et Syn. Decr. p. 43. Imper. Sanct. p. 128.

[o] Ἀποφηνάμενος —— μήτε καθολικοῦ μήτε ἱερέως αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα. *Synod. Dec.* p. 43.

[p] Τὰ ὧν παρ' ἐκείνου δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς κεκριμένα πληροῦντες, καὶ διὰ γενικῆς ὑμῶν νομοθεσίας κυροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ λοιποῦ τολμᾶσθαι ἀπαγορεύοντες ——.

justly and canonically did judge, and by your general edict confirming it; and forbidding that hereafter such things should be attempted—. And Agapetus himself saith, [q] that it was done by *the apostolical authority, and the assistance of the most faithful emperors.* The which proceeding was completed by decree of the synod under Menas, and that again was confirmed by the imperial sanction. Whence Evagrius, reporting the story, doth say, concerning Anthimus and Theodosius of Alexandria, that [r] *because they did cross the Emperor's commands, and did not admit the decrees of Chalcedon, they both were expelled from their sees.*

It seemeth by some passages in the Acts, that before Agapetus's intermeddling, * the monks and † orthodox bishops had condemned and rejected Anthimus; according to the common interest, which they assert all Christians to have in regard to the common faith.

* p. 10.
† p. 16.

As for the substitution of Menas, it was performed [s] *by the choice and suffrage of the Emperor, the clergy, nobles, and people conspiring;* the Pope only (which another bishop might have done) ordaining or consecrating him; [t] *Then,* saith Liberatus, *the Pope by the Emperor's favour did ordain Menas bishop, consecrating him with his hand.*

[u] And Agapetus did glory in this, as being the first ordination made of an eastern bishop by the hands of a Pope: [x] *And this,* said the Pope, *we conceive, doth add to his dignity, because the eastern church never since the time*

[q] Τῆς δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καθέδρας τὴν ὕβριν βοηθοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ Ἀποστολικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ, καὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων τῇ βοηθείᾳ διορθώσαμεν. p. 24.

[r] Ὅμως δ' οὖν ὡς ἀντικρὺ τῶν (l. ἀντὶ τῶν τοῦ) βασιλέως κελευσμάτων ἰόντες, καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συντεθειμένα ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐξελαθέτην θρόνων. *Evag.* iv. 11.

[s] Κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ ψῆφον τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς τῆσδε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας κλήρου ——.

[t] Tunc Papa principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit Antistitem, consecrans eum manu sua ——. *Lib.* cap. 21.

[u] Ὥστινι τῶν γεληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπεγέλασεν ἡ ἐπιλογὴ ——. *Act.* p. 24.

[x] Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀξίᾳ προστιθέναι, ὅτι περ ἐκ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Πέτρου οὐδένα ἄλλον οἱαδείποτε ἐκκλησία Ἀνατολικὴ ἐδέξατο ἐπίσκοπον ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθέδρας χειροτονηθέντα ——. *Ibid.*

of the Apoſtle Peter did receive any biſhop beſides him, by the impoſition of hands of thoſe who ſat in this our chair.

If we compare the proceedings of Agapetus againſt Anthimus, with thoſe of Theophilus againſt St. Chryſoſtom; they are (except the cauſe and qualities of perſons) in all main reſpects and circumſtances ſo like, that the ſame reaſon, which would ground a pretence of univerſal juriſdiction to one, would infer the ſame to the other.

Baron. ann. 484. ſect. 19. Vid. P. Felic. III. Ep. 6. P. Gelaſ. Ep. 4.

Baronius allegeth Acacius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, depoſed by Pope Felix III. But Pope Gelaſius aſſerteth, that any biſhop might, in execution of the canons, have diſclaimed Acacius, as a favourer of heretics. And Acacius did not only refuſe to ſubmit to the Pope's juriſdiction, but ſlighted it.[y] And the Pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual; for Acacius died in poſſeſſion of his ſee.

VIII. If Popes were ſovereigns of the Church, they could effectually, whenever they ſhould ſee it juſt and fit, [z] abſolve; reſtore any biſhop excommunicated from the Church, or depoſed from his office by eccleſiaſtical cenſure: for relief of the oppreſſed, or clemency to the diſtreſſed, are noble flowers in every ſovereign crown.

Wherefore the Pope doth aſſume this power, and reſerveth it to himſelf, as his ſpecial prerogative; [a] *It is*, ſays Baronius, *a privilege of the church of Rome only, that a biſhop depoſed by a ſynod may without another ſynod of a greater number be reſtored by the Pope;* and Pope Gelaſius I. ſays, [b] *That the ſee of St. Peter the Apoſtle has a right of looſing whatever the ſentences of other biſhops have*

[y] Ad cujus præcipue vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit. *Gelaſ.* Ep. 13.

[z] When a biſhop was unjuſtly cenſured upon malice or miſtake——when he did repent of his error or miſcarriage——when the caſe would upon any account bear favour or pity ——.

[a] Privilegium quidem ſolius eccleſiæ Romanæ eſſe reperitur, ut depoſitus a ſynodo epiſcopus abſque alia ſynodo majoris numeri reſtitui poſſit per Romanum Pontificem. *Baron.* ann. 449. ſect. 127.

[b] Quorumlibet ſententiis ligata pontificum ſedes B. Petri Apoſtoli jus habet reſolvendi. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 13.

bound.——[c] *That the apoſtolick ſee, according to frequent ancient cuſtom, had a power, no ſynod preceding, to abſolve thoſe whom a ſynod had unjuſtly condemned, and without a council to condemn thoſe who deſerved it.*

It was an old pretence of Popes, that biſhops were not condemned, except the Pope did conſent, renouncing communion with them. So Pope Vigilius ſaith of St. Chryſoſtom and Flavianus, that [d] *although they were violently excluded, yet were they not looked upon as condemned, becauſe the biſhops of Rome always inviolably kept communion with them.*

And before him Pope Gelaſius ſaith, that [e] *the Pope, by not conſenting to the condemnation of Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Flavianus, did abſolve them.*

But ſuch a power of old did not belong to him. For,

1. There is not extant any ancient canon of the Church, nor apparent footſteps of cuſtom, allowing ſuch a power to him.

2. Decrees of ſynods (*provincial* in the former times, and *dioceſan* afterwards) were inconſiſtent with, or repugnant to ſuch a power; for judgments concerning epiſcopal cauſes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be ſo by decrees of divers ſynods; and conſequently no power was reſerved to the Pope of thwarting them by reſtitution of any biſhop condemned in them.

3. The Apoſtolical Canons, (which at leaſt ſerve to prove or illuſtrate ancient cuſtom,) and divers ſynodical decrees, did prohibit entertaining communion with any perſon condemned or rejected by canonical judgment; without exception, or reſervation of power of infringing or relaxing that prohibition; and Pope Gelaſius himſelf

Can. Apoſt. 10, 11, 12, 13. Conc. Nic. Can. 5. Sard. 16, 17. Cod. Afr. 9. Conc. Antioch. 6, 15. Evag. ii. 4.

[c] Sedes apoſtolica frequenter more majorum, etiam ſine ulla ſynodo præcedente et abſolvendi quos ſynodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi nulla exiſtente ſynodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem ——. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 18.

[d] Qui licet violenter excluſi ſunt, non tamen pro damnatis ſunt habiti, eo quod ſemper inviolatam eorum communionem Rom. Pontifices ſervaverant. *P. Vigilius in Conſtit. Athan.* &c.

[e] Quem (Johannem Chryſ.) ſedes apoſtolica etiam ſola, quia non conſenſit, abſolvit. *P. Gelaſ.* Ep. 3.

ſays, [f] *That he who had polluted himſelf by holding communion with a condemned perſon, did partake of his condemnation.*

4. Whence in elder times Popes were oppoſed and checked when they offered to receive biſhops rejected in particular ſynods. So St. Cyprian declared the reſtitution of Baſilides by Pope Stephanus to be null. So the Fathers of the Antiochene Synod did reprehend Pope Julius for admitting Athanaſius and Marcellus to communion, or avowing them for biſhops, after their condemnation by ſynods. And the oriental biſhops of Sardica did excommunicate the ſame Pope for communicating with the ſame perſons. Which inſtances do ſhew, that the Pope was not then undoubtedly, or according to common opinion, endowed with ſuch a power.

Cypr. Ep. 68.

But whereas they do allege ſome inſtances of ſuch a power, I ſhall premiſe ſome general conſiderations apt to clear the buſineſs, and then apply anſwers to the particular allegations.

1. Reſtitution commonly doth ſignify no more, than acknowledging a perſon (although rejected by undue ſentence) to be *de jure* worthy of communion, and capable of the epiſcopal office; upon which may be conſequent an obligation to communicate with him, and to allow him his due character; according to the precept of St. Paul, *Follow righteouſneſs, faith, charity, peace, with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.*

2 Tim. ii. 22.

This may be done, when any man notoriouſly is perſecuted for the truth and righteouſneſs. Or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppreſſion of innocence. Or when the proceſs is extremely irregular: as in the caſes of Athanaſius, of St. Chryſoſtom—. And this is not an act of juriſdiction, but of equity and charity, incumbent on all biſhops: and there are promiſcuous inſtances of biſhops practiſing it. Thus Socrates ſaith, that Maximus, biſhop of Jeruſalem,

[f] Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus eſt particeps. *P. Gelaſ.* Ep. 13. (p. 640.)

[g] *did restore communion and dignity to Athanasius.* And so Cyril of Alexandria, and John of Antioch, being reconciled and reduced to a good understanding of each other, *did restore to each other their sees;* rescinding the censures, which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which sheweth that restitution is not always taken for an act of jurisdiction, wherein one is superior to another; for those persons were in rank and power coordinate.

Ἀλλήλοις τὰς θρόνους ἀπέδοσαν. *Socr.* vii. 31

2. Restitution sometime doth import no more than a considerable influence toward the effects of restoring a person to communion or office; no judicial act being exercised about the case; [h] *The Emperor writing that Paulus and Athanasius should be restored to their sees, availed nothing*—. That was a restitution without effect.

Thus a Pope's avowing the orthodoxy, or innocence, or worth of a person, after a due information about them, (by reason of the Pope's eminent rank in the Church, and the regard duly had to him,) might sometimes much conduce to restore a person; and might obtain the name of restitution, by an ordinary scheme of speech.

3. Sometimes persons said to be restored by Popes are also said to be restored by synods, with regard to such instance or testimony of Popes in their behalf. In which case the judicial restitution, giving right of recovery and completion thereto, was the act of the synod [i].

4. When cases were driven to a legal debate, Popes could not effectually resolve without a synod, their single acts not being held sufficiently valid. So notwithstanding the declarations of Pope Julius in favour of Athanasius, for the effectual resolution of his case the great Synod of Sardica was convened. So whatever Pope Innocent I.

[g] Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν. *Socr.* ii. 24.

[h] Γράψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀποδοθῆναι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους, οὐδὲν πλέον ἠνύετο. *Id.* ii. 20.

[i] *Note,* It is an ordinary style of votes in synods for the restitution of a bishop, *I restore.* Vid. *Conc. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 165. That is, I give my vote for his restitution.

did endeavour, he could not reſtore St. Chryſoſtom without a general ſynod.

Nor could Pope Leo reſtore Flavianus, depoſed in the Second Epheſine Synod, without convocation of a general ſynod, the which he did ſo often ſue for to the Emperor Theodoſius, for that purpoſe. Pope Simplicius affirmed, that Petrus Moggus, [k] *having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer,* (or uſurper of the Alexandrian ſee,) *could not without a common council be freed from condemnation.*

5. Particular inſtances do not aſcertain right to the perſon who aſſumeth any power; for buſybodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperors did ſometimes reſtore biſhops. Conſtantine, as he did baniſh Euſebius of Nicomedia and others, ſo he did revoke and reſtore them; ſo ſays Socrates, [l] *They were recalled from baniſhment by the Emperor's command, and received their churches.* Theodoſius did aſſert to Flavianus his right, whereof the Popes did pretend to deprive him; which did amount to a reſtitution; (at leaſt to the Romaniſts, who do aſſert Flavianus to be depoſed by the Popes.) Inſtantius and Priſcillianus were by the [m] *reſcript of the Emperor Gratianus reſtored to their churches.* Juſtinian did order Pope Silverius to be reſtored, in caſe he could prove his innocence.

Theod. v. 23.

7. Commonly reſtitution was not effectual without the Emperor's conſent; whence Theodoret, although allowed by the great ſynod, did acknowledge his reſtitution eſpecially due to the Emperor; as we ſhall ſee in reflecting on his caſe.

[k] Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum communi concilio damnatione liberari. *Lib.* cap. 18.

[l] Ἀνεκλήθησάν τε τῆς ἐξορίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτῶν ἐπίλαβον. *Socr.* i. 14.

[m] Reſcriptum eliciunt, quo calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, reſtitui eccleſiis jubebantur: hoc freti Inſtantius et Priſcillianus repetivere Hiſpanias. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63.

Revocari Romam Silverium juſſit, et de literis illis judicium fieri, ut—ſi falſæ fuiſſent probatæ, reſtitueretur ſedi ſuæ. *Liberat. Breviar.* cap. 22.

Now to the particular inſtances produced for the Pope, we anſwer:

1. They pretend, that Pope Stephanus did reſtore Baſilides and Martialis, Spaniſh biſhops, who had been depoſed; for which they quote St. Cyprian's Epiſtle, where he ſays, [n] *Baſilides going to Rome impoſed upon our colleague, Stephen, who lived a great way off, and was ignorant of the truth of the matter; ſeeking unjuſtly to be reſtored to his biſhoprick, from which he had juſtly been depoſed.*

But we anſwer; the Pope did attempt ſuch a reſtitution by way of influence and teſtimony, not of juriſdiction; wherefore the reſult of his act in St. Cyprian's judgment was null and blameable; which could not be ſo deemed, if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable ſentence, paſſed by juſt authority, is valid, and hardly liable to cenſure.[o] The clergy of thoſe places, notwithſtanding that pretended reſtitution, did conceive thoſe biſhops uncapable; and did requeſt the judgment of St. Cyprian about it; which argueth the Pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in ſuch caſes. St. Cyprian denieth the Pope, or any other perſon, to have power of reſtoring in ſuch a caſe; and exhorteth the clergy to perſiſt [p] *in declining the communion of thoſe biſhops.* Well doth Rigaltius aſk, [q] why they ſhould write

[n] Romam pergens Stephanum collegam noſtrum longe poſitum, et geſtæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi ſe injuſte in epiſcopatum, de quo fuerat juſte depoſitus. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[o] —— quare etſi aliqui de collegis noſtris extiterunt, qui deificam diſciplinam negligendam putant ——.

(Nec cenſuræ congruit ſacerdotum mobilis atque inconſtantis animi levitate reprehendi. *Id.* Ep. 55.)

—— epiſcopatum gerere, et ſacerdotium Dei adminiſtrare non oportere.

Deſiderâſtis ſollicitudinem veſtram vel ſolatio vel auxilio ſententiæ noſtræ ſublevari.

Nec perſonam in ejuſmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri poteſt humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit et legem tribuit divina præſcriptio.

[p] —— quantum poſſumus adhortamur, ne vos cum profanis et maculatis ſacerdotibus communicatione ſacrilega miſceatis.

[q] Sed cur ad Cyprianum ſi poteſtas infinita penes Romanum? *Rigalt.* ibid.

to St. Cyprian, if the judgment of Stephanus was decisive; and he addeth, that indeed [q] *the Spaniards did appeal from the Roman bishop to him of Carthage.* No wonder, seeing the Pope had no greater authority, and probably St. Cyprian had the fairer reputation for wisdom and goodness. Considering which things, what can they gain by this instance? which indeed doth considerably make against them.

2. They allege the restitution of Athanasius, and of others linked in cause with him, by Pope Julius. [r] *He,* says Sozomen, *as having the care of all by reason of the dignity of his see, restored to each his own church.*

I answer, the Pope did not restore them judicially, but declaratively; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. Julius in his own defence did allege, that Athanasius was not legally rejected; so that without any prejudice to the canons he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account, plainly did not require any act of judgment.

Ὡς ὁμοδόξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο. Soz. iii. 8. Julii Epist. apud Ath. in Apol. 2.

Nay it was necessary to avow those bishops, as suffering in the cause of the common faith. Besides, the Pope's proceeding was taxed, and protested against, as irregular; nor did he defend it by virtue of a general power that he had judicially to rescind the acts of synods. And, lastly, the restitution of Athanasius and the other bishops had no complete effect, till it was confirmed by the Synod of Sardica, backed by the imperial authority; which in effect did restore them. This instance therefore is in many respects deficient as to their purpose.

Socr. i. 36. 3. They produce Marcellus being restored by the same Pope Julius.

But that instance, beside the forementioned defects, hath this, that the Pope was grievously mistaken in the case; whence St. Basil much blameth him for his proceeding therein.

Bas. Ep. 10.

[q] —— datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginiensem adversus Romanum. *Rigalt.*

[r] Οἷα δὲ πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαλλησίαν ἀπέδωκε. Soz. iii. 8.

4. They cite the reſtitution of Euſtathius (biſhop of Sebaſtia) by Pope Liberius, out of an Epiſtle of St. Baſil, where he ſays, [s] *What the moſt bleſſed biſhop Liberius propoſed to him, and to what he conſented, we know not; only that he brought a letter to be reſtored, and upon ſhewing it to the Synod at Tyana was reſtored to his ſee.*

I anſwer, that reſtitution was only from an invalid depoſition by a Synod of Arians at Melitine; importing only an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his faith profeſſed by him at Rome; the which had ſuch influence to the ſatisfaction of the Dioceſan Synod at Tyana, that he was reſtored. Although indeed the Romans were abuſed by him, he not being found in faith; for [t] *he now*, ſaith St. Baſil, *doth deſtroy that faith for which he was received*——. Soz. iv. 24.

5. They adjoin, that Theodoret was reſtored by Pope Leo I. for in the Acts of the Synod of Chalcedon it is ſaid, that [u] *he did receive his place from the biſhop of Rome.*

I anſwer, the act of Leo did conſiſt in an approbation of the faith, which Theodoret did profeſs to hold; and a reception of him to communion thereupon; which he might well do, ſeeing the ground of Theodoret's being diſclaimed was a miſpriſion, that he (having oppoſed Cyril's writings, judged orthodox) did err in faith, conſenting with Neſtorius. Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο —. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. viii. p. 368.

Theodoret's ſtate before the Second Ephefine Synod is thus repreſented in the words of the Emperor; [v] *Theodoret, biſhop of Cyrus, whom we have before commanded to mind*

[s] Τίνα μέν ἐστιν ἃ προεστάθη αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ αὐτὸς συνέθετο ἀγνοῦμεν· πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτὸν, ἣν ἀποδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ ——. *Baſ.* Ep. 74.

[t] Οὗτος νῦν παρθεῖ τὴν πίστιν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη. *Id.*

[u] Τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβὼν τόπον παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλωνύμου Ῥώμης ——. *Act.* i. p. 53.

[v] Θεοδώρητον μέν τοι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, ὃν ἤδη ἐκελεύσαμεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μόνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σχολάζειν, διατίζομεν μὴ πρότερον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ἐὰν μὴ πάσῃ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ συνελθούσῃ δέξῃ καὶ αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι, ᾗ κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου. *Imp. Theod. Epiſt. ad Dioſc. in Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 53.

only his own church, we charge not to come to the holy ſynod, before the whole ſynod being met, it ſhall ſeem good to them that he come and bear his part in it.

[x] He was not perfectly depoſed; as others were, who had others ſubſtituted in their places. He was depoſed by the Epheſine Synod.

The Pope was indeed ready enough to aſſume the patronage of ſo very learned and worthy a man, who in ſo very ſuppliant and reſpectful a way had addreſſed to him for ſuccour; for whom doth not courtſhip mollify? And the majority of the ſynod (being inflamed againſt Dioſcorus and the Eutychian party) was ready enough to allow what the Pope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the ſynod (the biſhops of Egypt, of Paleſtine, of Illyricum,) notwithſtanding the Pope's reſtitution, (that is, his approbation in order thereto,) did ſtickle againſt his admiſſion into the ſynod; [y] *Crying out, Have pity on us, the faith is deſtroyed, the canons proſcribe this man, caſt him out, caſt out Neſtorius's maſter.* So that the imperial agents were fain to compromiſe the buſineſs, permitting him to ſit in the ſynod, as one whoſe caſe was dependent, but not in the notion of one abſolutely reſtored. [z] *Theodoret's preſence ſhall prejudice no man, each one's right of impleading being reſerved both to you and him.*

He therefore was not entirely reſtored, till upon a clear and ſatisfactory profeſſion of his faith he was acquitted by the judgment of the ſynod. The effectual reſtitution of him proceeded from the Emperor, who repealed the proceedings againſt him; as himſelf doth acknowledge; [a] *All theſe things,* ſays he, *has the moſt juſt Emperor eva-*

[x] Pro Theodoreto autem et Euſebio nullus ordinatus eſt. *Liberat.* 12. Vid. Conc. Chalc. part. iii. p. 490. Excludi vero ab epiſcopatu, &c. in imperatoris. *Theod. reſcript.*

[y] Ἐξεβόησαν, ἱλεήσατε, ἡ πίστις ἀπόλλυται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσιν, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίου ἔξω βάλε. *Id.* p. 54.

[z] Προκρίμα ἀπὸ τῦ παρεῖναι Θεοδώρητον ὑδενὶ γενήσεται, φυλαττομένε δηλονότι μετὰ ταῦτα παντὸς λόγυ καὶ ὑμῖν, κ ἐκείνῳ ——. *Ibid.*

[a] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέλυκεν ὁ δικαιότατος βασιλεὺς ——. *Id.* Ep. 139. (*ad Aſperam.*)

cuated——[b] *to theſe things he premiſed the redreſſing my injuries;* and the imperial judges in the Synod of Chalcedon join the Emperor in the reſtitution.—[c] *Let the moſt reverend Theodoret enter, and bear his part in the ſynod; ſince the moſt holy Archbiſhop Leo and ſacred Emperor have reſtored his biſhoprick to him.* Hence it may appear that the Pope's reſtitution of Theodoretus was only opinionative, dough-baked, incomplete; ſo that it is but a ſlim advantage, which their pretence can receive from it.

IX. It belongeth to ſovereigns to receive *appeals* from all lower judicatures, for the final determination of cauſes; ſo that no part of his ſubjects can obſtruct reſort to him, or prohibit his reviſion of any judgment.

This power therefore the Pope doth moſt ſtiffly aſſert to himſelf. At the Synod of Florence, this was the firſt and great branch of authority, which he did demand of the Greeks explicitly to avow:—[d] *He will* (ſaid his three cardinals to the Emperor) *have all the privileges of his church, and that appeals be made to him.* When Pope Alexander III. was adviſed not to receive an appeal in Becket's caſe, he replied in that profane alluſion; [e] *This is my glory, which I will not give to another.* He hath been wont to encourage all people, even upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, *iter arripere,* (as the phraſe is obvious in their canon law,) to run with all haſte to his audience; [f] *Concerning appeals for the ſmalleſt cauſes we would have you hold, that the ſame deference is to be given them for how ſlight a matter ſoever they be made, as if they*

[b] Προσίθησι τούτοις τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τὴν ἴασιν ——. *Ep.* 138. (*ad Anatol.*)

[c] Εἰσίτω καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος Θεοδώρητος κοινωνήσων τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, ὁ θειότατος βασιλεὺς ——. *Act.* i. p. 53.

[d] Θέλει τὰ προνόμια πάντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῆ, ὁ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον ——. *Syn. Flor.* Seſſ. xxv. p. 846.

[e] Hæc eſt gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

[f] De appellationibus pro minimis cauſis volumus te tenere, quod eis pro quacunque levi cauſa fiant, non minus eſt, quam ſi pro majoribus fierent, deferendum. *Alex. III. Ep. ad Vigorn. Epiſc. in Decret. Greg.* lib. ii. tit. 28. cap. 11.

were for a greater. See, if you pleaſe, in Gratian's Decree, Cauſ. ii. quæſt. 6. where many papal decrees (moſt indeed drawn out of the ſpurious epiſtles of aneient Popes, but ratified by their ſucceſſors, and obtaining for current law) are made for appeals to the ſee of Rome.

Cauſ. ii. qu. 6. iii. 6. ix. 8. cap. 18.

It was indeed one of the moſt ancient encroachments, and that which did ſerve moſt to introduce the reſt; inferring hence a title to an univerſal juriſdiction: [g] *They are the canons,* ſays Pope Nicholas I. *which will that all appeals of the whole Church be brought to the examination of this ſee, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it, and that thus ſhe judge of the whole Church; but herſelf goes to be judged by none other:* and the ſame Pope, in another of his Epiſtles, ſays, [h] *The holy ſtatutes and venerable decrees have committed the cauſes of biſhops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us——. As the Synod has appointed and uſage requires, let greater and difficult caſes be always referred to the apoſtolick ſee,* ſays Pope Pelagius II. [k] *They are the canons which will have the appeals of the whole Church tried by this ſee,* ſaith Pope Gelaſius I.

But this power is upon various accounts unreaſonable, grievous, and vexatious to the Church; as hath been deemed, and upon divers occaſions declared, by the ancient Fathers, and grave perſons in all times; upon accounts not only blaming the horrible abuſe of appeals, but implying the great miſchiefs inſeparably adherent to them.

The Synod of Baſil thus excellently declared concern-

[g] Ipſi ſunt canones, qui appellationes totius eccleſiæ ad hujus ſedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipſa vero nuſquam prorſus appellari debere ſanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota eccleſia judicare ipſam ad nullius commeare judicium. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 8.

[h] Sacra ſtatuta, et veneranda decreta epiſcoporum cauſas, utpote majora negotia noſtræ definiendas cenſuræ mandarunt. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 38.

[i] Majores vero et difficiles quæſtiones (ut ſancta ſynodus ſtatuit, et bona conſuetudo exigit) ad ſedem apoſtolicam ſemper referantur. *P. Pelag. II. Epiſt.* 8.

[k] Ipſi ſunt canones, qui appellationes totius eccleſiæ ad hujus ſedis examen voluere deferri *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4.

ing them: [l] *Hitherto many abuſes of intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilſt many have too often been called and cited from the moſt remote parts to the court of Rome, and that ſometime for ſmall and trifling matters, and with charges and trouble to be ſo wearied, that they ſometime think it their beſt way to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loſs, rather than be at the coſt of ſuing in ſo remote a country.*

St. Bernard complaineth of the miſchiefs of appeals in his times, in theſe words: [m] *How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole world, or make as if you were ſo? Why ſleep you? When will the conſideration of ſo great confuſion and abuſe in appeals awake in you? They are made without right or equity, without due order, and againſt cuſtom. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cauſe, nor perſon, are conſidered: they are everywhere made lightly, and, for the moſt part, unjuſtly:* with much more paſſionate language to the ſame purpoſe.

But in the primitive Church the Pope had no ſuch power.

1. Whereas in the firſt times many cauſes and differences did ariſe, wherein they who were condemned and worſted would readily have reſorted thither, where they might have hoped for remedy, if Rome had been ſuch a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it; and we ſhould find hiſtory full of ſuch examples; whereas it is very ſilent about them.

2. The moſt ancient cuſtoms and canons of the Church are flatly repugnant to ſuch a power; for they did order cauſes finally to be decided in each province.

So the Synod of Nice did decree; as the African Fa-

[l] Concil. Baſil. Seſſ. xxxi. (p. 86.) Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abuſus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotiſſimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, et evocari conſueverunt, atque ita expenſis et laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur juri ſuo cedere, aut vexationem ſuam gravi damno redimere, quam in tam longinqua regione litium ſubire diſpendia, &c. Vid. *Opt.*

[m] Bern. de Conſid. lib. iii. cap. 2. Quouſque murmur univerſæ terræ aut diſſimulas, aut non advertis?—— &c.

thers did allege, in defence of their refuſal to allow appeals to the Pope: [n]*The Nicene decrees,* ſaid they, *moſt evidently did commit both clergymen of inferior degrees and biſhops to their metropolitans.*

So Theophilus in his Epiſtle; [o]*I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant what the canons of the Nicene Council command, ordaining that a biſhop ſhould judge no cauſe out of his own diſtrict.*

3. Afterward, when the *dioceſan* adminiſtration was introduced, the laſt reſort was decreed to the ſynods of them, (or to the *primates* in them,) all other appeals being prohibited; [p]*as diſhonourable to the biſhops of the dioceſe; reproaching the canons, and ſubverting eccleſiaſtical order:* to which canon the Emperor Juſtinian referred; [q]*For it is decreed by our anceſtors, that againſt the ſentence of theſe prelates there ſhould be no appeal.* So Conſtantius told Pope Liberius; [r]*that thoſe things which had a form of judgment paſſed on them could not be reſcinded.* This was the practice (at leaſt in the eaſtern parts of the Church) in the time of Juſtinian; as is evident by the Conſtitutions extant in the Code and in the Novels[s].

Can. 12. Conc. Ant. Can. 15. Con. Carth. Can. 31.

4. In derogation to this pretence, divers provincial ſynods expreſsly did prohibit all appeals from their deciſions.

That of Milevis; [t]*Let them appeal only to African*

[n] Decreta Nicena ſive inferioris gradus clericos, ſive epiſcopos ſuis metropolitanis apertiſſime commiſerunt. *Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celeſt.*

[o] Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni Concilii Canones, ſancientes epiſcopum non judicare cauſam citra terminos ſuos —— nam —— *Palład.* cap. 7.

[p] *Note,* That the Synod of Conſtantinople, (Can. 6.) mentioning appeals to the Emperor, ſecular judicatories, a general ſynod, ſaith,

Ἀτιμάσας τὰς τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους, &c. *Syn. Conſt.* Can. 6. Concil. Conſtantinop. Can. 2, 6. Concil. Chalced. Can. 9, 17.

[q] Nam contra horum antiſtitum ſententias non eſſe locum appellationi a majoribus noſtris conſtitutum eſt. *Cod. Lib.* i. tit. 4. cap. 29.

[r] Τὰ ἤδη τύπον ἰσχηκότα ἀναλύεσθαι ὐ δύνασται. *Theod.* xi. 16.

[s] Nov. cxxiii. cap. 22. Cod. Lib. i. tit. 4. ſect. 29. Vid. Græc.

[t] Non provocent niſi ad Africana Concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum; ad tranſmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo infra Africam in communionem ſuſcipiatur. *Conc. Milev.* cap. 22. *Conc. Afr.* Can. 72.

Councils or the primates of provinces; and he who ſhall think of appealing beyond ſea, let him be admitted into communion by none in Africk.

[u] *For if the Nicene Council took this care of the inferior clergy, how much more did they intend it ſhould relate to biſhops alſo?*

5. All perſons were forbidden to entertain communion with biſhops condemned by any one church; which is inconſiſtent with their being allowed relief at Rome.

6. This is evident in the caſe of Marcion, by the aſſertion of the Roman church at that time.

7. When the Pope hath offered to receive appeals, or to meddle in caſes before decided, he hath found oppoſition and reproof. Thus when Feliciſſimus and Fortunatus, having been cenſured and rejected from communion in Africk, did apply themſelves to Pope Cornelius, with ſupplication to be admitted by him; St. Cyprian maintaineth that fact to be irregular and unjuſt, and not to be countenanced, for divers reaſons. Likewiſe, when Baſilides and Martialis, being for their crimes depoſed in Spain, had recourſe to Pope Stephanus for reſtitution, the clergy and people there had no regard to the judgment of the Pope; the which their reſolution St. Cyprian did commend and encourage. Cypr. Ep. 55. (ad Cornelium.) Cypr. Ep. 68.

When Athanaſius, Marcellus, Paulus, &c. having been condemned by ſynods, did apply themſelves for relief to Pope Julius; the oriental biſhops did highly tax this courſe as irregular; diſclaiming any power in him to receive them, or meddle in their cauſe. Nor could Pope Julius by any law or inſtance diſprove their plea; nor did the Pope aſſert to himſelf any peculiar authority to reviſe the cauſe, or otherwiſe juſtify his proceeding, than by right common to all biſhops of vindicating right and innocence, which were oppreſſed; and of aſſerting the faith, for which they were perſecuted. Indeed at firſt the oriental biſhops were contented to refer the cauſe to Pope

[u] Nam ſi de inferioribus clericis in Concilio Niceno hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de epiſcopis voluit obſervari? *Conc. Afr.* Can. 105. (*vel Epiſt.*)

Julius as arbitrator; which ſignifieth that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their cauſe or his prejudice, they ſtarted, and ſtood to the canonicalneſs of the former deciſion.

The conteſt of the African church with Pope Celeſtine, in the cauſe of Apiarius, is famous; and the reaſons which they aſſign for repelling that appeal are very notable and peremptory.

8. Divers of the Fathers allege like reaſons againſt appeals. [u] St. Cyprian allegeth theſe:

1. Becauſe there was an eccleſiaſtical law againſt them.

2. Becauſe they contain iniquity; as prejudicing the right of each biſhop granted by Chriſt, in governing his flock.

3. Becauſe the clergy and people ſhould not be engaged to run gadding about.

4. Becauſe cauſes might better be decided there, where witneſſes of fact might eaſily be had.

5. Becauſe there is everywhere a competent authority, equal to any that might be had otherwhere.

6. Becauſe it did derogate from the gravity of biſhops to alter their cenſure——.

7. Pope Liberius deſired of Conſtantius that the judgment of Athanaſius might be made in Alexandria for ſuch reaſons, [x] *becauſe there the accuſed, the accuſers, and their defender were.*

8. St. Chryſoſtom's argument againſt Theophilus meddling in his caſe may be ſet againſt Rome as well as Alexandria.

9. St. Auſtin, in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid arbitration, (more proper for eccleſiaſtical cauſes,) doth conjoin other apoſtolical churches with that of Rome;

[u] Refer ad ſect. 7. Vid. ſupr. Oportet utique eos quibus præſumus non circumcurſare, nec epiſcoporum concordiam cohærentem ſua ſubdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, ſed agere illic cauſam ſuam, ubi et accuſatores habere, et teſtes ſui criminis poſſint. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

[x] —— ἵνθα ὁ ἐγκαλέμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές τίνι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιπαιόμενος αὐτῶν ——. *Theod.* xj. 16.

[y] *For the buſineſs*, ſays he, *was not about prieſts and deacons, or the inferior clergy, but the colleagues,* [*biſhops,*] *who may reſerve their cauſe entire for the judgment of their colleagues, eſpecially thoſe of the apoſtolical churches.* He would not have ſaid ſo, if he had apprehended that the Pope had a peculiar right of reviſing judgments.

10. Pope Damaſus (or rather Pope Siricius) doth affirm himſelf incompetent to judge in a caſe which had been afore determined by the Synod of Capua;—[z] *but*, ſays he, *ſince the Synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it.*

11. Anciently there were no appeals (properly ſo called, or juriſdictional) in the Church; they were, as Socrates telleth us, introduced by Cyril of Jeruſalem; who [a] *firſt did appeal to a greater judicature, againſt eccleſiaſtical rule and cuſtom.* This is an argument, that about that time (a little before the great Synod of Conſtantinople) greater judicatories, or *dioceſan* ſynods, were eſtabliſhed; whenas before *provincial* ſynods were the laſt reſorts.

12. Upon many occaſions appeals were not made to the Pope, as in all likelihood they would have been, if it had been ſuppoſed that a power of receiving them did belong to him. Paulus Samoſatenus did appeal to the Emperor. The Donatiſts did not appeal to the Pope, but to the Emperor[b]. Their cauſe was by the Emperor referred, not to the Pope ſingly, (as it ought to have been, and would have been by ſo juſt a prince, if it had been his right,) but to him and other judges as the Emperor's

[y] Neque enim de preſbyteris aut diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis clericis, ſed de collegis agebatur qui poſſunt aliorum collegarum judicio, præſertim apoſtolicarum eccleſiarum, cauſam ſuam integram reſervare. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

[z] Sed cum hujuſmodi fuerit Concilii Capuenſis judicium —— advertimus quod a nobis judicandi forma competere non poſſit.

[a] Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν, ἐκκλήτους ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος. *Socr.* ii. 40.

Καθαιρεθεὶς δ' ὃν ὅμως ἐκκλήτου βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μᾶζον ἐπεκαλέσατο δικαστήριον. *Ibid.*

Being depoſed, he ſent a libel of appeal to them who depoſed him, appealing to a greater judicature.

[b] Illos vero ab eccleſiaſtico judicio provocaſſe, &c. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

Ad Imperatorem appellaverunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

commiſſioners[c]. Athanaſius did firſt appeal to the Emperor. St. Chryſoſtom did requeſt the Pope's ſuccour, but he did not appeal to him as judge; although he knew him favourably diſpoſed, and the cauſe ſure in his hand; but he appealed to a General Council: the which Innocent himſelf did conceive *neceſſary* for deciſion of that cauſe.

'Αναγκαία ἐστὶ διάγνωσις συνοδική. *Sozom.* viii. 26.

[There are in hiſtory innumerable inſtances of biſhops being condemned and expelled from their ſees, but few of appeals; which is a ſign that was no approved remedy in common opinion.]

Infra. Eutyches did appeal to all the Patriarchs. Theodoret

Infra. did intend to appeal to all the weſtern biſhops.

13. Thoſe very canons of Sardica (the moſt unhappy that ever were made to the Church) which did introduce appeals to the Pope, do yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and do upon no account favour that uſe of them, to which (to the overthrow of all eccleſiaſtical liberty and good diſcipline) they have been perverted. For,

1. They do pretend to confer a privilege on the Pope; which argueth that he before had no claim thereto.

2. They do qualify and reſtrain that privilege to certain caſes and forms; which is a ſign, that he had no power therein flowing from abſolute ſovereignty: for it is ſtrange, that they who did pretend and intend ſo much to favour him ſhould clip his power.

3. It is not really a power which they grant of receiving appeals in all cauſes; but a power of conſtituting judges, qualified according to certain conditions, to reviſe a ſpecial ſort of cauſes concerning the judgment and depoſition of biſhops. Which conſiderations do ſubvert his pretence to original and univerſal juriſdiction upon appeals.

14. Some Popes did challenge juriſdiction upon ap-

[c] Quid quod nec ipſe uſurpavit; rogatus Imperator judices miſit epiſcopos qui cum ipſo ſederent, et de tota illa cauſa quod juſtum videretur ſtatuerent. *Aug.* Ep. 162.

peals, as given them by the Nicene Canons, meaning thereby thoſe of Sardica; which ſheweth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right. And otherwhere we ſhall conſider what validity thoſe canons may be allowed to have.

15. The General Synod of Chalcedon (of higher authority than that of Sardica) derived appeals, at leaſt in the eaſtern churches, into another channel; namely, to the *primate* of each *dioceſe*, or to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. That this was the laſt reſort doth appear, from that otherwiſe they would have mentioned the Pope. Can. 9, 17.

16. Appeals in caſes of faith or general diſcipline were indeed ſometimes made to the conſideration of the Pope; but not only to him, but to all other patriarchs and primates, as concerned in the common maintenance of the common faith or diſcipline. So did Eutyches appeal to the patriarchs.

17. The Pope, even in later times, even in the weſtern parts, hath found rubs in his trade of appeals. Conſider the ſcuffle between Pope Nicholas I. and Hincmarus, biſhop of Rhemes. Baron. ann. 865——. P. Nic. I. Ep. 37, &c.

18. Chriſtian ſtates, to prevent the intolerable vexations and miſchiefs ariſing from this practice, have been conſtrained to make laws againſt them. Particularly England. Vid. Matt. Paris, ann. 1094. Statutes of proviſors, premunire, &c.

In the twelfth age Pope Paſchal II. complained of King Henry I. [d] *that he deprived the oppreſſed of the benefit of appealing to the apoſtolick ſee.* It was one of King Henry Iſt's laws, — [e] *none is permitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to the apoſtolick ſee.* [f] *Foreign judgments we utterly remove,* — [g] *there let the cauſe be tried where the crime was committed.* It was one of

[d] Vos oppreſſis apoſtolicæ ſedis appellationem ſubtrahitis. *Eadm.* p. 113.

[e] Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad ſedem apoſtolicam deſtinantur. *Ibid.*

[f] Peregrina judicia modis omnibus ſubmovemus. *Hen. I. Leg.* cap. 31.

[g] Ibi ſemper cauſa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur. *Ibid.*

the grievances ſent to Pope Innocent IV. [h] *that Engliſhmen were drawn out of the kingdom by the Pope's authority, to have their cauſes heard.*

Nor in after times were appeals by law in any caſe permitted without the king's leave; although ſometimes by the facility of princes, or difficulty of times, the Roman court (ever importunate and vigilant for its profits) did obtain a relaxation or neglect of laws inhibiting appeals.

19. There were appeals from Popes to General Councils very frequently. Vid. The ſenate of Paris after the concordates between Lewis XI. and Pope Leo X.

πᾶσα ψυχή. Rom. xiii. 1. 20. By many laws and inſtances it appeareth, that appellations have been made to the Emperors in the greateſt cauſes; and that without Popes reclaiming or taking it Acts xxv. 15. in bad part. St. Paul did *appeal to Cæſar.* [i] Paulus Samoſatenus did appeal to Aurelianus. So the Donatiſts * Apol. ii. p. 804. † Ath. Apol. ii. p. 797, 798. did appeal to Conſtantine. * Athanaſius to Conſtantine. The † Egyptian biſhops to Conſtantine. [k] Priſcillianus to Maximus. Idacius to Gracian. So that canons were made to reſtrain biſhops from recourſe *ad comitatum.*

21. Whereas they do allege inſtances for appeal, thoſe well conſidered do prejudice their cauſe; for they are few, in compariſon to the occaſions of them, that ever did ariſe; they are near all of them late, when papal encroachments had grown; ſome of them are very impertinent to the cauſe; ſome of them may ſtrongly be retorted againſt them; all of them are invalid.

If the Pope originally had ſuch a right, (known, unqueſtionable, prevalent,) there might have been producible many, ancient, clear, proper, concluding inſtances.

Bell. ii. 21. All that Bellarmine (after his own ſearch, and that of

[h] Quod Anglici extra regnum in cauſis auctoritate apoſtolica trahuntur. *Matt. Paris.* p. 699. 10.

[i] Ad imperatorem appellaverunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

[k] Ad principem provocavit. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 64. *Id.* ii. 63. *Conc. Ant.* Can. P. de Marca. iv. 4——.

his predeceſſors in controverſy) could muſter, are theſe following; upon which we ſhall briefly reflect: (adding a few others, which may be alleged by them.)

He allegeth Marcion, as appealing to the Pope. Ann. 142.

The truth was, that Marcion, for having corrupted a maid, was by his own father, biſhop of Sinope, [l] *driven from the Church;* whereupon he did thence [m] *fly to Rome,* there *begging admittance to communion, but none did grant it:* at which he expoſtulating, they replied, [n] *We cannot without the permiſſion of thy honourable father do this; for there is one faith, and one concord; and we cannot croſs thy father our good fellow-miniſter.* This was the caſe and iſſue: and is it not ſtrange this ſhould be produced for an appeal, which was only a ſupplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion; and wherein is utterly diſclaimed any power to thwart the judgment of a particular biſhop or judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? Should the Pope return the ſame anſwer to every appellant, what would become of his privilege? So that they muſt give us leave to retort this as a pregnant inſtance againſt their pretence.

He allegeth the forementioned addreſs of Feliciſſimus and Fortunatus to Pope Cornelius; the which was but a factious circumcurſation of deſperate wretches; the which, or any like it, St. Cyprian argueth the Pope in law and equity obliged not to regard; becauſe a definitive ſentence was already paſſed on them by their proper judges in Africk, from whom in conſcience and reaſon there could be no appeal. So Bellarmine would filch from us one of our invincible arguments againſt him. Cypr. Ep. 55. ann. 252.

He alſo allegeth the caſe of Baſilides; which alſo we before did ſhew to make againſt him; his application to Cypr. Ep. 68.

[l] Epiph. Hær. 42. Ἐξιῶται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

[m] Ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἄνεσιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

[n] Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γάρ ἐστι πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυναμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ.

the Pope being diſavowed by St. Cyprian, and proving ineffectual.

Theſe are all the inſtances which the firſt three hundred years did afford; ſo that all that time this great privilege lay dormant.

Ann. 350. He allegeth the recourſe of Athanaſius to Pope Julius; but this was not properly to him as to a judge, but as to a fellow-biſhop, a friend of truth and right, for his ſuccour and countenance againſt perſecutors of him, chiefly for his orthodoxy [o]. The Pope did undertake to examine his plea, partly as arbitrator upon reference of both parties; partly for his own concern, to ſatisfy himſelf whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the Pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent judges; and that therefore the pretended ſentence was null; and conſequently he did not undertake the cauſe as upon appeal. But whereas his proceeding did look like an exerciſe of juriſdiction, derogatory to a ſynodical reſolution of the caſe, he was oppoſed by the oriental biſhops, as uſurping
Socr. ii. 20. an undue power. Unto which charge he doth not anſwer directly, by aſſerting to himſelf any ſuch authority by law or cuſtom; but otherwiſe excuſing himſelf. In the iſſue, the Pope's ſentence was not peremptory; until, upon examining the merits of the cauſe, it was approved for juſt, as to matter, by the Synod of Sardica [p]. Theſe things otherwhere we have largely ſhewed; and conſequently this inſtance is deficient.

He allegeth St. Chryſoſtom, as appealing to Pope Innocent I. [q] but if you read his Epiſtles to that Pope, you will find no ſuch matter; he doth only complain, and declare to him the iniquity of the proceſs againſt him, not as to a judge, but as to a friend and fellow-biſhop concerned, that ſuch injurious and miſchievous dealings

[o] Διδάσκοντες ἐπὶ καταλύσεως τῆς πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέσεις γινέσθαι. *Socr.* ii. 20.

[p] Ὥστε (Athanaſius et Paulus) τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου τέλος λαβεῖν. *Ibid.*

[q] Tom. vii. Epiſt. 122, 123. Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

ſhould be ſtopped[r]; requeſting from him, not judgment of his cauſe, but ſuccour in procuring it by a general ſynod; to which indeed he did appeal, as Sozomen expreſsly telleth us; and as indeed he doth himſelf affirm[s]. Accordingly Pope Innocent did not aſſume to himſelf the judgment of his cauſe, but did endeavour to procure a Synod for it, affirming it to be *needful:* why ſo, if his own judgment, according to his privilege, did ſuffice? Why indeed did not Pope Innocent (being well ſatisfied in the caſe, yea paſſionately touched with it) preſently ſummon Theophilus and his adherents, undertaking the trial? Did Pope Nicholas I. proceed ſo in the caſe of Rhotaldus? [t] Why was he content only *to write conſolatory letters to him, and to his people;* not pretending to undertake the deciſion of his cauſe? If the Pope had been endowed with ſuch a privilege, it is morally impoſſible that it ſhould not have ſhone forth clearly upon this occaſion; it could hardly be that St. Chryſoſtom himſelf ſhould not in plain terms avow it; that he ſhould not formally apply to it, as the moſt certain and eaſy way of finding relief; that he ſhould not earneſtly mind and urge the Pope to uſe his privilege: why ſhould he ſpeak of that tedious and difficult way of a *general ſynod,* when ſo ſhort and eaſy a way was at hand? But the truth is, he did not know any ſuch power the Pope had by himſelf. St. Chryſoſtom rather did conceive all ſuch foreign judicatures to be unreaſonable and unjuſt; for the argument which he darteth at Theophilus doth as well reach the papal juriſdiction upon appeals; for, [u] *It was,* ſaith he, *not congruous, that an Egyptian ſhould judge thoſe in*

[r] Παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην διαναστῆναι, καὶ συναλγῆσαι, καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε στῆναι ταῦτα τὰ κακά.

[s] Οἰκουμενικὴν ἀπεκαλεῖ τὸ σύνοδον. *Soz.* viii. 17.

Ἀλλ' ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σύνοδον ἐπικαλουμένων. *Theod.* v. 34.

Οἰκουμενικὴν δὲ σύνοδον συναγεῖραι σπουδάζων. *Soz.* viii. 26.

Ἀναγκαία ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδική. *Ibid.*

[t] Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης, καὶ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πόλεως τὸν κλῆρον παρεμύθησαν, καὶ ἐδυσχέραινον τοῖς τολμήμασι. *Theoph. Soz.* viii. 26.

[u] Οὐ γὰρ ἀπόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν.

Thrace: why not an Egyptian, as well as an Italian? And, [x] *If,* ſaith he, *this cuſtom ſhould prevail, and it become lawful for thoſe who will to go into the pariſhes of others, even from ſuch diſtances, and to caſt out whom any one pleaſeth, doing by their own authority what they pleaſe, know that all things will go to wreck*—. Why may not this be ſaid of a Roman, as well as of an Alexandrian? St. Chryſoſtom alſo (we may obſerve) did not only apply himſelf to the Pope, but to other weſtern biſhops; [y] particularly to the biſhops of Milain and Aquileia, whom he called *Beatiſſimi Domini:* did he appeal to them?

He allegeth Flavianus, biſhop of Conſtantinople, appealing to Pope Leo [z]: but let us conſider the ſtory. Flavianus for his orthodoxy (or upon other accounts) very injuriouſly treated and oppreſſed by Dioſcorus, who was ſupported by the favour of the imperial court, having in his caſe no other remedy, did appeal to the Pope; who alone among the patriarchs had diſſented from thoſe proceedings. The Pope was himſelf involved in the cauſe, being of the ſame perſuaſion; having been no leſs affronted and hardly treated (conſidering their power, and that he was out of their reach) and condemned by the ſame adverſaries.

To him therefore, as to the leading biſhop of Chriſtendom, in the firſt place intereſted in defence of the common faith, together with a ſynod, not to him as ſole judge, did Flavianus appeal. [a] *He* (ſaith Placidia, in her

[x] Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἐξὸν γίνοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας, καὶ ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν ὃν ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίαν πράττοντας ἅπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα εἰς χάος ἥξει ——. *Epiſt.* 122.

[y] Scripſimus iſta et ad Venerium Mediolanenſem, et ad Chromatium Aquilegienſem epiſcopum. *Pallad.* cap. 2.

[z] Flavianus autem contra ſe prolata ſententia per ejus legatos ſedem apoſtolicam appellavit libello. *Liber.* cap. 12.

Neceſſitate coactus fuit ita agere, eo quod reliqui Patriarchæ adeſſent ——. *Marc.* vii. 7.

[a] Ὡς προηγόμενον ——. *Placidia.*

Πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 26.

Letter to Theodoſius,) *did appeal to the apoſtolick ſee, and to all the biſhops of theſe parts;* that is, to the reſt of Chriſtendom, which were not engaged in the party of Dioſcorus: and to whom elſe could he have appealed?

Valentinian, in his Epiſtle to Theodoſius, in behalf of Pope Leo, ſaith, that he did appeal *according to the manner of ſynods;* and whatever thoſe words ſignify, that could not be to the Pope, as a ſingle judge: for before that time in whatever ſynod was ſuch an appeal made? what cuſtom could there be favourable to ſuch a pretence? Κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν συνόδων. p. 25.

But what his appeal did import is beſt interpretable by the proceeding conſequent; which was not the Pope's aſſuming to himſelf the judicature, either immediately or by delegation of judges, but endeavouring to procure a general ſynod for it; the which endeavour doth appear in many Epiſtles to Theodoſius and to his ſiſter Pulcheria, ſoliciting that ſuch a ſynod might be indicted by his order: [b] *All the biſhops,* ſaith Pope Leo, *with ſighs and tears do ſupplicate your grace, that becauſe our agents did faithfully reclaim, and Biſhop Flavianus did preſent them a libel of appeal, you would command a general ſynod to be celebrated in Italy.*

Dioſcorus and his party would ſcarce have been ſo filly as to condemn Flavianus, if they had known (which, if it had been a caſe clear in law, or obvious in practice, they could not but have known) that the Pope, who was deeply engaged in the ſame cauſe, had a power to reverſe (and revenge) their proceedings. Nor would the good Emperor Theodoſius ſo pertinaciouſly have maintained the proceedings of that Epheſine Synod, if he had deemed the Pope duly ſovereign governor and judge; or that a right of ultimate deciſion upon appeal did appertain to him. Nor had the Pope needed to have taken ſo much pains in procuring a ſynod, if he could have judged with-

[b] Omnes manſuetudini veſtræ cum gemitibus et lachrymis ſupplicant ſacerdotes, ut quia et noſtri fideliter reclamarunt, et eiſdem libellum appellationis Flavianus epiſcopus dedit, generalem ſynodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari ——. *P. Leo.* Epiſt. 25.

out it. Nor would Pope Leo (a man of ſo much ſpirit and zeal for the dignity of his ſee) have been ſo wanting to the maintenance of his right, as not immediately to have proceeded unto trial of the cauſe, without precarious attendance for a ſynod, if he thought his pretence to ſuch appeals as we now ſpeak of, to have been good or plauſible in the world at that time.

The next caſe is that of Theodoret. His words indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of Pope Leo, being then high in reputation, do ſound favourably; but we abſtracting from the ſound of words muſt regard the reaſon of things. His words are theſe; [c] *I expect the ſuffrage of your apoſtolick ſee, and beſeech and earneſtly entreat your holineſs to ſuccour me, who appeal to your right and juſt judicature.*

He never had been particularly or perſonally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal, as to a judge; nor therefore is his application to the Pope to be interpreted for ſuch; but rather as to a charitable ſuccourer of him in his diſtreſs, by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him [d].

He only was ſuppoſed erroneous in faith, and a perilous abettor of Neſtorianiſm, becauſe he had ſmartly contradicted Cyril; which prejudice did cauſe him to be prohibited from coming to the Synod of Epheſus; and there in his abſence to be denounced heterodox [e].

[c] Ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ ἀποστολικῷ ὑμῶν θρόνῳ περιμένω τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν σὴν ἁγιότητα ἐπαμύναι μοι τὸ ὀρθὸν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλυμένῳ κριτήριον. *Theod.* Ep. 113. (*ad P. Leonem.*)

[d] Vid. Ep. 112. ad Domnum. Ἀλλὰ καμὲ τὸν ἀπόντα ὁμοίως παλάμῃ κατίσφαξιν, ὅτι καλίσας εἰς δικαστήριον, ὅτι παρόντα κρίνας——μετὰ τοσούτους ἱδρῶτας καὶ πόνους μὴ δικασάμενος κατεκρίθην.

Οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι δικασταὶ τὸν ἀπόντα κατέκριναν ἐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπαινέσαντες τὰ δηθεὶν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιδεθέντα συγγράμματα. *Epiſt.* 138.

[e] Βασιλικοῖς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇ Κύρκρῳ προσδήσαντες γράμμασιν ——. *Epiſt.* 145. Vid. Theod. Epiſt. ſupr. et Ep. 127, 129.

Καί με νόμος ἐνθάδε καθιέργει βασιλικός. Βασιλικοῖς γράμμασι κωλυθέντες παρελαβεῖν τὴν Ἔφεσον ——. *Ep.* 138, 139.

Μαθεῖν ἀντιβολῶ παρ' ὑμῶν εἴτε χρὴ με σίρξαι τὴν ἄδικον ταύτην καθαίρεσιν, ἢ μή. *Ep.* 113.

Ὅτι

His appeal then to the Pope (having no other recourſe, in whom he did confide, finding him to concur with himſelf in opinion againſt Eutychianiſm) was no other than (as the word is often uſed in common ſpeech, when we ſay, I appeal to your judgment in this or that caſe) a referring it to the Pope's conſideration, whether his faith was ſound and orthodox; capacitating him to retain his office: the which upon his explication and profeſſion thereof (preſented in terms of extraordinary reſpect and deference) the Pope did approve; thereby (as a good divine, rather than as a formal judge) acquitting him of heterodoxy: the which approbation (in regard to the great opinion then had of the Pope's ſkill in thoſe points, and to the favour he had obtained by conteſting againſt the Eutychians) did bear great ſway in the ſynod; ſo that (although not without oppoſition of many, and not upon abſolute terms) he was permitted to ſit among the Fathers of Chalcedon.

Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν κριθησόμενα τύχοι μὲν ὀρθοῖα ἂν ἦ.

Obſervations.

1. We do not read of any formal trial the Pope made of Theodoret's caſe; that he was cited, that his accuſers did appear, that his cauſe was diſcuſſed; but only a ſimple approbation of him.

2. We may obſerve, that Theodoret did write to Flavianus in like terms: [f] *We entreat your holineſs to fight in behalf of the faith which is aſſaulted, and to defend the canons which are trampled under foot.*

3. We may obſerve, that Theodoret expecting this favour of Pope Leo, and thence being moved to commend the Roman ſee to the height, and to reckon its ſpecial advantages, doth not yet mention his ſupremacy of power, or univerſality of juriſdiction: for thoſe words, [g] *it befitteth you to be prime in all things*, are only general words relating to the advantages which he ſubjoineth; of which

Ὥρει καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπολαῦσαι κηδεμονίας. *Ep.* 118.

[f] Τὴν σὴν ἀγωσύνην παρακαλῶμεν τῆς πολιμυμένης πίστεως ὑπερμαχῆσαι, καὶ τῶν παραβαινομένων ὑπεραγωνίσασθαι κανόνων. *Theod. Epiſt.* 86.

[g] Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει ——.

he ſaith, [g] *for your throne is adorned with many advantages,* in a florid enumeration whereof he paſſeth over that of peculiar juriſdiction; he nameth the magnitude, ſplendor, majeſty, and populouſneſs of the city; the early faith praiſed by St. Paul, the ſepulchres of the two great Apoſtles, and their deceaſe there; but the Pope's being univerſal ſovereign and judge (which was the main advantage whereof that ſee could be capable) he doth not mention: why? becauſe he was not aware thereof, elſe ſurely he would not have paſſed it in ſilence [h].

4. We may alſo obſerve, that whatever the opinion of Theodoret was now concerning the Pope's power, he not long before did hardly take him for ſuch a judge, when he did oppoſe Pope Celeſtine, concurring with Cyril, at the Firſt Epheſine Synod. He then indeed, looking on Pope Celeſtine as a prejudiced adverſary, did not write to him, but to the other biſhops of the weſt, as we ſee by thoſe words in his Epiſtle to Domnus; [i] *And we have written to the biſhops of the Weſt about theſe things, to him of Milain, I ſay, to him of Aquileia, and him of Ravenna, teſtifying,* &c.

5. Yea we may obſerve, that Theodoret did intend, with the Emperor's leave, to appeal, or refer his cauſe, to the whole body of weſtern biſhops, as himſelf doth expreſs in thoſe words to Anatolius, [k] *I do pray your magnificence, that you would requeſt this favour of our dread ſo-*

[g] Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κεκόσμηται πλεονεκτήμασι.

Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι αἱρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἀμέτοχος, καὶ ὑδεὶς τἀναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε. *Theod.* Ep. 116. (*ad Renatum. Preſb.*)

[h] That holy ſee has the principality over the churches in all the world for many reaſons; but eſpecially becauſe ſhe continued free from the taint of hereſy, and none otherwiſe minded ever ſat in her, ſhe having kept the apoſtolick ſtate always unmixed.

[i] Καὶ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις δὲ τῆς δύσεως ἐπισκόποις, τῷ Μεδιολάνου φημὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἀκυιλείας καὶ τῷ Ῥαβέννης περὶ τούτων ἐγράψαμεν, διαμαρτυρόμενοι ὡς τῆς Ἀπουλιαρίου ταῦτα καινοτομίας πεπλήρωται. *Theod. Epiſt.* 112.

[k] Ἀντιζολῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ταύτην αἰτῆσαι τὴν χάριν τὴν καλλίνικον παρ' ὑμῶν, ὥστε με τὴν ἐσπερὰν καταλαβεῖν, ἐν παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις διάγεσθαι. *Theod.* Ep. 119. (*ad Anatol.*)

vereign, that I may have recourſe to the Weſt, and may be judged by the moſt religious and holy biſhops there.

Bellarmine farther doth allege the appeal of Hadrianus, biſhop of Thebes, to Pope Gregory I. the which he received and aſſerted by excommunicating the archbiſhop of Juſtiniana Prima, for depoſing Hadrianus, without regard to that appeal. I anſwer, Greg. lib. ii. Indict. 11. Ep. 6.

1. The example is late, when the Popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits: thoſe maxims had got in before the time of that worthy Pope; who thought he might uſe the power of which he found himſelf poſſeſſed.

2. It is impertinent, becauſe the biſhop of Juſtiniana had then a ſpecial dependence upon the Roman ſee; from whence an univerſal juriſdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an uſurpation; nor doth the opinion or practice of Pope Gregory ſuffice to determine a queſtion of right; for good men are liable to prejudice, and its conſequences.

To theſe inſtances produced by Bellarmine, ſome add the appeal of Eutyches to Pope Leo; to which it may be excepted, that if he did appeal, it was not to the Pope ſolely, but to him with the other patriarchs; ſo it is expreſsly ſaid in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod; [l] *His depoſition being read, he did appeal to the holy Synod of the moſt holy biſhop of Rome, and of Alexandria, and of Jeruſalem, and of Theſſalonica:* the which is an argument, that he did not apprehend the right of receiving appeals did ſolely or peculiarly belong to him of Rome.

Liberatus ſaith, that [m] *Johannes Talaida went to Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, and taking of him interceſſory*

[l] Ἀναγνωσκομένης τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ἐπεκαλέσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης. *Syn. Chalc.* Act. 1.

[m] Ingreſſus eſt ad Calendionem Antiochenum patriarcham, et ſumptis ab eo interceſſionis ſynodicis literis Romanum Pontificem Simplicium appellavit, ſicut B. fecerat Athanaſius, et ſuaſit ſcribere pro ſe Acacio Conſtantinopolitano epiſcopo ——. *Liber.* cap. 18. *Baron.* ann. 483. ſect. 1.

ſynodical letters, appealed to Simplicius, biſhop of Rome, as St. Athanaſius had done, and perſuaded him to write in his behalf to Acacius, biſhop of Conſtantinople.

In regard to any more inſtances of this kind we might generally propoſe theſe following conſiderations.

1. It is no wonder, that any biſhop being condemned, eſpecially in cauſes relating to faith or common intereſt, ſhould have recourſe to the Roman biſhop, or to any other biſhop of great authority, for refuge or for relief; which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation, and their power among their dependents.

2. Bad men, being deſervedly corrected, will abſurdly reſort any whither with mouths full of clamour and calumny; if not with hope of relief, yet with deſign of revenge; as did Marcion, as did Feliciſſimus, as did Apiarius to the Pope.

3. Good men being abuſed will expreſs ſome reſentment, and complain of their wrongs, where they may preſume of a fair and favourable hearing: ſo did Athanaſius, Flavianus, St. Chryſoſtom, Theodoret, apply themſelves to the ſame biſhops, flouriſhing in ſo great reputation and wealth.

So did the monks of Egypt, (Ammonius and Iſidorus,) from the perſecutions of Theophilus, fly to the protection and ſuccour of St. Chryſoſtom; which gave occaſion to the troubles of that incomparable perſonage; the which is ſo illuſtrious an inſtance, that the words of the hiſtorian relating it deſerve ſetting down.

[n] *They jointly did endeavour, that the trains againſt them might be examined by the Emperor as judge, and by the biſhop John; for they conceived that he having conſcience of uſing a juſt freedom, would be able to ſuccour*

[n] Κοινῇ τε ἐσπούδαζον παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιζουλάς· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐνδίκῳ παῤῥησίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελόμενον δυνάσθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ προσελθόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὃ τιμᾷ ἔχει, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκ ἐκώλυσε —— ἔγραψε δὲ Θεοφίλῳ κοινὰς αὐτοῖς ἀποδῦναι, ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ δεξάζοντι· εἰ δὲ δίκῃ δίοι κρίνεσθαι τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν, ἀποστέλλειν ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικασόμενον. *Soz.* viii. 13.

them according to right: but he did receive the men applying to him courteously, and treated them respectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the Church——He also writ to Theophilus to render communion to them, as being orthodox; and if there were need of judging their case by law, that he would send whom they thought good to prosecute the cause.

If this had been to the Pope, it would have been alleged for an appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any instance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, do resort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder, if they accost them in highest terms of respect, and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; so inducing them to regard and favour their cause.

5. Neither is it strange, that great persons favourably should entertain those, who make such addresses to them, they always coming crouching in a suppliant posture, and with fair pretences; it being also natural to men to delight in seeing their power acknowledged; and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted: for [o] *eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready goodwill to take part with those who are under.* So when Basilides, when Marcellus, when Eustathius Sebastenus, when Maximus the Cynic, when Apiarius were condemned, the Pope was hasty to engage for them; more liking their application to him, than weighing their cause.

6. And when any person doth continue long in a flourishing estate, so that such addresses are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of lawful power to receive them doth arise both in him and in others; so that of a voluntary friend he become an authorized protector, a patron, a judge of such persons in such cases.

X. The sovereign is fountain of all jurisdiction; and all inferior magistrates derive their authority from his warrant and commission, acting as his deputies or ministers,

[o] Φιλεῖ μάλιστα κάμπτεσθαι τὸ πρόεχον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας ἑκουσίου τῷ ἐλαττωμένῳ προστίθεσθαι. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 23.

1 Pet. ii. 13. according to that intimation in St. Peter,—*whether to the king as ſupreme, or to governors as ſent by him.*

Accordingly the Pope doth challenge this advantage to himſelf, that he is the fountain of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; pretending all epiſcopal power to be derived from him.

[p] *The rule of the Church,* ſaith Bellarmine, *is monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others;* the which aphoriſm he well proveth from the form of creating biſhops, as they call it; [q] *We do provide ſuch a church with ſuch a perſon; and we do prefer him to be father and paſtor and biſhop of the ſaid church; committing to him the adminiſtration in temporals and ſpirituals in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.*

Pope Pius II. in his Bull of Retractation, thus expreſſeth the ſenſe of his ſee; [r] *In the militant Church, which reſembleth the triumphant, there is one moderator and judge of all, the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, from whom, as from the head, all power and authority is derived to the ſubject members; the which doth immediately flow into it from the Lord Chriſt.*

A congregation of cardinals, appointed by Pope Paulus III. ſpeaking after the ſtyle and ſentiments of that ſee, did ſay to him, [s] *Your holineſs doth ſo bear the care of Chriſt's Church, that you have very many miniſters, by which you manage that care; theſe are all the clergy, on whom the ſervice of God is charged; eſpecially prieſts, and more eſpecially curates, and above all, biſhops.*

[p] Regimen Eccleſiæ eſt monarchicum; ergo omnis auctoritas eſt in uno, et ab illo in alios derivatur. *Bell.* iv. 24. Epiph. Hær. 42.

[q] Providemus eccleſiæ tali de tali perſona, et præficimus eum in patrem, et paſtorem, et epiſcopum ejuſdem eccleſiæ, committentes ei adminiſtrationem in temporalibus et ſpiritualibus; in nomine, &c. *Ibid.*

[r] In Eccleſia militanti, quæ inſtar triumphantis habet, unus eſt omnium moderator et arbiter Jeſu Chriſti vicarius, a quo tanquam capite omnis in ſubjecta membra poteſtas et authoritas derivatur, quæ a Chriſto Domino ſine medio in ipſum influit. *P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

[s] Sanctitas veſtra ita gerit curam Eccleſiæ Chriſti, ut miniſtros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem ſunt clerici omnes, quibus mandatus eſt cultus Dei; preſbyteri præſertim, et maxime curati, et præ omnibus epiſcopi ——. *Apud Cham. de Pont. Œcum.* 10, 13.

Durandus, biſhop of Mande, according to the ſenſe of his age, ſaith, [t] *The Pope is head of all biſhops, from whom they as members from an head deſcend, and of whoſe fulneſs all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulneſs of his power.*

This pretence is ſeen in the ordinary titles of biſhops, who ſtyle themſelves biſhops of ſuch a place, [u] *by the grace of God and of the apoſtolick ſee.* O ſhame!

The men of the Tridentine Convention (thoſe great betrayers of the Church to perpetual ſlavery, and Chriſtian truth to the prevalency of falſehood, till God pleaſeth) do, upon divers occaſions, pretend to qualify and empower biſhops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the epiſcopal function, as the Pope's delegates. This was an expedient. Vid. Concil.

But contrariwiſe according to the doctrine of holy Scripture, and the ſenſe of the primitive Church, the biſhops and paſtors of the Church do immediately receive their authority and commiſſion from God; being only his miniſters.

The Scripture calleth them *the miniſters of God*, and *of Chriſt*, (ſo Epaphras, ſo Timothy, in regard to their eccleſiaſtical function are named,) *the ſtewards of God, the ſervants of God, fellow-ſervants* of the Apoſtles. Col. i. 7. iv. 7. 1 Theſſ. iii. 2. 1 Tim. iv. 6. Tit. i. 7.

The Scripture ſaith, that *the Holy Ghoſt had made them biſhops to feed the Church of God;* that *God had given them,* and *conſtituted them in the Church; for the perfecting of the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt;* that is, to all effects and purpoſes concerning their office: for *the work of the miniſtry* compriſeth all the duty charged on them, whether in way of order or of governance [x]; as they now do precariouſly and groundleſsly in reference to this caſe diſtinguiſh: and *edifying the body* doth import all the 2 Tim. ii. 24. Acts xx. 28. Naz. Or. 30. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 29.

[t] Summus Pontifex caput eſt omnium Pontificum, a quo illi tanquam a capite membra deſcendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt quos ipſe vocat in partem ſolicitudinis, non in plenitudinem poteſtatis. *Durand. Mimat. Offic.* ii. 1, 17.

[u] N. Dei et apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia epiſcopus Colon ——.

[x] Ordo confertur a Deo immediate, juriſdictio mediate. *Bell.* iv. 25.

deſigned effects of their office; particularly thoſe which are conſequent on the uſe of juriſdiction; the which St. Paul doth affirm was appointed for edification; *according,* ſaith he, *to the authority which God hath given me for edification, and not for deſtruction.* They do *preſide in the Lord.* They allow no other head but our Lord, *from whom all the body,* &c.

2 Cor. x. 8. xiii. 10.

Πρωτάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ. 1 Theſſ. v. 12. Eph. iv. 16.

The Fathers clearly do expreſs their ſentiments to be the ſame.

St. Ignatius ſaith, that the biſhop [y] *doth preſide in the place of God;* and that [z] *we muſt look upon him as our Lord himſelf,* (or as our Lord's repreſentative;) that therefore *we muſt be ſubject to him as unto Jeſus Chriſt.*

St. Cyprian affirmeth [a] *each biſhop to be conſtituted by the judgment of God and of Chriſt:* and *that in his church he is for the preſent a judge in the place of Chriſt:* —and *that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, one and alone, hath a power both to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of our acting.*

St. Baſil; [b] *A prelate is nothing elſe but one that ſuſtaineth the perſon of Chriſt.*

St. Chryſoſtom; [c] *We have received the commiſſion of ambaſſadors, and come from God; for this is the dignity of the epiſcopal office.*

[d] *It behoveth us all, who by divine authority are conſtituted in the prieſthood, to prevent,* &c.

[y] Προκαθημένῳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ. *Ign. ad Magneſ.*

[z] Τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. *Ign. ad Eph.* Ὅταν ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. *Ign. ad Trall.*

[a] De Dei et Chriſti ejus judicio. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. *et alibi ſæpe.*

Unus in Eccleſia ad tempus ſacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Chriſti. *Id.* Ep. 55.

Sed expectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus et ſolus habet poteſtatem et præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ gubernatione, et de actu noſtro judicandi. *Id. in Conc. Carthag.*

[b] Ὁ γὰρ καθηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον. *Baſ. Conſt. Mon.* cap. 22.

[c] Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πρεσβείας ἀνεδεξάμεθα λόγον καὶ ἤκομεν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα. *Chryſ. in Coloſſ. Orat.* 3.

[d] Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore ſumus in ſacerdotio conſtituti illius certaminibus obviare, &c. *Anatol. in Syn. Chalc.* p. 512.

Wherefore the ancient biſhops did all of them take themſelves to be vicars of Chriſt, not of the Pope, and no leſs than the proudeſt Pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addreſſes and compellations to the biſhop of Rome, and in their ſpeech about him, to call him their *brother*, their *colleague*, their *fellow-miniſter*; which had not been modeſt, or juſt, if they had been his miniſters or ſhadows. Yea, the Popes themſelves, even the higheſt and haughtieſt of them, who of any in old times did moſt ſtand on their preſumed pre-eminence, did yet vouchſafe to call other biſhops their fellow-biſhops and fellow-miniſters. Leo. Ep. 84.

Thoſe biſhops of France with good reaſon did complain of Pope Nicholas I. [e] *for calling them his clerks; whenas, if his pride had ſuffered him, he ſhould have acknowledged them for his brethren and fellow-biſhops.*

In fine, the ancient biſhops did not allege any commiſſion from the Pope to warrant their juriſdiction, but from God; [f] *If Moſes's chair were ſo venerable, that what was ſaid out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Chriſt's throne ſo? We ſucceed him, from that we ſpeak, ſince Chriſt has committed to us the miniſtry of reconciliation.* Ἡμεῖς τοί-νυν——. *S. Chryſ. ſup.*

[g] *That which is committed to the prieſt, it is only in God's power to give.*

[h] *Since we alſo, by the mercy of Chriſt our King and God, were made miniſters of the Goſpel.*

This is a modern dream, born out of ambition and flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient divine.

[e] Sciesque nos non tuos eſſe ut te jactas et extollis clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiſcopos recognoſcere ſi elatio permitteret, debueras. *Ann. Pith.*

[f] Εἰ ὁ Μωσέως θρόνος ἅτινος ἦν αἰδέσιμος, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀκούεσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος; ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς διαδεξάμεθα, ἀπὸ τούτου φθεγγόμεθα, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔδοτο ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. *Chryſ. in Coloſſ. Orat.* 3.

[g] Ἃ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεὺς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι, &c. *Chryſ. in Joh. Orat.* 88.

[h] Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλέει τοῦ σωτῆρος (l. σαμβασιλέως) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερουργοὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκληρώθημεν ——. *Flavian. in Chalc.* Act. i. p. 4.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine that Cyprian, Athanaſius, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Auſtin, &c. did take themſelves for the vicegerents or miniſters of the Popes; if they did, why did they not, ſo frequent occaſion being given them, in all their volumes, ever acknowledge it? why cannot Bellarmine and his complices, after all their prolling, ſhew any paſſage in them importing any ſuch acknowledgment; but are fain to infer it by far-fetched ſophiſms, from allegations plainly impertinent or frivolous?

The Popes indeed in the fourth century began to practiſe a fine trick, very ſerviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was to confer on certain biſhops, as occaſion ſerved, or for continuance, the title of their vicar or lieutenant; thereby pretending to impart authority to them: whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwiſe by their own epiſcopal or metropolitical power they could not perform. By which device they did engage ſuch biſhops to ſuch a dependence on them, whereby they did promote the papal authority in provinces, to the oppreſſion of the ancient rights and liberties of biſhops and ſynods, doing what they pleaſed under pretence of this vaſt power communicated to them; and for fear of being diſplaced, or out of affection to their favourer, doing what might ſerve to advance the Papacy.

Evagr. Act. Eph. p. 134. Thus did Pope Celeſtine conſtitute Cyril in his room.

Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Conſtantinople.

Act. Conc. ſub Menna. p. 70. Pope Felix Acacius of Conſtantinople.

Pope Hormiſdas Epiphanius of Conſtantinople.

Pope Simplicius to Zeno biſhop of Seville—[h]*We thought it convenient that you ſhould be held up by the vicariat authority of our ſee.*

So did Siricius and his ſucceſſors conſtitute the biſhops of Theſſalonica to be their vicars in the dioceſe of Illyricum, wherein being then a member of the weſtern empire they had caught a ſpecial juriſdiction; to which

h Congruum duximus vicaria ſedis noſtræ te auctoritate fulciri. *Baron.* ann. 482. ſect. 46.

Pope Leo did refer in thoſe words, which ſometimes are impertinently alleged with reference to all biſhops, but concern only Anaſtaſius, biſhop of Theſſalonica; [i] *We have intruſted thy charity to be in our ſtead, ſo that thou art called into part of the ſolicitude, not into plenitude of the authority.*

So did Pope Zozimus beſtow a like pretence of vicarious power upon the biſhop of Arles, which city was the ſeat of the temporal exarch in Gaul. P. Joh. VIII Ep. 93.

So to the biſhop of Juſtiniana Prima in Bulgaria, (or Dardania Europæa,) the like privilege was granted, [by procurement of the Emperor Juſtinian, native of that place.]

Afterwards temporary or occaſional vicars were appointed, (ſuch as Auſtin in England, Boniface in Germany,) who in virtue of that conceſſion did uſurp a paramount authority; and by the exerciſe thereof did advance the papal intereſt; depreſſing the authority of metropolitans, and provincial ſynods.

So at length legates, upon occaſion diſpatched into all countries of the weſt, came to do there what they pleaſed, uſing that pretence to oppreſs and abuſe both clergy and people very intolerably.

Whence divers countries were forced to make legal proviſions for excluding ſuch legates, finding by much experience that their buſineſs was to rant and domineer in the Pope's name, to ſuck money from the people, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expence of the countries where they came. P. Paſch. I Epiſt. apud Eadm. p. 113, &c.

[k] Of this John XXII. doth ſorely complain; and decrees that all people ſhould admit his legates, under pain of interdicts.

In England, Pope Paſchal finds the ſame fault in his

[i] Vices enim noſtras ita tuæ credidimus charitati, ut in partem ſis vocatus ſolicitudinis, non in plenitudinem poteſtatis. *P. Leo.* Ep. 84. (*ad Anaſtaſ. Theſſal.*)

[k] Extrav. commun. i. 1. (p. 310.) Occulti inimici regni. *Matt. Par.* p. 524.

letter to King Henry I. [m] *Nuncios, or letters from the apoſtolick ſee, unleſs by your majeſty's command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your juriſdiction: none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the apoſtolick ſee.*

The Pope obſerving what authority and reverence the archbiſhops of Canterbury had in this nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, did think good to conſtitute thoſe archbiſhops his legates of courſe, (*legatos natos,*) that ſo they might ſeem to exerciſe their juriſdiction by authority derived from him; and owing to him that mark of favour, or honour, with enlargement of power, might pay him more devotion, and ſerve his intereſts.

Bell. ii. 10. Bellarmine doth from this practice prove the Pope's ſovereign power; but he might from thence better have demonſtrated their great cunning. It might, from ſuch extraordinary deſignation of vicegerents, with far more reaſon be inferred, that ordinarily biſhops are not his miniſters.

XI. It is the privilege of a ſovereign, that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or depoſed, or debarred communion, or anywiſe cenſured and puniſhed; for this implieth a contradiction or confuſion in degrees, ſubjecting the ſuperior to inferiors; this were making a river run backwards; this were to dam up the fountain of juſtice; to behead the ſtate; to expoſe majeſty to contempt.

Wherefore the Pope doth pretend to this privilege, according to thoſe maxims in the Canon Law, drawn from the ſayings of Popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike) obtaining authority in their court [n].

[m] Sedis apoſtolicæ nuncii vel literæ præter juſſum regiæ majeſtatis nullam in poteſtate tua ſuſceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad ſedem apoſtolicam deſtinantur. *P. Paſch. II. Eadm.* p. 113.

[n] Bell. ii. 26. de Conc. ii. 17. Grat. Diſt. xl. cap. 6. xxi. 7. Cauſ. ix. qu. 3. cap. 10. —— Extrav. comm. lib. i. tit. 8. cap. 1. P. Leo IX. Ep. i. cap. 10.

And according to what Pope Adrian let the Eighth Synod know, [o] *because*, says he, *the apostolick church of Rome stoops not to the judgment of lesser churches.* They cite also three old synods, (of Sinuessa, of Rome under Pope Silvester, of Rome under Sixtus III.) but they are palpably spurious, and the learned amongst them confess it.

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it did suppose him no less obnoxious to judgment and correction than other bishops, if he should notoriously deviate from the faith, or violate canonical discipline.

The canons generally do oblige bishops without exception to duty, and (upon defailance) to correction: why is not he excepted, if to be excused or exempted?

It was not questioned of old, but that a Pope, in case he should notoriously depart from the faith, or notably infringe discipline, might be excommunicated: the attempting it upon divers occasions doth shew their opinion, although it often had not effect, because the cause was not just and plausible; the truth and equity of the case appearing to be on the Pope's side.

St. Isidore Pelusiota denieth of any bishop's office, that it is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, *an uncontrollable government.*

In the times of Polycrates and Pope Victor the whole eastern church did forbear communion with the Pope. [p] Firmilian told Pope Stephanus, that by conceiting he might excommunicate all other bishops, he had excommunicated himself. The Fathers of the Antiochene Synod did threaten to excommunicate and depose Pope Julius. [q] *They did promise to Julius peace and commu-*

——17. P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 504.) P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 75. (p. 31.) P. Gelas. Ep. 4. (p. 625, 626.) Ep. 13. (p. 640.) P. Greg. VII. Ep. 8, 21.

[o] Διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης τῇ τῶν ἐλαττόνων μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κρίσει. *P. Adrian. in Syn. VIII.* Act. vii. p. 963.

[p] Ἐν τε χρόνοις Πολυκράτους καὶ Βίκτωρος ὡς ἡ ἀνατολὴ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηνικὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. *Epiph. Hær.* 70. *Audianorum.*

Dum enim putas omnes abs te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti. *Firm. apud Cypr. Ep.*

[q] Δεχομένῳ μὲν Ἰουλίῳ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν κατά-

nion, if he did admit the depoſition of thoſe whom they had expelled, and the conſtitution of thoſe whom they had ordained; but if he did reſiſt their decrees, they denounced the contrary. The oriental biſhops at Sardica did excommunicate and depoſe him. St. Hilary did anathematize Pope Liberius, upon his defection to the Arians. [r] Dioſcorus did attempt to excommunicate Pope Leo. *Acacius of Conſtantinople renounced the communion of Pope Felix. †Timotheus Ælurus curſed the Pope. The [s] *African biſhops* did *ſynodically excommunicate Pope Vigilius.* ‡Pope Anaſtaſius was rejected by his own clergy. §Pope Conſtantine, by the people; ‖ and ſo was Pope Leo VIII. ¶ Divers biſhops of Italy and Illyricum did abſtain from the Pope's communion for a long time, becauſe they did admit the Fifth Synod. [t] Photius did excommunicate and depoſe Pope Nicholas I. [u] Maurus, biſhop of Ravenna, did anathematize Pope Vitalianus. The Emperor Otho II. having with good advice laboured to reclaim Pope John XII. without effect, did [x] *indict a council, calling together the biſhops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man ſhould be judged;* and the iſſue was, that he was depoſed. Pope Nicholas I. deſired to be judged by the Emperor. The Fifth Synod did in general terms condemn Pope Vigilius; and the Emperor Juſtinian did baniſh him for not complying with the decrees of it. The Sixth and Seventh General Synods did anathematize Honorius by name, when he was dead, be-

Soz. iii. 11.

Anathema tibi, Papa Liberi. *Hil. fragm.*

* Niceph. xvi. 17. Baron. ann. 484. §. 35.

†Baron. an. 457. §. 25.

‡ Plat. p. 131. et Diſt. xix. cap. 21, 22.

§ Plat. p. 223,

‖ Id. p. 291.

¶ P. Pelag. II. Ep. iii. 13. Baron. ann. 669. ſect. 2.

Grat. Cauſ. ii. qu. 7. cap. 41.

*

ϛασιν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν χειροτονηθέντων, εἰρήνην, καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· ἀνθιϛαμένῳ δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις τἀναντία προηγόρευσαν. *Sozom.* iii. 8.

[r] Ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν ὑπαγορεῦσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντος. *Evag.* ii. 4.

[s] Africani antiſtites Vigilium Rom. epiſc. damnatorem capitulorum ſynodaliter a Catholica communione, reſervato ei pœnitentiæ loco, recludunt. (l. excludunt.) *Vict. Tun. poſt Conſ. Baſilii V. C.* ann. 10.

[t] Καθαίρεσιν ὡς ἐνόμισε καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' ᾠδινὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖται Νικολαῦ. *Vit. Ignatii. Patr. apud Bin.* p. 892. *Baron.* ann. 863 ——.

[u] —— Communi totius ſancti concilii conſenſu depoſitus. *Luitprand.* vi. 6.

[x] —— Concilium indicit, convocatis epiſcopis Italiæ, quorum judicio vita ſceleratiſſimi hominis dijudicaretur. *Plat. in Joh. XIII.* (*pro XII.*) Vid. *Baron.* ann. 960. *et Binium.*

cauſe his hereſy was not before confuted; and they would have ſerved him ſo, if he had been alive. Divers ſynods (that of Worms, of Papia, of Breſcia, of Mentz, of Rome, &c.) did reject Pope Gregory VII. Pope Adrian himſelf in the Eighth Synod (ſo called) did confeſs, that a Pope being found deviating from the faith might be judged, as Honorius was. Gerbertus (afterward Pope Sylveſter II.) did maintain that Popes might be held as ethnics and publicans, if they *did not hear the Church.* The Synod of Conſtance did judge and depoſe three Popes.

Ann. 1076. Vid. Baron ann. 1033. ſect. 3.

Baron. ann 992. ſect. 44—. Conc. Baſ. Seſſ. xxxviii. p. 101.

The Synod of Baſil did depoſe Pope Eugenius; affirming, that [y] *the Catholic Church hath often corrected and judged Popes, when they either erred from the faith, or by their ill manners became notoriouſly ſcandalous to the Church.*

[z] The practice of Popes to give an account of their faith (when they entered upon their office) to the other patriarchs and chief biſhops, approving themſelves thereby worthy and capable of communion, doth imply them liable to judgment. Of the neglect of which practice Euphemius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, did complain.

Gelaſ. Ep. 9. Baron. ann. 492.

Of this we have for example the Synodical Epiſtles of Pope Gregory I.

ſect. 10. Vid. Tract. de Unit. Eccl.

XII. To the ſovereign in eccleſiaſtical affairs it would belong to define and decide controverſies in faith, diſcipline, moral practice; ſo that all were bound to admit his definitions, deciſions, interpretations. He would be the ſupreme interpreter of the divine law, and judge of controverſies. No point or queſtion of moment ſhould be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore doth pretend to; taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all ſubmiſſion to his determinations. Nor doth he allow any ſynods to decide queſtions.

[y] Eccleſia Catholica ſæpenumero ſummos Pontifices ſive a fide delirantes, ſive pravis moribus notorie Eccleſiam ſcandalizantes correxit, et judicavit——. *Conc. Baſſ.* Seſſ. 12.

[z] Mos eſt Romanæ eccleſiæ ſacerdoti noviter conſtituto formam fidei ſuæ ad ſanctas eccleſias prærogare. *P. Gelaſ. l.* Ep. 1. *ad Laur.*

But the ancients did know no ſuch thing. In caſe of contentions, they had no recourſe to his judgment; they did not ſtand to his opinion, his authority did not avail to quaſh diſputes. They had recourſe to the holy Scriptures, to Catholic tradition, to reaſon; they diſputed and diſcuſſed points by dint of argument.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Vincentius Lirinenſis, and others, diſcourſing of the methods to reſolve points of controverſy, did not reckon the Pope's authority for one. Divers of the Fathers did not ſcruple openly to diſſent from the opinions of Popes; nor were they wondered at, or condemned for it.

Gal. ii. 11. ἀντίστην. So St. Paul did withſtand St. Peter. So Polycarpus diſſented from Pope Elutherius. So Polycrates from Pope Victor. So St. Cyprian from Pope Stephen. So Dionyſius Alex. from Pope Stephen. All which perſons were renowned for wiſdom and piety in their times.

Higheſt controverſies were appeaſed by ſynods out of the holy Scripture, Catholic tradition, the analogy of faith, and common reaſon, without regard to the Pope. Divers ſynods in Africk and Aſia defined the point about *rebaptization* without the Pope's leave, and againſt his opinion. The Synod of Antioch condemned the doctrine of Paulus Samoſatenus, without intervention of the Pope, before they gave him notice. In the Synod of Nice the Pope had very ſmall ſtroke. The General Synod of Conſtantinople declared the point of the *divinity* of the Holy Ghoſt againſt Macedonius, without the Pope; who did no more than afterward conſent: this the Synod of Chalcedon, in their compellation to the Emperor Marcian, did obſerve; [a] *The Fathers met in Sardica to ſuppreſs the relics of Arianiſm, communicated their decrees to the eaſtern biſhops; and they who here diſcovered the peſtilence of Apolinarius, made known theirs to the weſtern.*

The Synod of Africk defined againſt Pelagius, before

[a] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν Ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμψαν, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον. *Conc. Chalced. ad Marc. Orat.* p. 468.

their informing Pope Innocentius thereof; not seeking his judgment, but desiring his consent to that, which they were assured to be truth.

Divers Popes have been incapable of deciding controversies, themselves having been erroneous in the questions controverted: as Pope Stephanus, (in part,) Pope Liberius, Pope Felix, Pope Vigilius, Pope Honorius, &c. And in our opinion all Popes for many ages

It is observable how the Synod of Chalcedon, in their allocution to the Emperor Marcian, do excuse Pope Leo for expounding the faith, in his Epistle, (the which it seems some did reprehend as a novel method disagreeable to the canons;) [b] *Let not them,* say they, *object to us the Epistle of the marvellous prelate of Rome, as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not consonant to the Scriptures, let them confute it; or if it be not consentaneous to the Fathers who have preceded; or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious,* &c.

It was not his judicial authority which they did insist upon, to maintain his Epistle, but the orthodoxy and intrinsic usefulness of it to confute errors; upon which account they did embrace and confirm it by their suffrage.

XIII. If the Pope were a sovereign of the Church, as they make him, it were at least expedient that he should be infallible; for why otherwise should he undertake confidently to pronounce in all cases, to define high and difficult points, to impose his dictates, and require assent from all? if he be fallible, it is very probable that often he doth obtrude errors upon us for matters of faith and practice.

Wherefore the true fast friends of papal interest do assert him to be infallible, when he dictateth as Pope, and setting himself into his chair doth thence mean to instruct Bell. lib. iv.

[b] Ὡς ξένην τινὰ καὶ τοῖς κανόσιν οὐ νενομισμένην τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διαβάλλῃ τὴν σύνταξιν. *Act. Syn. Chalc.* p. 465.

Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης προέδρου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς καινοτομίας ἔγκλημα, προσφερέτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ σύμφωνος ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐλεγχέτωσαν· εἰ μὴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι πατράσιν ὁμόδοξος· εἰ μὴ πρὸς δυσσεβῶν κατηγορίαν γεγένηται ——.

the whole Church. And the Pope therefore himſelf, who countenanceth them, may be preſumed to be of that mind.

Pighius ſaid bouncingly, [c] *The judgment of the apoſtolick ſee with a council of domeſtic prieſts, is far more certain than the judgment of an univerſal council of the whole earth without the Pope.*

This is the ſyllogiſm we propoſe:

The ſupreme judge muſt be infallible;

The Pope is not infallible: therefore——

The *major*, the Jeſuits, Canoniſts, and Courtiers are obliged to prove, it being their aſſertion; and they do prove it very wiſely and ſtrongly.

The *minor* is aſſerted by the French doctors; and they do with clear evidence maintain it.

The *concluſion* we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is in effect Pope Gregory's argumentation; *no* biſhop can be univerſal biſhop, (or univerſal paſtor and judge of the Church,) becauſe no biſhop can be infallible; for that the lapſe of ſuch a paſtor would throw down the Church into ruin, by error and impiety. [d] *Therefore the univerſal Church, which God forbid, falls, when he falls who is called univerſal.—The ſtate and order of our Lord's family will decay, when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head.*

But that he is not infallible, much experience and hiſtory do abundantly ſhow.

The ancients knew no ſuch pretender to infallibility; otherwiſe they would have left diſputing, and run to his oracular dictates for information. They would have only

[c] Longe certius eſt unius apoſtolicæ ſedis cum concilio domeſticorum ſacerdotum judicium, quam ſine Pontifice judicium univerſalis concilii totius orbis terrarum. *Pighius de Hier.* lib. 6.

[d] Univerſa ergo Eccleſia, quod abſit, a ſtatu ſuo corruit, quando is qui vocatur univerſalis cadit. *Greg. M. Epiſt.* iv. 32.

Totius familiæ Domini ſtatus et ordo nutabit, ſi quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite. *P. Leo.* Ep. 87.

afferted this point againſt heretics. We ſhould have had teſtimonies of it innumerable. It had been the moſt famous point of all [e].

I will not mention Pope Stephanus univerſally approving the baptiſm of heretics againſt the decrees of the Synod of Nice and other ſynods. Nor Pope Liberius complying with Arianiſm. Nor Pope Innocent I. and his followers, at leaſt till Pope Gelaſius, firſt aſſerting the *communion of infants* for needful. Nor Pope Vigilius dodging with the Fifth Synod. Nor Pope Honorius condemned by ſo many councils and Popes for monotheliti-ſm. But ſurely Pope Leo and Pope Gelaſius were ſtrangely deceived, when they condemned *partaking in one kind.* Pope Gregory was foully out, when he condemned the *worſhip of images*; and when he ſo declaimeth againſt the title of *univerſal biſhop*; and when he avowed himſelf a ſubject to the Emperor Mauritius; and when he denied the books of Maccabees to be *canonical*; and when he aſſerted the perfection of holy Scripture. Pope Leo II. was miſtaken, when he did charge his infallible predeceſſor Honorius of monothelitiſm; [f] Pope Nicholas was a little deceived, when he determined the *attrition of Chriſt's body.* Pope Urban II. was out, when he allowed it [g] lawful for good Catholics to commit murder on perſons excommunicate. Pope Innocent IV. erred, when he called kings, [h] *the Pope's ſlaves.*

P. Gelaſ. I. Ep. ix. p. 636.

De Conſecr. Diſt. ii. cap. 12.

Greg. Ep. vii. 110. ii. 62. iv. 32, 36, 38. vi. 30. In Job. lib. xix. cap. 13. xviii. 14.

Grat. de Conſecr. Diſt. ii. cap. 42.

Surely thoſe Popes did err, who confirmed the Synods of Conſtance and Baſil; not excepting the determinations in favour of General Councils being ſuperior to Popes [i]. All thoſe Popes have deviliſhly erred, who have pretended to diſpoſe of kingdoms; to depoſe princes; to abſolve

[e] In nullo aliter ſapere quam res ſe habet angelica perfectio eſt. *Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don.* ii. 5.

Not to think of a thing otherwiſe than it is, is an angelical perfection.

[f] If many Popes had been writers, we ſhould have had more errors to charge them with.

[g] Grat. Cauſ. xxiii. qu. 5. cap. 47.

[h] Mancipia Papæ. *Matt. Paris.* ann. 1253.

[i] Joh. XXII. Gerſon. Serm. in Paſch. Occam. Celeſtinus——. Alph. a Caſtro. Hær. i. 4. Bin. tom. vii. p. 994.

ſubjects of their oaths. Pope Adrian II. did not take the Pope to be infallible, when he ſaid he might not be judged, excepting the caſe of hereſy; and thereby excuſeth the orientals for anathematizing Honorius, he being accuſed of hereſy.

There is one hereſy, of which, if all hiſtories do not lie grievouſly, divers Popes have been guilty; a hereſy defined by divers Popes; the [i] *hereſy of ſimony*; How many ſuch heretics have ſat in that chair! of which how many Popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice in hiſtory! [k] *The hand,* ſays St. Bernard, *does all the papal buſineſs: ſhew me a man in all this greateſt city who would admit thee to be Pope without the mediation of a bribe!* Yea how few for ſome ages have been guiltleſs of this hereſy! It may be anſwered, they were no Popes, becauſe their election was null; but then the Church hath often and long been without a *head.* Then numberleſs acts have been void; and creations of cardinals have been null; and conſequently there hath not probably been any true Pope for a long time.

In the judgment of ſo many great divines, which did conſtitute the Synod of Baſil, many Popes (near all ſurely) have been heretics; who have followed or countenanced the opinion, that Popes are ſuperior to general councils; the which there is flatly declared hereſy. Pope Eugenius by name was there declared [l] *a pertinacious heretic, deviating from the faith.*

It often happeneth, that the Pope is not ſkilled in divinity, as Pope Innocent X. was wont to profeſs concern-

[i] P. Greg. VII. Ep. lib. iii. 7. Simoniaca hærefis.

P. Jul. II. Conc. Lat. Seff. 5. (p. 57.)

Idem electus non apoſtolicus, ſed apoſtaticus, et tanquam hærefiarcha, &c. *Ibid. Tract.* iv. ſect. 12, 16.

Decernimus, quod——ſed etiam contra dictum ſic electum vel aſſumptum a ſimoniaca labe opponi et excipi poſſit ſicut de vera et indubitata hæreſi——.

[k] Omne Papale negotium manus agunt; quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in Papam receperit pretio non intercedente? *Bern. de Conſid.* iv. 2.

[l] A fide devius, pertinax hæreticus ——. *Concil. Baſil.* Seff. xxxiv. p. 96, 107.

ing himſelf, (to wave diſcourſe about theological points:) he therefore cannot pronounce, in uſe of ordinary means, but only by miracle, as Balaam's aſs. So Pope Innocent X. ſaid, that [m] *the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt was not obliged to examine all things by diſpute; for that the truth of his decrees depended only on divine inſpiration.* What is this but downright *quakeriſm, enthuſiaſm, impoſture?*

Pope Clemens V. did not take himſelf to be infallible, when in his great Synod of Vienna, the queſtion, whether, beſide remiſſion of ſin, alſo virtue were conferred to infants, he reſolved thus very honeſtly,—[n] *The ſecond opinion, which ſays, that informing grace and virtues are in baptiſm conferred both upon infants and adult perſons, we think fit with the conſent of the holy council to be choſen; as being more probable, and more conſonant and agreeable to the divinity of the modern doctors.*

Which of the *two* Popes were in the right, Pope Nicholas IV. who decided that our Lord was ſo poor that he had right to nothing, or Pope John XXII. who declared this to be a hereſy, charging our Lord with injuſtice? Bell. iv. 14. (p. 1318.) Confer Sext. lib. v. tit. 12. cap. 3. Extrav. Joh. XXII. tit. xiv. cap. 3, 4, 5.

XIV. A ſovereign is in dignity and authority ſuperior to any number of ſubjects, however conjoined or congregated; as a head is above all the members, however compacted: he is not ſupreme, who is anywiſe ſubject or inferior to a ſenate, or any aſſembly in his territory.

Therefore the Pope doth claim a ſuperiority over all councils; pretending that their determinations are invalid without his conſent and confirmation; that he can reſcind or make void their decrees; that he can ſuſpend their conſultations, and tranſlate or diſſolve them. Bellarm. de Concil. ii. 17.

And Baronius reckons this as one error in Hincmarus,

[m] Le Pape reſpondit, que le Vicaire de J. C. n'eſtoit point obligé d'examiner toutes choſes par la diſpute; que la vérité de ſes décrets dépendoit ſeulement de l'inſpiration divine. *Memor. Hiſt. de* 5. *Propoſ.*

[n] —— Opinionem ſecundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quam adultis conferri in baptiſmo informantem gratiam et virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem ac doctorum modernorum theologiæ magis conſonam et concordem ſacro approbante concilio duximus eligendam. *Clem. in Tit.* 1.

biſhop of Rheims, [c] *that he held as if the canons of councils were of greater authority in the Church of God than the decrees of Popes, which,* ſays he, *how abſurd and unreaſonable an opinion it is,* &c.

[p] *That the authority of the apoſtolick ſee in all Chriſtian ages has been preferred before the univerſal Church, both the canons of our predeceſſors and manifold tradition do confirm.*

This is a queſtion ſtiffly debated among Romaniſts: but the moſt (as Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II. did acutely obſerve) with good reaſon do adhere to the Pope's ſide, becauſe the *Pope* diſpoſeth of *benefices*, but *councils* give none.

But in truth anciently the Pope was not underſtood ſuperior to councils: for [q] *greater is the authority of the world than of one city,* ſays St. Jerome. He was but one biſhop, that had nothing to do out of his precinct. He had but his vote in them; he had the firſt vote, as the patriarch of Alexandria the ſecond, of Antioch the third—but that order neither gave to him or them any advantage, as to deciſion; but common conſent, or the ſuffrages of the majority, did prevail. He was conceived ſubject to the Canons no leſs than other biſhops. Councils did examine matters decreed by him, ſo as to follow or forſake them as they ſaw cauſe. The Popes themſelves did profeſs great veneration and obſervance of conciliar decrees. Pope Leo I. did oppoſe a canon of the Synod of Chalcedon, (not pretending his ſuperiority to councils, but the inviolability of the Nicene Canons,) but it notwithſtanding that oppoſition did prevail.

Even in the dregs of times, when the Pope had clambered ſo high to the top of power, this queſtion in great

[o] Plane ſignificat majoris eſſe auctoritatis in Eccleſia Dei canones conciliorum decretis Pontificum: hæc quam ſint abſurda et ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c. *Baron.* ad ann. 992. ſect. 56. Concil. Later. V. Seſſ. 11. p. 152. Th. Cajet. Orat. in Conc. Lat. p. 36.

[p] Apoſtolicæ vero ſedis auctoritas, quod cunctis ſeculis Chriſtianis Eccleſiæ prælata ſit univerſæ, et canonum ſerie paternorum, et multiplici traditione firmatur. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 8. (O impudentiam!)

[q] Major eſt auctoritas orbis quam urbis. *Hier. ad Evag.*

numerous ſynods of biſhops was agitated, and poſitively decided againſt him; both in doctrine and practice. Concil. Conſt. Sef iv. (p. 1003 Conc. Baſ Seſſ. 2, 38

The Synod of Baſil affirmeth the matter of theſe decrees to be a [r] *verity of the Chriſtian faith, which whoever doth pertinaciouſly reſiſt, is to be deemed a heretic.*—Thoſe Fathers ſay, that [s] *none of the ſkilful did ever doubt of this truth, that the Pope, in things belonging to faith, was ſubject to the judgment of the ſame general councils——that the council has an authority immediately from Chriſt, which the Pope is bound to obey.* Thoſe ſynods were confirmed by Popes, without exception of thoſe determinations.

Great churches, moſt famous univerſities, a mighty ſtore of learned doctors of the Roman communion, have reverenced thoſe councils, and adhered to their doctrine. Inſomuch that the Cardinal of Lorrain did affirm him to be an heretic in France, who did hold the contrary.

Theſe things ſufficiently demonſtrate that the Pope cannot pretend to ſupremacy by univerſal tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? Not ſurely by Scripture, nor by decrees of ancient ſynods, nor by any clear and convincing reaſon.

XV. The ſovereign of the Church is by all Chriſtians to be acknowledged the chief perſon in the world, inferior and ſubject to none; above all commands; the greateſt emperor being his *ſheep* and *ſubject*.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all princes. Divers Popes have affirmed this ſuperiority. They are allowed and moſt favoured by him, who teach this doctrine. In their Miſſal he is preferred above all kings, being prayed for before them. As in Iſrael Saul was the head. 1 Sam. xv 17.

But in the primitive times this was not held; for St. Paul requires *every ſoul to be ſubject to the higher powers.* Then the Emperor was avowed the firſt perſon, next to [1]. Rom. xiii.

[r] Veritas Catholicæ fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans eſt cenſendus hæreticus. *Concil. Baſ.* Seſſ. 33.

[s] Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit ſummum Pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorundem conciliorum univerſalium eſſe ſubjectum. *Conc. Baſil. Decret.* p. 117.

Concilium habet poteſtatem immediate a Chriſto, cui Papa obedire tenetur ——. *Conc. Baſ.* Seſſ. 38. p. 101.

God; [t] *To whom,* ſays Tertullian, *they are ſecond, after whom they are firſt, before all and above all gods. Why?* &c.——*we worſhip the Emperor as a man next to God, and leſs only than God.* And Optatus,——[u] *Since there is none above the Emperor but God who made him.——While Donatus extolleth himſelf above the Emperor, he raiſes himſelf, as it were, above humanity, and thinks himſelf to be God, and not man. For the King is the top and head of all things on earth.* Then even *Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, all men whoever were ſubject to the Emperor.* The Emperors did command them, [w] *even the bleſſed biſhops and patriarchs of old Rome, Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis, and Jeruſalem.* Divers Popes did avow themſelves ſubject to the Emperor.

Chryſ. in Rom. xiii. 1.

Vid. ſect. 5. Diſt. lxiii. cap. 4. P. Nic. I. Ep. Ann. 482. ſect. 1.

XVI. The confirmation of magiſtrates, elected by others, is a *branch* of *ſupremacy* which the Pope doth aſſume.

Baronius ſaith that this was the ancient cuſtom; and that Pope Simplicius did confirm the election of Calendion, biſhop of Antioch.

[x] *Meletius confirmed the moſt holy Gregory in the biſhoprick of Conſtantinople.*

But the truth is, that anciently biſhops being elected did only give an account of their choice unto all other biſhops; eſpecially to thoſe of higheſt rank, deſiring their

[t] —— a quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi ante omnes, et ſuper omnes deos; quidni? cum ſuper omnes homines, qui utique vivunt. *Tertul. Apol.* cap. 30.

Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem a Deo ſecundum, et ſolo Deo minorem. *Tertul. ad Scap.* cap. 2.

[u] Cum ſuper Imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem. *Opt.* 3. Vid. *Tr.* v. ſect. 14.

Dum ſe Donatus ſuper Imperatorem extollit, jam quaſi hominum exceſſerat modum, ut ſe ut Deum non hominem æſtimaret. *Id. ibid.*

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. *Chryſ.* Ἀνδρ. β. p. 463.

[w] Jubemus igitur beatiſſimos epiſcopos et patriarchas hoc eſt ſenioris Romæ, et Conſtantinopoleos, et Alexandriæ, et Theopoleos, et Hieroſolymorum. *Juſtinian. Novel.* cxxiii. cap. 3. *P. Greg. M.* Ep. ii. 62. *ſupra in præf.* ſect. iv. tract. 5. ſect. 14.

[x] Εὐσεβαίωσι τῷ θειοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρείαν. *Theod.* v. 8.

approbation and friendſhip, for preſervation of due communion, correſpondence, and peace. So the Synod of Antioch gave account to the biſhops of Rome and Alexandria, [z] *and all their fellow-miniſters throughout the world,* &c. of the election of Domnus after Paulus Samoſatenus. So the Fathers of Conſtantinople acquainted Pope Damaſus and the weſtern biſhops with the conſtitution of Nectarius, Flavianus, &c.

This was not to requeſt confirmation, as if the Pope or other biſhops could reject the election, if regular, but rather to aſſure whom they were to communicate with. [z] *We have* (ſay the Fathers of the Synod againſt Paulus Samoſatenus) *ſignified this,* (*our chooſing of Domnus into Paulus's room,*) *that you may write to him, and receive letters of communion from him.*—And St. Cyprian, [a] *That you and our colleagues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters.*

Thus the biſhops of Rome themſelves did acquaint other biſhops with their election, their faith, &c. So did Cornelius; whom therefore St. Cyprian aſſerteth as eſtabliſhed by the conſent and approbation of his colleagues; [b] *When the place of Peter and the ſacerdotal chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our conſents confirmed,* &c. — [c] *and the teſtimony of our fellow-biſhops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimouſly conſented.* Vid. P. Greg. Tract de Unit. Eccl.

The Emperor did confirm biſhops, as we ſee by that notable paſſage in the Synod of Chalcedon; where Baſſianus, biſhop of Epheſus, pleading for himſelf ſaith, [d] *Our*

[y] Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκυμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ——. *Euſeb.* vii. 30.

[z] Ἐδηλώσαμέν τι ὑμῖν ὅπως τοῦτο γράψητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα ——. *Euſeb. ibid.*

[a] Ut ſcires tu, et collegæ noſtri quibus ſcribere, et literas mutuo a quibus vos accipere oporteret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornel.*)

[b] Cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ ſacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium noſtrûm conſenſione firmato ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

[c] —— et coepiſcoporum teſtimonio, quorum numerus univerſus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate conſenſit. *Ibid.*

[d] Γνὸς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, εὐθὺς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσε, καὶ

moſt religious Emperor knowing theſe things preſently ratified it, and by a memorial publiſhed it, confirming the biſhoprick; afterwards he ſent his reſcript by Euſtathius the ſilentiary again confirming it.

XVII. It is a privilege of ſovereigns to grant *privileges, exemptions, diſpenſations.*

Vid. Bern. This he claimeth; but againſt the laws of God and rights of biſhops; againſt the decrees of ſynods — againſt the ſenſe of good men in all times.

XVIII. It is a prerogative of ſovereign power, to erect, tranſlate ſpiritual preſidences.

P. Innoc. III. in Greg. Decr. lib. i. tit. 7. cap. 1.—&c. Wherefore this the Pope claimeth. *Cum ex illo*, &c. But at firſt he had nothing to do therein, except in his own province or dioceſe.

As Chriſtianity did grow and enter into cities, ſo the neighbour biſhops did ordain biſhops there.

Princes often, as they did endow, ſo they did erect epiſcopal ſees, and did, as was ſuitable, change places.

Pope Paſchal II. doth by complaining atteſt to this, writing to the archbiſhop of Poland, [e] *What ſhall I ſay of the tranſlations of biſhops, which among you are preſumed to be made, not by apoſtolick authority, but the king's command?*

XIX. It is a great prerogative of ſovereignty to impoſe taxes on the clergy or people.

Wherefore the Pope doth aſſume this; as for inſtance that decree of Pope Innocent IV. in the firſt Synod of Lyons; [f] *By the common conſent of the council we ordain*

εὐθέως διὰ ὑπομνηστικῆ ἐδήλωσεν ἐν φανερῷ, βεβαιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν· μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλε σάκρον πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Σιλεντιαρίου βεβαιοῦσαν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν. *Conc. Chalc.* Act. xi. (p. 404.)

[e] Quid ſuper epiſcoporum tranſlationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate apoſtolica, ſed nutu regis præſumuntur? *P. Paſch. II.* Ep. 6.

Præter authoritatem noſtram epiſcoporum tranſlationes præſumitis ——. *Eadm.* p. 115.

[f] Cæterum ex communi concilii approbatione ſtatuimus, ut omnes omnino clerici, tam ſubditi quam prælati, vigeſimam eccleſiarum proventuum uſque ad triennium conferant in ſubſidium terræ ſanctæ, per manus eorum, qui ad hoc apoſtolica fuerint providentia ordinati. —— ſciantque ſe omnes ad hoc fideliter obſervandum per excommunicationis ſententiam obligatos. *Lugdun. Concil.* 1. (anno 1245.)

that all the clergy, as well thoſe who are under authority as the prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their eccleſiaſtical revenues towards the aſſiſtance of the holy land, into the hands of thoſe who ſhall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the apoſtolick ſee. — and let all know that this they are bound faithfully to do under pain of excommunication.

But antiquity knew no ſuch impoſitions: when the church, the clergy, the poor were maintained and relieved by voluntary offerings, or obventions.

Even the invidious ſplendour of the Roman biſhop was ſupported by the *oblations of matrons*, as Marcellinus obſerveth g.

This is an encroachment upon the right of princes, unto whom clergymen are ſubjects, and bound *to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.* Rom. xiii. 7.

SUPPOSITION VII.

A farther grand aſſertion of the Roman party is this, *That the papal ſupremacy is indefectible and unalterable.*

BUT good reaſons may be aſſigned, why, even ſuppoſing that the Pope had an univerſal ſovereignty in virtue of his ſucceſſion to St. Peter conferred on him, it is not aſſuredly conſequent, that it muſt always, or doth now belong to him. For it might be ſettled on him, not abſolutely, but upon conditions, the which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it ſhould only continue for a time. And there are divers ways, whereby, according to common rules of juſtice, he might be diſſeized thereof.

1. If God had poſitively declared his will concerning

g Ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum. *Marcel.* 27. Vid. *Conſt. Apoſt.* ii. 25.

Nam qui conſtituerunt vel fundarunt ſanctiſſimas eccleſias pro ſua ſalute et communis reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis ſubſtantias, ut per eas debeant ſacræ liturgiæ fieri, et ut illis a miniſtrantibus piis clericis Deus colatur. *Cod. Lib.* i. tit. 3. ſect. 42.

this point, that ſuch a ſovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, ſo that in no caſe it might be removed or altered, then indeed it muſt be admitted for ſuch; but if no ſuch declaration doth appear, then to aſſert it for ſuch is to derogate from his power and providence; by exemption of this caſe from it. It is the ordinary courſe of Providence ſo to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reſerve to himſelf the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, aboliſhing it, according to his pleaſure, in due ſeaſons and exigencies of things. Whence no human power can be ſuppoſed abſolutely ſtable, or immoveably fixed in one perſon or place.

2. No power can have a higher ſource, or firmer ground, than that of the civil government hath; for *all ſuch power is from heaven;* and in relation to that it is ſaid, *There is no power but from God; the powers that are, are ordained by God:* but yet ſuch power is liable to various alterations, and is like the ſea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds, either perſonal or local.

John xix. 11.

Rom. xiii. 1—.

Any temporal juriſdiction may be loſt by thoſe revolutions and viciſſitudes of things, to which all human conſtitutions are ſubject; and which are ordered *by the will and providence of the Moſt High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaſeth; putting down one, and ſetting up another.*

Dan. v. 21. Pſ. lxxv. 7.

Adam, by God's appointment, was ſovereign of the world; and his firſt-born ſucceſſors derived the ſame power from him: yet in courſe of time that order hath been interrupted, and divers independent ſovereignties do take place.

Every prince hath his authority from God, or by virtue of divine ordination, within his own territory; and according to God's ordinance the lawful ſucceſſor hath a right to the ſame authority; yet by accidents ſuch authority doth often fail totally, or in part, changing its extent.

Why then may not any ſpiritual power be liable to the

ſame viciſſitudes? Why may not a prelate be degraded as well as a prince? Why may not the Pope, as well as the Emperor, loſe all, or part of his kingdom?

Why may not the ſucceſſor of Peter, no leſs than the heir of Adam, ſuffer a defailure of juriſdiction?

That ſpiritual corporations, perſons, and places, are ſubject to the ſame contingencies with others, as there is like reaſon to ſuppoſe, ſo there are examples to prove: God removed his ſanctuary from Shiloh; *Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I ſet my name at firſt*, &c. He deſerted Jeruſalem. He removeth the candleſticks. He placed Eli (of the family of Ithamar) in the high-prieſthood, and diſplaced his race from it; *I ſaid indeed*, ſaith God, *that thy houſe, and the houſe of thy father, ſhould walk before me for ever: but now the Lord ſaith, Be it far from me*, &c.

Jer. vii. 12 14. Rev. ii. 5. 1 Sam. ii. 30. 1 Kings ii. 27.

3. The reaſon and exigency of things might be ſufficient ground for altering an univerſal juriſdiction; for when it ſhould prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order ſuch an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God firſt did inſtitute one univerſal monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious, Providence gave way for its change, and the ſetting up of particular governments; to which men are bound to ſubmit: ſo God might inſtitute a ſingular preſidency of the Church; but when the Church grew vaſtly extended, ſo that ſuch a government would not conveniently ſerve the whole, he might order a diviſion, in which we ſhould acquieſce.

4. It hath ever been deemed reaſonable, and accordingly been practiſed, that the Church, in its exterior form and political adminiſtrations, ſhould be ſuited to the ſtate of the world, and conſtitution of worldly governments, that there might be no claſhing or diſturbance from each to other.

Wherefore, ſeeing the world is now ſettled under ſo many civil ſovereignties, it is expedient that eccleſiaſtical

diſcipline ſhould be ſo modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reaſonable, that any pretence of juriſdiction ſhould veil to the public good of the Church and the world.

That it ſhould be neceſſary for the Church to retain the ſame form of policy or meaſure of power affixed to perſons or places, can nowiſe be demonſtrated by ſufficient proof, and it is not conſiſtent with experience; which ſheweth the Church to have ſubſiſted with variations of that kind.

There hath in all times been found much reaſon or neceſſity to make alterations, as well in the places and bounds of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as of ſecular empire.

Wherefore St. Peter's monarchy, reaſon requiring, might be cantonized into divers ſpiritual ſupremacies; and as other eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminiſhed, removed and extinguiſhed, ſo might that of the Roman biſhop. The Pope cannot retain power in any ſtate againſt the will of the prince: he is not bound to ſuffer correſpondences with foreigners, eſpecially ſuch who apparently have intereſts contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Eſpecially that might be done, if the continuance of ſuch a juriſdiction ſhould prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the Church.

6. That power is defectible which according to the nature and courſe of things doth ſometime fail.

But the papal ſucceſſion hath often been interrupted by contingencies, (of *ſedition, ſchiſm, intruſion, ſimoniacal election, depoſition*, &c. as before ſhewed,) and is often interrupted by vacancies from the death of the incumbents.

7. If, leaving their dubious and falſe ſuppoſitions, (concerning divine inſtitution, ſucceſſion to St. Peter, &c.) we conſider the truth of the caſe, and indeed the more grounded plea of the Pope, that papal preeminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and by the

collation or countenance of the imperial authority; then by the defect of ſuch advantages it may ceaſe or be taken away; for when Rome hath ceaſed to be the capital city, the Pope may ceaſe to be head of the Church. When the civil powers, which have ſucceeded the imperial, each in its reſpective territory, are no leſs abſolute than it, they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by human authority, by the ſame may be revoked; and what the Emperor could have done, each ſovereign power now may do for itſelf.

An indefectible power cannot be ſettled by man; becauſe there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; ſo that whatever power one may raiſe, the other may demoliſh; there being no bounds whereby the preſent time may bind all poſterity.

However, no human law can exempt any conſtitution from the providence of God; which at pleaſure can diſſolve whatever man hath framed. And if the Pope were diveſted of all adventitious power, obtained by human means, he would be left very bare; and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for juriſdiction.

8. However or whenceſoever the Pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the Pope doth encroach on the rights and liberties of others, uſurping a lawleſs domination, beyond reaſon and meaſure, they may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and ſhake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwiſe than by infringing the ſacred laws, and trampling down the inviolable privileges of the churches, either granted by Chriſt, or eſtabliſhed by the ſanctions of general ſynods; he thereby depriveth himſelf of all authority; becauſe it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others, (whoſe right outweigheth his,) and without great miſchief to the Church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the maxim of a great Pope, a great ſtickler for his own dignity; for when the biſhop of Conſtanti-

nople was advanced by a general ſynod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that Pope oppoſing him did ſay, that [h] *whoever doth affect more than his due, doth loſe that which properly belonged to him:* the which rule, if true in
Matt. vii. 2. regard to another's caſe, may be applied to the Pope; *For with what judgment ye judge, ye ſhall be judged; and with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.*

On ſuch a ſuppoſition of the papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him; [i] *It is too proud and immoderate a thing to ſtretch beyond one's bounds, and, in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other men's right, and to oppoſe the primacies of ſo many metropolitans, on purpoſe to advance the dignity of one.*

[k] *For the privileges of churches, being inſtituted by the canons of the holy Fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable Synod of Nice, cannot be plucked up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation.*

[l] *Far be it from me, that I ſhould in any church infringe the decrees of our anceſtors made in favour of my fellow-prieſts; for I do myſelf injury, if I diſturb the rights of my brethren.*

The Pope ſurely (according to any ground of Scripture, or tradition, or ancient law) hath no title to greater principality in the Church, than the Duke of Venice hath in that ſtate: now if the Duke of Venice, in prejudice to the public right and liberty, ſhould attempt to ſtretch his power to an abſoluteneſs of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the conſtitution of that commonwealth, he would thereby ſurely forfeit his ſupre-

[h] Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiſcit. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

[i] Superbum nimis eſt et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius creſcat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55.

[k] Privilegia enim eccleſiarum, ſanctorum patrum canonibus inſtituta, et venerabilis Nicenæ Synodi fixa decretis, nulla poſſunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate mutari. *Ibid.*

[l] Abſit hoc a me, ut ſtatuta majorum conſacerdotibus meis in qualibet eccleſia infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, ſi fratrum meorum jura perturbo. *Greg. I. Epiſt.* ii. 37.

macy, (ſuch as it is,) and afford cauſe to the ſtate of rejecting him: the like occaſion would the Pope give to the Church by the like demeanour.

9. The Pope, by departing from the doctrine and practice of St. Peter, would forfeit his title of ſucceſſor to him; for in ſuch a caſe no ſucceſſion in place or in name could preſerve it; [m] *The Popes themſelves had ſwerved and degenerated from the example of Peter.*

[n] *They are not the ſons of the ſaints, who hold the places of the ſaints, but they that do their works.* (Which place is raſed out of St. Jerome.)

[o] *They have not the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear aſunder by ungodly diviſion.*

So Gregory Nazianzen ſaith of Athanaſius, that [p] *he was ſucceſſor of Mark, no leſs in piety than prefidency: the which we muſt ſuppoſe to be properly ſucceſſion:* otherwiſe the Mufti of Conſtantinople is ſucceſſor to St. Andrew, of St. Chryſoſtom, &c. the Mufti of Jeruſalem to St. James.

If then the biſhop of Rome, inſtead of teaching Chriſtian doctrine, doth propagate errors contrary to it; if, inſtead of guiding into truth and godlineſs, he ſeduceth into falſehood and impiety; if, inſtead of declaring and preſſing the laws of God, he delivereth and impoſeth precepts oppoſite, prejudicial, deſtructive of God's laws; if, inſtead of promoting genuine piety, he doth (in ſome inſtances) violently oppoſe it; if, inſtead of maintaining true religion, he doth pervert and corrupt it by bold defalcations, by ſuperſtitious additions, by foul mixtures and alloys; if he coineth new creeds, articles of faith, new ſcriptures, new ſacraments, new rules of life, obtruding them on the con-

[m] Pontifices ipſi a Petri veſtigiis diſcefferant. *Plat. in Joh.* x. (p. 275.)

[n] Non ſanctorum filii ſunt, qui tenent loca ſanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum ——. *Hieron. ad Heliod. apud Grat.* Diſt. xl. cap. 2.

[o] Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impia diviſione diſcerpunt. *Ambr. de Pœn.* i. 6.

[p] Οὐχ' ἧττον τῆς Εὐσεβείας, ἢ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχος —— ἦν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ὑποληπτέον διαδοχήν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον· τὸ δὲ ἀνεύδοξον καὶ ἀτίμοθρονον ——. *Greg. Naz.* Or. 21.

ſciences of Chriſtians; if he conformeth the doctrines of Chriſtianity to the intereſts of his pomp and profit, *making gain godlineſs;* if he preſcribe vain, profane, ſuperſtitious ways of worſhip, turning devotion into foppery and pageantry; if, inſtead of preſerving order and peace, he fomenteth diſcords and factions in the Church, being a make-bait and incendiary among Chriſtians; if he claimeth exorbitant power, and exerciſeth oppreſſion and tyrannical domination over his brethren, curſing and damning all that will not ſubmit to his dictates and commands; if, inſtead of being a ſhepherd, he is a wolf, worrying and tearing the flock by cruel perſecution: he by ſuch behaviour, *ipſo facto,* depriveth himſelf of authority and office; he becometh thence no guide or paſtor to any Chriſtian; there doth in ſuch caſe reſt no obligation to hear or obey him; but rather to decline him, to diſcoſt from him, to reject and diſclaim him [q].

This is the reaſon of the caſe; this the holy Scripture doth preſcribe; this is according to the primitive doctrine, tradition, and practice of the Church. For,

10. In reaſon, the nature of any ſpiritual office conſiſting in inſtruction in truth and guidance in virtue toward attainment of ſalvation; if any man doth lead into pernicious error or impiety, he thereby ceaſeth to be capable of ſuch office: as a blind man, by being ſo, doth ceaſe to be a guide; and much more he, that declareth a will to ſeduce; for, [r] *Who ſo blind as he that will not ſee?*

Mat. xv. 14. No man can be bound to *follow any one into the ditch;*

Ezek. iii. 18. or to obey any one in prejudice to his own ſalvation; *to die in his iniquity.* Seeing God ſaith in ſuch a caſe,

Matt. xv. 9. μάτην σέβονταί με, *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men.*

[q] Non facit eccleſiaſtica dignitas Chriſtianum. *Hier.*
Eccleſiaſtical dignity makes not a Chriſtian.
Non omnes epiſcopi epiſcopi ſunt. *Id.*
All biſhops are not biſhops.
Οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦς κατάσκοποι, ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι. *Athan. Conſt.* Ap. viii. 2.
They with them are ſcouts or ſpies, not overſeers or biſhops.

[r] Luke vi. 39. Μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

They themſelves do acknowledge, that heretics ceaſe to be biſhops; and ſo to be Popes. Indeed they ceaſe to be Chriſtians; for ἐξέςραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, *ſuch a one is ſubverted.* Bell. de P. R 2, 30. (p. 1083.)

11. According to their principles, the Pope hath the ſame relation to other biſhops and paſtors of the Church, which they have to their people; he being paſtor of paſtors: but if any paſtor ſhould teach bad doctrine, or preſcribe bad practice, his people may reject and diſobey him; therefore, in proportion, the paſtors may deſert the Pope miſguiding or miſgoverning them. In ſuch caſes any inferior is exempted from obligation to comply with his ſuperior, either truly or pretendedly ſuch.

12. The caſe may be, that we may not hold communion with the Pope, but may be obliged to ſhun him; in which caſe his authority doth fail, and no man is ſubject to him.

13. This is the doctrine of the Scripture. The high prieſt and his fellows, under the Jewiſh economy, had no leſs authority than any Pope can now pretend unto; they did *ſit in the chair of Moſes*, and therefore all their true doctrines and lawful directions the people were obliged to learn and obſerve; but their falſe doctrines and impious precepts they were bound to ſhun[s]; and conſequently to diſclaim their authority, ſo far as employed in urging ſuch doctrines and precepts; Ἄφετε αὐτοὺς, *Let them alone*, ſaith our Saviour, *they are blind leaders of the blind.* Under the Chriſtian diſpenſation, the matter is no leſs clear; our Lord commandeth us *to beware of falſe prophets*; and to *ſee that no man deceive us*; although he wear the clothing of a ſheep, or come under the name of a ſhepherd (*coming in his name*—). St. Paul informeth us, that if *an Apoſtle*, if *an angel from heaven*, doth preach beſide the old apoſtolical doctrine, (introducing any new goſpel, or a divinity deviſed by himſelf,) he is to be *held accurſed* by us. He Matt. xxiii. 2. xv. 6. Mat. xv. 14. Mat. vii. 15. Matt. xxiv. 4. Gal. i. 8, 9.

[s] Matt. xvi. 6. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης —— ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς. Verſ. 12.
Beware and take heed of the leaven —— of the doctrine.

affirmeth, that even the Apoſtles themſelves[s] were not
2 Cor. i. 24. *lords of our faith,* nor might challenge any power inconſiſtent with the maintenance of Chriſtian truth and piety;
2 Cor. xiii. 7, 8. *We,* ſaith he, *can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth:* the which an ancient writer doth well apply to the Pope, ſaying, that he [t] *could do nothing againſt the truth more than any of his fellow-prieſts could do;* which St. Paul did in practice ſhew, when he *reſiſted* St. Peter, *declining from the truth of the Goſpel.* He chargeth, that [u] if any one doth ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach heterodoxies,* we ſhould *ſtand off from him;* that [w] *if any brother walketh diſorderly, and not according to apoſtolical tradition, we ſhould withdraw from him;* that if any one doth [x] *raiſe diviſions and ſcandals beſide the doctrines received from the Apoſtles,*
Tit. iii. 10. *we ſhould decline from him;* that we are *to refuſe any heretical perſon.* He telleth us, that [y] *grievous wolves ſhould*
Acts xx. 30. *come into the Church, not ſparing the flock;* that *from among Chriſtians there ſhould ariſe men ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw diſciples after them:* but no man ſurely ought to follow, but to ſhun them.

Theſe precepts and admonitions are general, without any reſpect or exception of perſons great or ſmall, paſtor or layman: nay, they may in ſome reſpect more concern biſhops than others; for that they declining from truth, are more dangerous and contagious.

14. The Fathers (in reference to this caſe) do clearly accord, both in their doctrine and practice. St. Cyprian telleth us, that [z] *a people obedient to the Lord's commandments, and fearing God, ought to ſeparate itſelf from a ſinful biſhop;* that is, from one guilty of ſuch ſins which unqualify him for Chriſtian communion, or paſtoral charge;

[s] Nec aliquid contra veritatem, ſed pro veritate, plus ſuis con-ſacerdotibus poteſt. *Fac. Hermian.* ii. 6.

Gal. ii. 11, 14. Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

[t] 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5. Εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ——ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

[w] 2 Theſſ. iii. 6. Στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ——.

[x] Rom. xvi. 17. Ἐκκλίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

[y] Acts xx. 29. Εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

[z] Plebs obſequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens a peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

and [a] *Let not,* addeth he, *the common people flatter itſelf, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt, if it communicate with a ſinful biſhop;* whoſe irreligious doctrine or practice doth render him uncapable of communion; for [b] *how* (ſaith he otherwhere) *can they preſide over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices do begin to proceed from them?*

[c] *They who reject the commandment of God, and labour to eſtabliſh their own tradition, let them be ſtrongly and ſtoutly refuſed and rejected by you.*

St. Chryſoſtom, commenting on St. Paul's words, *If I, or an angel*—— ſaith, that St. Paul [d] *meaneth to ſhew, that dignity of perſons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned;* that [e] *if one of the chief angels from heaven ſhould corrupt the Goſpel, he were to be accurſed;* that [f] *not only, if they ſhall ſpeak things contrary, or overturn all, but if they preach any ſmall matter beſide the apoſtolical doctrine, altering the leaſt point whatever, they are liable to an anathema.*

And otherwhere, very earneſtly perſuading his audience to render due reſpect and obedience to their biſhop, he yet interpoſeth this exception, [g] *If he hath a perverſe opinion, although he be an angel, do not obey him; but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life, but his words.*

[a] Nec ſibi plebs blandiatur, quaſi immunis eſſe a contagio delicti poſſit cum ſacerdote peccatore communicans. *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

[b] Quomodo enim poſſunt integritati et continentiæ præeſſe, ſi ex ipſis incipiant corruptelæ et vitiorum magiſteria procedere? *Cypr.* Ep. 62.

[c] Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, et traditionem ſuam ſtatuere conantur, fortiter a vobis et firmiter reſpuantur. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. (p. 73.)

[d] Ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ἀξίωμα πρόσωπον ὁ προσίσται, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. *Chryſ. in Gal.* i. 9.

[e] Κἂν γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ἀγγέλων ᾖ τις τῶν ἐξ οὐρανῦ, διαφθείρων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Ibid.* i. 8.

[f] Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταγγέλλωσιν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν. *Ibid.*

[g] Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἴχυι διεστραμμένον, κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πίθυ· εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τῷ βίῳ πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι. *Chryſ. in* 2 *Tim.* Orat. 2.

[i] *Eccleſiaſtical judges, as men, are for the moſt part deceived.*

[k] *For neither are Catholic biſhops to be aſſented to, if peradventure in any caſe they are miſtaken, ſo as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.*

[l] *If there be any church which rejects the faith, and does not hold the fundamentals of the apoſtolical doctrine, it ought to be forſaken, leſt it infect others with its heterodoxy.*

If in ſuch a caſe we muſt deſert any church, then the Roman; if any church, then much more any biſhop, particularly him of Rome.

This hath been the doctrine of divers Popes.

[m] *Which not only the apoſtolical prelate, but any other biſhop may do,* viz. *diſcriminate and ſever any men, and any place, from the Catholic communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned hereſy.*

[n] *Faith is univerſal, common to all, and belongs, not only to clergymen, but alſo to laicks, and even to all Chriſtians.*

[o] *Therefore the ſheep which are committed to the cure of their paſtor ought not to reprehend him, unleſs he ſwerve and go aſtray from the right faith.*

15. That this was the current opinion, common practice doth ſhew, there being ſo many inſtances of thoſe

[i] Eccleſiaſtici judices ut homines plerunque falluntur ——. *Aug. contr. Creſc.* ii. 21.

[k] Quia nec Catholicis epiſcopis conſentiendum eſt, ſicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid ſentiant. *Auguſt. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

[l] Si qua eſt eccleſia, quæ fidem reſpuat, nec apoſtolicæ prædicationis fundamenta poſſideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ poſſit aſpergere deferenda eſt. *Ambr. in Luc.* ix. (p. 85.)

[m] Quod non ſolum præſuli apoſtolico facere licet, ſed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoſlibet et quemlibet locum, ſecundum regulam hæreſeos ipſius ante damnatæ, a Catholica communione diſcernant. *P. Gelaſ. I.* Ep. 4.

[n] Fides univerſalis eſt, omnium communis eſt, non ſolum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Chriſtianos. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. p. 506.

[o] Oves ergo quæ paſtori ſuo commiſſæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, niſi a recta fide exorbitaverit, debent ——. *P. Joh. I.* Ep. 1. (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.)

who rejected their ſuperiors, and withdrew from their communion, in caſe of their maintaining errors, or of their diſorderly behaviour; ſuch practice having been approved, by general and great ſynods, as alſo by divers Popes.

When Neſtorius, biſhop of Conſtantinople, did introduce new and ſtrange doctrine, [p] *divers of his preſbyters did rebuke him, and withdraw communion from him;* which proceeding is approved in the Epheſine Synod.

Particularly Chariſius did aſſert this proceeding in thoſe remarkable words preſented to that ſame ſynod; [q] *It is the wiſh and deſire of all well affected perſons, to give always all due honour and reverence eſpecially to their ſpiritual fathers and teachers: but if it ſhould ſo happen, that they who ought to teach, ſhould inſtil unto thoſe who are ſet under them ſuch things concerning the faith, as are offenſive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of neceſſity the order muſt be inverted, and they who teach wrong doctrine muſt be rebuked of thoſe who are their inferiors.*

Pope Celeſtine I. in that caſe did commend the people of Conſtantinople, deſerting their paſtor; [r] *Happy flock,* ſaid he, *to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own paſture.*

St. Jerome did preſume to write very briſkly and ſmartly in reproof of John, biſhop of Jeruſalem, in whoſe province he a ſimple preſbyter did reſide.

[s] *Who makes a ſchiſm in the Church? we whoſe whole*

[p] Ἐν τῇ συνοδείῳ πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, ᾗ διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλεν ——. *Conc. Eph.* part. i. p. 220.

[q] Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν ἀεὶ καὶ πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάλιστα πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δέ πω συμβῇ τὰς διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οἷα τὰς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας πανταχλάσαι, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κακῶς διδάσκειν ἐλομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσσόνων διελέγχεσθαι. *Charif. in Conc. Eph.* Act. vi. p. 358.

[r] Μακάριος δὴ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρῖναι περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς. *Celeſt. I. in Conc. Eph.* p. 190.

[s] Quis ſcindit Eccleſiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in Eccleſia communicat; an tu qui aut bene credis, et ſuperbe de fide taces, aut male et vere ſcindis Eccleſiam?——An tu ſolus Eccleſia es; et qui te offenderit a Chriſto excluditur? *Hier.* Ep. lxi. cap. 16. Ep. lxii.

houſe in Bethlehem communicate with the Church, or thou, who either believeſt aright, and proudly concealeſt the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makeſt a breach in the Church? Art thou only the Church? And is he who offendeth thee excluded from Chriſt?

[t] Malchion, preſbyter of Antioch, diſputed againſt Paulus Samoſatenus, his biſhop.

Beatus, preſbyter, confuted his biſhop, Elipandus of Toledo.

[u] *But if the rector ſwerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by thoſe who are under him.*

16. The caſe is the ſame of the Pope; for if other biſhops, who are reckoned ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, and vicars of Chriſt within their precinct; if other patriarchs, who ſit in apoſtolical ſees, and partake of a like extenſive juriſdiction, by incurring hereſy or ſchiſm, or committing notorious diſorder and injuſtice, may be deprived of their authority, ſo that their ſubjects may be obliged to forſake them, then may the Pope loſe his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the chair of Rome more than to any other; there is no ground of aſſerting any ſuch privilege, either in holy Scripture or in old tradition; there can no promiſe be alleged for it, having any probable ſhew, (that of *Oravi pro te* being a ridiculous pretence,) it cannot ſtand without a perpetual miracle; there is in fact no appearance of any ſuch miracle; from the ordinary cauſes of great error and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, ſloth, luxury) the papal ſtate is not exempt, yea, apparently, it is more ſubject to them than any other; all ages have teſtified and complained thereof.

17. Moſt eminent perſons have in ſuch caſes withdrawn communion from the Pope; as otherwhere we have ſhewed by divers inſtances.

18. The canon law itſelf doth admit the Pope may be

[t] Malchion diſertiſſimus Antiochenæ eccleſiæ preſbyter, adverſus Paulum Samoſatenum, qui Antiochenæ eccleſiæ epiſcopus dogma Artemonis inſtaurârat, diſputavit. *Hieron. in Catal.*

[u] Quod ſi a fide exorbitaverit rector, tunc arguendus erit a ſubditis. *Iſid. Hiſp. de Offic.* iii. 39. Vid. Thomam Aq. in 4. Diſt. xix. Art. 2.

judged if he be a heretic.—[x] *Becauſe he that is to judge all perſons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone aſtray from the faith.*

The ſuppoſition doth imply the poſſibility; and therefore the caſe may be put that he is ſuch, and then he doth (according to the more current doctrine ancient and modern) ceaſe to be a biſhop, yea a Chriſtian; hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great Pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope Honorius for good, becauſe he was erroneous in point of faith: [y] *For* (ſaith he, in that which is called the Eighth Synod) *although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the oriental biſhops, it is yet well known, that he was accuſed for hereſy; for which alone it is lawful for inferiors to riſe up againſt ſuperiors.*

Now that the Pope (or papal ſucceſſion) doth pervert the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, in contradiction to the holy Scripture, and primitive tradition; that he doth ſubvert the practice of Chriſtian piety, in oppoſition to the divine commands; that he teacheth falſehoods, and maintaineth impieties, is notorious in many particulars, ſome whereof we ſhall touch.

We juſtly might charge him with all thoſe extravagant doctrines and practices which the high-flying doctors do teach, and which the fierce zealots upon occaſion do act; for the whole ſucceſſion of Popes of a long time hath moſt cheriſhed and encouraged ſuch folks, looking ſquintly on others, as not well affected to them; but we ſhall only touch thoſe new and noxious or dangerous poſitions, which great ſynods, managed and confirmed by their authority, have defined, or which they themſelves have ma-

[x] Quia cunctos ipſe judicaturus a nemine eſt judicandus, niſi deprehendatur a fide devius. *Grat.* Diſt. xl. cap. 6. Vid. P. Innoc. III. apud Laun. contra Baron ——.

[y] Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τῷ Ὁνωρίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἀνάθεμα ἐβρέθη, ὅμως γνωσόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἱρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἣν καὶ μόνον ἔξεστι τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις τῶν μειζόνων κατηγορίσασθαι. *Syn. VIII.* Act. vii. p. 963.

giſterially decreed; or which are generally practiſed by their influence or countenance.

It is manifeſt, that the Pope doth ſupport and cheriſh as his ſpecial favourites the ventors of wicked errors; ſuch as thoſe who teach the *Pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal princes*, to caſhier and *depoſe* them, to *abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance*—the doctrine of *equivocation, breach of faith with heretics*, &c. the which doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever doth ſo much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Chriſtianity, are guilty of the ſame crimes.

The holy Scripture and Catholic antiquity do teach and enjoin us *to worſhip and ſerve God alone*, our Creator; forbidding us to worſhip any creature, or *fellow-ſervant*; even not angels: [z] *For I who am a creature will not endure to worſhip one like to me.*

Matt. iv. 10. Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 9. Col. ii. 18. Rom. i. 25.

[a] But the Pope and his clients do teach and charge us to worſhip angels and dead men; yea even to venerate *the relics and dead bodies of the ſaints.*

The holy Scripture teacheth us to *judge nothing* (about the preſent or future ſtate of men, abſolutely) *before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of hearts, and then each man ſhall have praiſe of God.*

1 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. xiv. 4.

But the Pope notoriouſly (in repugnance to thoſe precepts, anticipating God's judgment, and arrogating to himſelf a knowledge requiſite thereto) doth preſume to determine the ſtate of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be ſaints, and propoſing them to be worſhipped; and on the other ſide, he damneth, curſeth, and cenſureth his fellow-ſervants.

God in his law doth command us not [b] *to bow down*

[z] Κτίσμα γὰρ ὢν ὐκ ἀνίξομαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυνεῖν. *Baſ. apud Sozom.* vi. 16.

[a] Similiter et ſanctos una cum Chriſto regnantes venerandos atque invocandos eſſe:—atque horum reliquias eſſe venerandas. *Pii IV. Profeſſ. Fid.*

Bonum atque utile eſſe eos invocare——ſanctorum quoque corpora——a fidelibus veneranda eſſe. *Conc. Trid.*

[b] Exod. xx. 4. Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα ——.

ourſelves unto any image, or worſhip *the likeneſs of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth*; the which law (whether moral or poſitive) the Goſpel doth ratify and confirm, charging us to *keep ourſelves from idols*, and *to fly worſhipping of idols*, that is, to obſerve the Second Commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers moſt expreſsly aſſert; and divers of them were ſo ſtrict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful ſo much as to make any image.

1 John v. 21. 1 Cor. x. 14, 7. Clem. Alex. Tertul.

But the Pope and his adherents (in point-blank oppoſition to divine law and primitive doctrine) require us to *fall down before* and to worſhip images. [c] *Moreover we decree, that the images of ſaints be eſpecially had and retained in churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them——ſo that by thoſe images which we kiſs, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Chriſt, and venerate the ſaints whoſe likeneſs they bear.*

Neither is he ſatisfied to recommend and decree theſe unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible ſtrange kind of uncharitableneſs and ferity) doth he [d] *anathematize thoſe, who teach* or think *any thing oppoſite to his decrees concerning them*; ſo that if the ancient Fathers ſhould live now, they would live under this curſe.

The holy Scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourſe to God and truſt in his mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, doth offer and promiſe remiſſion of ſins, acceptance with God, juſtification and ſalvation; this is the tenor of the evangelical covenant; nor did the primitive Church know other terms.

Ezek. xviii. Luke xv. Rom. x. 9. Mark i. 15.

But the Pope doth preach another doctrine, and re-

[c] Imagines porro——ſanctorum in templis præſertim habendas, et retinendas; eiſque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam —— ita ut per imagines, quas oſculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus, et procumbimus, Chriſtum adoremus, et ſanctos quorum illæ ſimilitudinem gerunt, veneremur. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. 25.

[d] Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut ſenſerit, anathema ſit. *Ibid.*

quireth other terms, as neceſſary for remiſſion of ſins and ſalvation; for he hath decreed the confeſſion of all and each mortal ſin, which a man by recollection can remember, to a prieſt, to be neceſſary thereto; anathematizing all who ſhall ſay the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. Chryſoſtom frequently) have affirmed the contrary [e].

The which is plainly preaching another Goſpel, (forged by himſelf and his abettors,) as offering remiſſion upon other terms than God hath preſcribed; and denying it upon thoſe which Chriſtianity propoſeth.

He teacheth that no ſin is pardoned without abſolution of a prieſt.

He requireth ſatisfaction impoſed by a prieſt, beſides repentance and new obedience, as neceſſary. Which is alſo another Goſpel [f].

[g] He diſpenſeth pardon of ſin upon condition of performances unneceſſary and inſufficient; ſuch as undertaking *pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints, viſiting churches*, making *war upon infidels* or *heretics, contributing money, repeating prayers*, undergoing *corporal penances*, &c. Which is likewiſe to frame and publiſh another Goſpel.

[e] Si quis dixerit in ſacramento pœnitentiæ ad remiſſionem peccatorum neceſſarium non eſſe jure divino confiteri omnia et ſingula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur —— anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* xiv. *de Pœn.* Can. 7.

If any one ſhall ſay, that in the ſacrament of penance, it is not neceſſary by divine right to confeſs all and ſingular mortal ſins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation, let him be anathema.

[f] Si quis negaverit ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remiſſionem requiri—contritionem, confeſſionem, et ſatisfactionem. *Seſſ.* xiv. Can. 4.

If any ſhall deny that contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction, is required, to the entire and perfect remiſſion of ſin.

[g] Et qui Hieroſolymam proficiſcuntur, et ad Chriſtianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remiſſionem concedimus ——. *Conc. Lat. I.* Can. 11.

And whoever go to Jeruſalem, and powerfully afford help to defend Chriſtian people, and to ſubdue the tyranny of infidels, to them we grant forgiveneſs of their ſins ——.

Theſe doctrines are highly preſumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

God hath commanded, that *every ſoul ſhould be ſubject to the higher powers* temporal, *as to God's miniſters;* ſo as to obey their laws, to ſubmit to their judgments, to pay tribute to them. And the Fathers expound this law to the utmoſt extent and advantage: [h] *If every ſoul, then yours; if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you.* Rom. xiii. 1—. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13. κτίσει —. Chryſ.

But the Pope countermandeth, and exempteth all clergymen from thoſe duties, by his canon law; excommunicating lay judges, who ſhall perform their office in regard to them. [i] *Becauſe indeed ſome lay perſons conſtrain eccleſiaſtics, yea and biſhops themſelves, to appear before them, and to ſtand to their judgment, thoſe that henceforth ſhall preſume to do ſo, we decree that they ſhall be ſeparate from the communion of the faithful.*

The Scriptures do repreſent the King (or temporal ſovereign) as ſupreme over his ſubjects, to whom all are obliged to yield ſpecial reſpect and obedience: the Fathers yield him the ſame place, above all, next to God; and ſubject to God alone: the ancient good Popes did acknowledge themſelves ſervants and ſubjects to the Emperor. Tertul. Opt. Cyril. &c. alibi. Greg. Ep. ii. 62. Agatho, &c.

But later Popes, like *the man of ſin* in St. Paul, have advanced themſelves above all civil power; claiming to themſelves a ſupereminency, not only of rank, but of power, over all Chriſtian princes; even to depoſe them. [k] *Chriſt has committed the rights both of terreſtrial and celeſtial go-* 2 Theſſ. ii. 4.

[h] Si omnis et veſtra —— ſi quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. *Bern.* Ep. 42.

[i] Lex canonica ſimpliciter eos eximit. *Bell. de Cler.* cap. 1.

Sane quia laici quidam eccleſiaſticas perſonas et ipſos etiam epiſcopos ſuo judicio ſtare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præſumpſerint, a communione fidelium decernimus ſegregandos. *Conc. Lat. III.* Can. 14. *Ibid. II.* 15. *Steph. VI.* Ep. 1. (tom. i. p. 130.) *Nichol. I.* Ep. 8. (tom. vi. p. 513.)

[k] Chriſtus beato æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni ſimul et cœleſtis imperii jura commiſit. *P. Nich. II. apud Grat.* Diſt. xxii. cap. 1. *Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21. *Cauſ.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 3.

vernment to that bleſſed man who bears the keys of eternal life.

[l] *If the ſecular power be believers, God would have them ſubject to the prieſts of the Church — Chriſtian Emperors ought to ſubmit, and not prefer the execution of their laws to the rulers of the Church.*

God by indiſpenſable law hath obliged us to retain our obedience to the King, even Pagan; charging us under pain of damnation to be ſubject to him, and not to reſiſt him——.

But the Pope is ready upon occaſion to diſcharge ſubjects from that obligation, to abſolve them from their ſolemn oaths of allegiance, to encourage inſurrection againſt him, to prohibit obedience——. [m] *We obſerving the decrees of our holy predeceſſors, by our apoſtolical authority abſolve thoſe from their oath who were bound by their fealty and oath to excommunicated perſons: and we forbid them by all means that they yield them no allegiance, till they come and make ſatisfaction.*

Thus doth he teach and preſcribe *rebellion, perjury*— together with all the *murders* and *rapines* conſequent on them: which is a far greater hereſy, than if he ſhould teach *adultery, murder,* or *theft* to be lawful. [n] *For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the allegiance which they have ſworn to a Chriſtian prince, who is an adverſary to God and his ſaints, and contemns their commands.*

Ezek. xiii. 3, &c. Not only the holy Scripture, but common ſenſe doth

[l] Seculi poteſtates ſi fideles ſunt, Deus Eccleſiæ ſacerdotibus voluit eſſe ſubjectas — Imperatores Chriſtiani ſubdere debent executiones ſuas eccleſiaſticis præſulibus, non præferre. *P. Joh. VIII. apud Grat.* Diſt. xcvi. cap. 11.

[m] Nos ſanctorum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum ſtatuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut ſacramento conſtricti ſunt, apoſtolica auctoritate a ſacramento abſolvimus; et ne eis fidelitatem obſervent omnibus modis prohibemus, quouſque ipſi ad ſatisfactionem veniant. *Greg. VII. in Syn. Rom. Grat. Cauſ.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 4.

[n] Fidelitatem enim quam Chriſtiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejuſque ſanctis adverſanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur auctoritate perſolvere —— *P. Urb. II. apud Grat. Cauſ.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 5.

ſhew it to be an enormous preſumption to obtrude for the inſpirations, oracles, and dictates of God, any writings or propoſitions, which are not really ſuch.

This the Pope doth notoriouſly, charging us to admit divers writings (which the greateſt part of learned men in all ages have refuſed for ſuch) as ſacred and canonical; anathematizing all thoſe who do not hold each of them for ſuch [o]:—even as they are extant in a tranſlation, not very exact, and framed partly out of Hebrew, partly out of Greek, upon divers accounts liable to miſtake; as its author St Jerome doth avow.

According to which decree, all who conſent with St. Jerome, St. Auſtin, St. Athanaſius, &c. with common ſenſe, with the author of the ſecond of Maccabees himſelf, muſt incur a curſe. What can be more uncharitable, more unjuſt, more ſilly, than ſuch a definition?

He pretendeth to infallibility, or encourageth them who attribute it to him; which is a continual enthuſiaſm, and profane bold impoſture.

The Scripture doth avow a ſingular reverence due to itſelf, as containing the oracles of God—.

But the Pope doth obtrude the *oral traditions* of his church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain—) to be worſhipped with equal reverence as the holy Scripture. [p] *And alſo receives and venerates, with the like pious reſpect and reverence, the traditions themſelves — which have been preſerved by continual ſucceſſion in the Catholic Church.*

Among which traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their maſs ſervice; together with all their

[o] Si quis autem libros ipſos integros cum ſuis partibus, prout in Eccleſia Catholica legi conſueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro ſacris et canonicis non ſuſceperit —— anathema ſit. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. 4.

But if any ſhall not receive for ſacred and canonical thoſe whole books, with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin edition; let him be anathema.

[p] —— nec non traditiones ipſas —— continua ſucceſſione in Eccleſia Catholica conſervatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia ſuſcipit, et veneratur. *Syn. Trid.* Seſſ. 4.

new notions about purgatory, extreme unction, &c. [q] *He alſo uſed ſeveral ceremonies, as myſtical benediction, lights, incenſings, garments, and many other ſuch things, from apoſtolical diſcipline and tradition.*

The Scriptures affirm themſelves to be written for common inſtruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themſelves to be ſtudied and ſearched by all people; as the beſt and ſureſt means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. [r] The Fathers alſo do much exhort all people (even women and girls) conſtantly to read, and diligently to ſtudy the Scriptures.

[s] But the Pope doth keep them from the people, locked up in languages not underſtood by them; prohibiting tranſlations of them to be made, or uſed. The Scripture teacheth, and common ſenſe ſheweth, and the Fathers do aſſert, (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly,) that all neceſſary points of faith and good morality are with ſufficient evidence couched in holy Scripture, ſo that *a man of God*, or pious men, may thence *be perfectly furniſhed to every work;* but they contrariwiſe blaſpheme the Scriptures, as obſcure, dangerous, &c.

2 Tim. iii. 17.

Common ſenſe dictateth, that devotions ſhould be performed with underſtanding and affection; and that conſequently they ſhould be in a known tongue: and St. Paul expreſsly teacheth, that it is requiſite for private and public edification; [t] *From this doctrine of Paul it appears, that it is better for the edification of the Church, that pub-*

[q] Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut myſticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, veſtes, aliaque id genus multa ex apoſtolica diſciplina et traditione——. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. xxii. cap. 5, 11. *de ſacrif. Miſſ.*

[r] 2 Tim. iii. 15.— Rom. xv. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 10. x. 11. 2 Pet. i. 20. ἐπιλύσεως. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 11. Pſalm cxix.— Hier. ad Læt. Epitaph. Paul. Vit. Hilar ——. Chryſ. in Coloſ. Or. 9. Aug. Serm. 55. de temp.

[s] N. P. Pius IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and permiſſion of books; in which it is permitted to biſhops to grant a faculty of reading the Scriptures tranſlated——but to this rule there is added an obſervation, that *this power was taken from biſhops by command of the Roman Univerſal Inquiſition. Ind. Lib. Prohib. a Clem. VIII.*

[t] 1 Cor. xiv. 14. Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius eſt ad Eccleſiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine. *Cajet. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv.

lic prayers, which are ſaid in the audience of the people, ſhould be ſaid in a tongue common to the clergy and the people, than that they ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

All ancient churches did accordingly practiſe; and moſt others do ſo, beſide thoſe which the Pope doth ride.

But the Pope will not have it ſo, requiring the public liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue; and that moſt Chriſtians ſhall ſay their devotions like parrots. He anathematizeth thoſe, who [u] *think the maſs ſhould be celebrated in a vulgar tongue;* that is, all thoſe who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient Church.

The holy Scripture teacheth us that there is but one head of the Church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have otherwhere ſhewed).

But the Pope aſſumeth to himſelf the headſhip of the Church, affirming all [x] *power and authority to be derived from him into the ſubject members of the Church.*

[y] *We decree that the Roman Pontiff is the true vicar of Chriſt, and the head of the whole Church.*

The Scripture declareth, that God did inſtitute marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of ſin; forbidding the uſe of it to none, who ſhould think it needful or convenient for them [z]; reckoning the [a] *prohibition of it* among heretical doctrines; implying it to be [b] *impoſing a ſnare* upon men. Matt. xix. 11.

But the Pope and his complices do prohibit it to whole orders of men, (*prieſts*, &c.) engaging them into dangerous vows. Vid. tom. vii. Conc. p. 465. Syn. Trid. Seſſ. xxiv. de matr. Can. 9. Matt. v. 32. xix. 7. 1 Cor. vii. 10.

Our Lord forbiddeth any marriage lawfully contracted to be diſſolved, otherwiſe than in caſe of adultery.

[u] —— aut lingua tantum vulgari miſſam celebrari debere — anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* xxii. Can. 9.

[x] A quo tanquam capite omnis in ſubjecta membra poteſtas et authoritas derivetur. *P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

[y] Definimus Romanum Pontificem——verum Chriſti vicarium, totiuſque Eccleſiæ caput ——. *Defin. Syn. Flor.*

[z] Μὴ ἐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ;— 1 Cor. ix. 5.

[a] Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν 1 Tim. iv. 3.

[b] Βρόχον ἐπιβάλλειν 1 Cor. vii. 35.

But the Pope commandeth prieſts married to be divorced. [a] *And that marriages contracted by ſuch perſons ſhould be diſſolved.*

He diſſolveth matrimony agreed, by the profeſſion of monkery of one of the eſpouſed. [b] *If any ſhall ſay, that matrimony confirmed, not conſummate, is not diſſolved by the ſolemn profeſſion of religion of either party, let him be anathema.*

Our Saviour did inſtitute and enjoin us (under pain of damnation, if we ſhould wilfully tranſgreſs his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his blood, in participation of the holy Supper [c].

The Fathers did accordingly practiſe, with the whole Church, till late times.

But [d] *notwithſtanding Chriſt's inſtitution,* (as they expreſs it,) papal ſynods do prohibit all laymen, and prieſts not celebrating, to partake of Chriſt's blood; ſo maiming and perverting our Lord's inſtitution: [e] *and yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption.*

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. xxi. Can. 3. Seſſ. xiii. Can. 3. In defence of which practice, they confound body and blood; and under a curſe would oblige us to believe, that one kind doth contain the other; or that a part doth contain the whole.

John vi. 54. Whereas our Lord ſaith, that *whoſo eateth his fleſh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life;* and conſequently ſuppoſeth, that bad men do not partake of his body and blood; yet they condemn this aſſertion under a curſe [f].

[a] Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujuſmodi perſonis disjungi. *Conc. Lat. I.* cap. 21. *Lat. II. Trid.* Seſſ. xxiv. Can. 9.——

[b] Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non conſummatum, per ſolemnem religionis profeſſionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* xxiv. Can. 6.

[c] Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Matt. xxvi. 27. Ἐὰν μὴ—πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωήν. Joh. vi. 53.

[d] Non obſtante. *Conc. Conſt.* Seſſ. xiii.

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. xiii. cap. 8. Can. 3. Seſſ. xxi. cap. 4. Can. 3.

[e] This Pope Leo I. condemneth. *De Quadr.* Serm. iv. (p. 38.) Sanguinem redemptionis noſtræ haurire declinant——.

P. Gelaſius calleth the diviſion of the ſacrament a grand ſacrilege. *Gratian. in De Conſecr. Diſt.* ii. cap. 12.

[f] Si quis dixerit tantum in uſu, &c. *Trid. Conc.* Seſſ. xiii. cap. 8. Can. 4.——

The holy Scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the Euchariſt, after conſecration, bread and wine; affirming them to retain their nature. Ἄρτον τοῦτο 1 Cor. xi. 26. Theod. Gelaſ.——

But the popiſh Cabal anathematizeth thoſe who ſay, *that bread and wine do then remain.*

ε *If any ſhall ſay, that in the holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt the ſubſtance of bread and wine remain — let him be anathema.*

The nature of the Lord's Supper doth imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to ſay, that a prieſt *may not communicate alone;* ſo eſtabliſhing the belief of nonſenſe and contradiction.

The holy Scripture teacheth us, that our Lord hath departed, and is abſent from us in body; until that he ſhall come to judge, which is called his *preſence;* [h] that heaven, whither he aſcended, and where he ſitteth at God's right hand, muſt *hold him till the times of the reſtitution of all things.*

But the Pope with his Lateran and Tridentine complices draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally preſent every day, in numberleſs places here.

The Scripture teacheth us, that our Lord is a man, [i] *perfectly like to us in all things.*

But the Pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once preſent in innumerable places; inſenſible, &c. diveſted of the properties of our body; thereby deſtroying his human nature, and in effect agreeing with Eutyches, Apollinarius, and other ſuch peſtilent heretics.

The Scripture repreſenteth him born once for us; but they affirm him every day made by a prieſt, uttering the

ε Si quis dixerit in ſacroſancto Euchariſtiæ ſacramento remanere ſubſtantiam panis et vini——anathema ſit. *Trid. Conc. de Euch.* Seſſ. xiii. Can. 2.

Si quis dixerit miſſas in quibus ſacerdos ſolus ſacramentaliter communicat, illicitas eſſe, anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* xxii. *de ſacr. Miſſ.* Can. 8. Seſſ. xiii. Can. 8.

[h] 2 Cor. v. 6.—— Acts ii. 33. Col. iii. 1.

Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισε. Heb. x. 12.

Ὃν δεῖ μὲν δέχεσθαι οὐρανὸν ἄχρι. Acts iii. 21.

[i] Ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. Heb. ii. 17.

words of conſecration; as if that which before did exiſt, could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

Heb. ix. 26. x. 10, 12, 14. ἱφάπαξ. μιᾷ προσφορᾷ. The Scripture teacheth, that our Lord was *once offered for expiation of* our ſins; but they pretend every day to offer him up as a *propitiatory ſacrifice.*

Theſe devices, without other foundation than a figurative expreſſion, (which they reſolve to expound in a proper ſenſe, although even in that very matter divers figurative expreſſions are uſed, as they cannot but acknowledge,) they with all violence and fierceneſs obtrude upon the belief, as one of the moſt neceſſary and fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Religion.

Eph. ii. 8, 9. Tit. iii. 5. Rom. iii. 24. Luke xvii. 10. The Scripture teacheth us humbly to acknowledge the rewards aſſigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, *after we have done all, muſt acknowledge ourſelves unprofitable ſervants.*

But the Papiſts curſe thoſe who, although out of humility and modeſty, will not acknowledge the good works of juſtified perſons to be truly meritorious; *deſerving the increaſe of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory*: ſo forcing us to uſe ſaucy words and phraſes, if not impious in their ſenſe.

Seſſ. vi. de Juſtif. Can. 32.

The Scripture teacheth one Church diffuſed over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace, and communion with the reſt, upon brotherly terms.

But the Romaniſts arrogate to themſelves the name and privilege of the only Church; condemning all other churches beſides their own, and cenſuring all for apoſtatical who do not adhere to them, or ſubmit to their yoke; juſt like the Donatiſts, who ſaid that [k] *the world had apoſtatized,* excepting thoſe who upon their own terms did communicate with them; *only the communion of Donatus remained* the true Church.

1 John iv. 1. Jer. xxix. 8—. The holy Scripture biddeth us take care of perſons pretending to extraordinary inſpirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices.

[k] Orbis terrarum apoſtatavit, et ſola remanſit Donati communio. *Aug. de Unit.* 12 ——.

Such have been their ſynods, boldly fathering their decrees on God's Spirit—. And their Pope is infallible, by virtue of inſpiration communicated to him, when he pleaſeth to ſet himſelf right in his chair. Whence we may take them for bodies of enthuſiaſts and fanatics: the difference only is, that other enthuſiaſts pretend ſingly, they conjunctly and by conſpiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence, theſe impoſe their dreams on the whole Church.

If they ſay that God hath promiſed his Spirit to his Church, it is true; but he hath no leſs plainly and frequently promiſed it to ſingle Chriſtians, who ſhould ſeek it earneſtly of him. Luke xi. 13 James i. 5. 1 John ii. 27. Heb. viii. 11.

The ancient Fathers could in the Scriptures hardly diſcern more than two ſacraments, or myſterious rites of our religion, by poſitive law and inſtitution of our Saviour to be practiſed. Rom. viii. 9 Acts v. 32. Aug. Doctr Chriſt. Ep. ad Jen.

But the Popes have deviſed others, and under uncharitable curſes propound them to be profeſſed for ſuch;[l] affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Every clergyman and monk is bound by Pius IV. to profeſs [m] *there are juſt ſeven of them*; and the Tridentine Synod [n] *anathematizeth all thoſe, who do ſay there are more or fewer*; although the ancients did never hit on that number.

[o] *But theſe our ſacraments both contain grace, and alſo confer it upon thoſe who worthily receive them.*

They require men to believe under a curſe that each of

[l] Si ſacramenta eſſent pauciora, magna impietas fuiſſet, et ſuperſtitio, &c. *Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 25.

If the ſacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and ſuperſtition, &c.

[m] Profiteor quoque ſeptem eſſe proprie et vere ſacramenta. *Bulla Pii IV.*

[n] Si quis dixerit——eſſe plura vel pauciora quam ſeptem——anathema ſit. *Syn. Trid.* Seſſ. vii. Can. 1.

[o] Hæc vero noſtra et continent gratiam, et ipſam digne ſuſcipientibus conferunt. *P. Eug. in Inſtr. Arm.*

Si quis dixerit per ipſa novæ legis ſacramenta ex opere operato, non conferri gratiam——anathema ſit. *Ibid.* Can. 8.

thoſe were inſtituted of Chriſt, and confer grace by the bare performance.

Particularly, they curſe thoſe who do not hold [o] *matrimony for a ſacrament, inſtituted by Chriſt, and conferring grace.* What can be more ridiculous than to ſay, that marriage was inſtituted by Chriſt, or that it doth confer grace?

Seſſ. xxiv. Can. 10. Yet with another anathema they prefer virginity before it: and why, forſooth, is not that another ſacrament? And then they muſt be comparing the worth of theſe ſacraments, condemning thoſe heavily, who may conceive them equal, as being divine inſtitutions.

[p] *If any ſhall ſay that theſe ſeven ſacraments are ſo equal one to another, that one is in no reſpect of more worth than another, let him be anathema.*

The firſt, as it ſeemeth, who reckoned the ſacraments to be ſeven, was Peter Lombard; whom the ſchoolmen did follow; and Pope Eugenius IV. followed them; [q] and afterward the Trent men formed it into an article backed with an anathema.

Upon which raſh and peremptory ſentence touching all ancient divines, we may note;

1. Is it not ſtrange, that an article of faith ſhould be formed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, uſed with great variety?

2. Is it not ſtrange to define a point, whereof it is moſt plain that the Fathers were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or reſolve any thing?

3. Yea, whereof they ſpeak variouſly.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curſe people for a point of ſo little conſideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and preſumption to define, nay, indeed, to make an article of faith, without

[o] Si quis dixerit matrimonium non eſſe vere ac proprie unum ex ſeptem legis evangelicæ ſacramentis, a Chriſto Domino inſtitutum——neque gratiam conferre, anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* xxiv. Can. 1.

[p] Si quis dixerit hæc ſeptem ſacramenta ita eſſe inter ſe paria, ut nulla ratione aliud ſit alio dignius, anathema ſit. *Seſſ.* vii. Can. 3.

[q] Novæ legis ſeptem ſunt ſacramenta, &c. *P. Eug. in Inſtr. Arm.* Bellarmine could find none before him. Vid. *de Sacram.* ii. 25.

any manner of ground or colour of authority either from Scripture or the tradition of the ancient Fathers [r]?

The holy Scripture forbiddeth us *to call any man maſter upon earth,* or abſolutely to ſubject our faith to the dictates of any man; it teacheth us that the Apoſtles themſelves are *not lords of our faith,* ſo as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; it forbiddeth us to ſwallow whole the doctrines and precepts of men, without examination of them. It forbiddeth us to admit [s] *various and ſtrange doctrines.* Matt. xxiii. 8. 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Theſſ. v. 21. Col. ii. 8. Matt. xv. 9.

But the Pope and Roman church exact from us a ſubmiſſion to their dictates, admitting them for true, without any farther inquiry or diſcuſſion, barely upon his authority. [t] *They who are provided of any benefices whatever, having cure of ſouls, let them promiſe and ſwear obedience to the Roman church.*

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profeſs, to aſſert innumerable propoſitions, divers of them new and ſtrange, nowiſe deducible from Scripture or apoſtolical tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the primitive Church, deviſed by human ſubtilty, curioſity, contentiouſneſs—divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common ſenſe) uncertain, obſcure, and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably falſe. Namely, all ſuch propoſitions, as have been taught by their great juntos, allowed by the Pope, eſpecially that of Trent.

[u] *Moreover all other things delivered, defined, and de-*

r Multa dicuntur a veteribus ſacramenta præter iſta ſeptem. *Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 24.

Many things are by the ancients called ſacraments beſides theſe ſeven.

s Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Heb. xiii. 9.

t Proviſi de beneficiis quibuſcunque curam animarum habentibus —— in Romanæ eccleſiæ obedientiam ſpondeant ac jurent. *Conc. Trid.* Seſſ. xxiv. cap. 12. *de Ref.*

—— nec non veram obedientiam ſummo Pontifici ſpondeant et profiteantur. *Seſſ.* xxv. cap. 2. *de Ref.*

u Cætera item omnia a ſacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a ſacroſancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; ſimulque contraria omnia, atque hæreſes

clared by the ſacred canons and œcumenical councils, and eſpecially by the holy Synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profeſs; and alſo all things contrary thereunto, and all hereſies whatſoever condemned and rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner do condemn, reject, and anathematize——. This is the true Catholic faith, out of which there can be no ſalvation.

This uſurpation upon the conſciences of Chriſtians (none like whereto was ever known in the world) they proſecute with moſt uncharitable cenſures; curſing and damning all who do not in heart and profeſſion ſubmit to them, obliging all their conſorts to join therein, againſt all charity and prudence.

Rom. xiv. 1. xv. 1, 7. The Scripture enjoineth us to bear with thoſe who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or diſputable matters.

But the Popes, with cruel uncharitableneſs, not only do cenſure all that cannot aſſent to their devices, which they obtrude as articles of faith; but ſorely perſecute them with all ſorts of puniſhments; even with death itſelf; a practice inconſiſtent with Chriſtian meekneſs, with equity, with reaſon; and of which the Fathers have expreſſed the greateſt deteſtation.

[x] *They have unwoven and altered all theology from head to foot, and of divine have made it ſophiſtical.*

The Pope, with his pack of mercenary clients at Trent, did indeed eſtabliſh a ſcholaſtical or ſophiſtical, rather than a Chriſtian theology; framing points, deviſed by the idle wits of latter times, into definitions and peremptory concluſions, backed with curſes and cenſures: concerning which concluſions it is evident,

Formaliter juſtos. *Seſſ.* vi. Can. 10. That the Apoſtles themſelves would not be able to underſtand many of them.

Ex opere operato. *Seſſ.* vii. Can. 8. That the ancient Fathers did never think any thing about them.

quaſcunque ab Eccleſia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, reſpuo, et anathematizo. *P. Pii IV. profeſſ.*

Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla ſalus eſſe poteſt. *Ibid.*

[x] Totam theologiam a capite uſque ad calcem retexuerunt, et ex divina ſophiſticam fecerunt. *Eraſm. præf. ad Hieron.*

That divers of them conſiſt in application of artificial terms and phraſes deviſed by human ſubtilty. Character. Seſſ. vii. Can. 9.

That divers of them are in their own nature diſputable; were before diſputed by wiſe men; and will ever be diſputed by thoſe who freely uſe their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and curſing they know not who, Fathers, ſchoolmen, divines, &c. who have expreſsly affirmed points ſo damned by them.

That many truths are uncharitably backed with curſes, which diſparageth them; (ſeeing a man may err pardonably—πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες,) *in many things we offend all.* James iii. 2.

For inſtance, what need was there of defining, what need of curſing thoſe, who think concupiſcence *to be truly and properly ſin,* upon St. Paul's authority calling it ſo? Seſſ. v. Can. 5. Rom. vii.

That [y] *Adam preſently upon his tranſgreſſion did loſe the ſanctity and juſtice in which he was conſtituted?*

What need of curſing thoſe, who ſay that men are juſtified *by the ſole remiſſion of ſins,* according to St. Paul's notion, and uſe of the word *juſtification?* Seſſ. vi. Can. 11—.

What need of curſing thoſe, who ſay the [z] *grace of God, by which we are juſtified, is only the favour of God*; whereas it is plain enough that *God's grace* there in St. Paul doth ſignify nothing elſe, applied to that caſe?

Or that faith is *nothing elſe, but a reliance in God's mercy, remitting ſins for Chriſt;* ſeeing it is plain that St. Paul doth by faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the Goſpel? Seſſ. vi. Can. 12.

Or that good works [a] *do not cauſe an increaſe of juſtification;* ſeeing St. Paul doth exclude juſtification by works; and it is a free work of God — uncapable of degrees?

[y] Cum mandatum Dei in paradiſo fuiſſet tranſgreſſus, ſtatim ſanctitatem et juſtitiam in qua conſtitutus fuerat amiſiſſe. *Seſſ.* v. Can. 1.

[z] Seſſ. vi. Can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam qua juſtificamur eſſe tantum favorem Dei.

[a] Seſſ. vi. Can. 24. Non autem ipſius augendæ cauſam ——.

Or that after remiſſion of ſin in juſtification, [b] *a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide?*

Seſſ. vi. Can. 32. Or that a man cannot *by his works merit increaſe of grace, and glory, and eternal life;* ſeeing a man is not to be blamed, who doth diſlike the uſe of ſo ſaucy a word; the which divers good men have diſclaimed?

De ſacramentis. Si quis dixerit—— eſſe plura vel pauciora quam ſeptem. *Seſſ.* vii. Can. 1. What need of curſing thoſe, who do not take the ſacraments to be *preciſely ſeven?* or who conceive that ſome one of their ſeven may not be *truly and properly* a ſacrament; ſeeing the word *ſacrament* is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. Auſtin, *ſignum rei ſacræ;* and that before Peter Lombard ever did mention that number?

Seſſ. vii. Can. 3. What need of damning thoſe, who do conceive the ſacraments equal in dignity?

Seſſ. vii. Can. 8. What need of defining, that ſacraments do confer grace *ex opere operato?* which is an obſcure ſcholaſtical phraſe.

What need of curſing thoſe who ſay, that a [c] *character is not impreſſed in the ſoul* of thoſe who take *baptiſm, confirmation, or orders;* ſeeing what this character is, (or [d] *this ſpiritual and indelible mark,*) they do not themſelves well underſtand or agree?

Seſſ. vii. Can. 11. What need of curſing thoſe, who do not think that the validity of ſacraments (and conſequently the aſſurance of our being Chriſtians) dependeth on the intention of the miniſter?

Seſſ. vii. Can. 13. What need of curſing thoſe, who think that a paſtor of the Church may change the ceremonies of adminiſtering the ſacraments; ſeeing St. Cyprian often teacheth, that every paſtor hath full authority in ſuch caſes within his own precinct?

Seſſ. iv. What need of defining the Second Book of Maccabees to be canonical, againſt the common opinion of the Fathers, (moſt expreſsly of St. Auſtin himſelf,) of the moſt learned in all ages, of Pope Gelaſius himſelf, (*in Decret.*)

[b] Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ ——. *Seſſ.* vi. Can. 30. *Seſſ.* xiv. *de pœnit.* Can. 15.

[c] Non imprimi characterem in anima. *Seſſ.* vii. Can. 9.

[d] Hoc eſt ſignum quoddam ſpirituale, et indelebile. *Ibid.*

which the author himſelf (calling his work an epitome, and aſking pardon for his errors) diſclaimeth, and which common ſenſe therefore diſclaimeth [d]?

Their new creed of Pius IV. containeth theſe novelties and heterodoxies. 1. *Seven ſacraments.* 2. *Trent doctrine of juſtification and original ſin.* 3. *Propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſs.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *Communicating under one kind.* 6. *Purgatory.* 7. *Invocation of ſaints.* 8. *Veneration of relics.* 9. *Worſhip of images.* 10. *The Roman church to be the mother and miſtreſs of all churches.* 11. *Swearing obedience to the Pope.* 12. *Receiving the decrees of all ſynods,* and of Trent.

[d] Fidem minutis diffecant ambagibus
Ut quiſque lingua nequior.
Solvunt ligantque quæſtionum vincula
Per ſyllogiſmos plectiles ——. *Prudent. in Apotheoſ.*

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

Non habet charitatem Dei, qui Ecclesiæ non diligit unitatem.
AUG. DE BAPT. 3.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

EPHES. iv. 4.

One body, and one ſpirit.

THE *Unity of the Church* is a point which may ſeem ſomewhat ſpeculative, and remote from practice; but in right judgments it is otherwiſe; many duties depending upon a true notion and conſideration of it; ſo that from ignorance or miſtake about it we may incur divers offences or omiſſions of duty; hence in holy Scripture it is often propoſed as a conſiderable point, and uſeful to practice.

And if ever the conſideration of it were needful, it is ſo now, when the Church is ſo rent with diſſenſions, for our ſatisfaction and direction about the queſtions and caſes debated in Chriſtendom; for on the explication of it, or the true reſolution wherein it doth conſiſt, the controverſies about *church-government, hereſy, ſchiſm, liberty of conſcience,* and by conſequence many others, do depend; yea, indeed, all others are by ſome parties made to depend thereon.

St. Paul, exhorting the Epheſians, his diſciples, to the maintenance of charity and peace among themſelves, doth for inducement to that practice repreſent the unity and community of thoſe things which jointly did appertain to

them as Chriſtians: the unity of that *body* whereof they were members; of that *ſpirit* which did animate and act them; of that *hope* to which they were called; of that *Lord* whom they all did worſhip and ſerve; of that *faith* which they did profeſs; of that *baptiſm* whereby they were admitted into the ſame ſtate of duties, of rights, of privileges; of that one *God* and univerſal *Father*, to whom they had all the ſame relations.

He beginneth with the *unity* of the *body*; that is, of the Chriſtian Church; concerning which unity, what it is, and wherein it doth conſiſt, I mean now to diſcourſe.

In order to clearing which point, we muſt firſt ſtate what the Church is, of which we diſcourſe; for the word *church* is ambiguous, having both in holy Scripture and common uſe divers ſenſes ſomewhat different. For,

1. Sometimes any aſſembly or company of Chriſtians is called a *church*; as when mention is made of *the church in* ſuch *a houſe*; (whence Tertullian ſaith, [a] *Where there are three, even laicks, there is a church.*)

Rom. xvi. 5. Col. iv. 15. Philem. ii.

2. Sometimes a particular ſociety of Chriſtians, living in ſpiritual communion, and under diſcipline; as when, [b] *the church at* ſuch *a town*; [c] *the churches of* ſuch *a province*; [d] *the churches*; *all the churches*, are mentioned: according to which notions St. Cyprian ſaith, that there is a [e] *church*, where there is *a people united to a prieſt, and a flock adhering to their ſhepherd:* and ſo Ignatius ſaith, [f] *that without the orders of the clergy a church is not called.*

3. A larger collection of divers particular ſocieties combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common government, or of perſons acting in the public

[a] Ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet laici. *Tert. de Exh. Caſt.* cap. 7.

[b] Acts viii. 1. xiv. 27. v. 11. 1 Cor. i. 1. Col. iv. 16. 1 Theſſ. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Rev. ii. 1, &c. Rom. xvi. 1.

[c] Acts ix. 31. Gal. i. 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. 2 Cor. viii. 1.

[d] Rom. xvi. 4. 1 Cor. iv. 17. xi. 16. Acts xvi. 5. Rev. ii. 7, 11. Κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts xiv. 23.

[e] Eccleſia, plebs ſacerdoti adunata, et paſtori ſuo grex adhærens. *Cypr.* Ep. 69.

[f] Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. *Ignat. ad Tral.*

behalf, is termed a *church:* as the church of Antioch, of Corinth, of Jeruſalem, &c. each of which at firſt probably might conſiſt of divers congregations, having dependencies of leſs towns annexed to them; all being united under the care of the biſhop and preſbytery of thoſe places; but however, ſoon after the Apoſtles' times, it is certain that ſuch collections were, and were named *churches.*

4. The ſociety of thoſe who at preſent or in courſe of time profeſs the faith and Goſpel of Chriſt, and undertake the evangelical covenant, in diſtinction to all other religions; particularly to that of the Jews; which is called the *ſynagogue.* Matt. xvi. 18. Eph. iii. 10. Gal. i. 13. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

5. The whole body of God's people that is, ever hath been, or ever ſhall be, from the beginning of the world to the conſummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually) believed in Chriſt, and ſincerely obeyed God's laws, ſhall finally, by the meritorious performances and ſufferings of Chriſt, be ſaved, is called the *church.* Act. xii. 1. ii. 47. xx. 28. 1 Cor. x. 32. xii. 28. xv. 9. xiv. 12.

Of theſe acceptions the two latter do only come under preſent conſideration; it being plain that St. Paul doth not ſpeak of any one particular or preſent ſociety; but of all at all times who have relation to the ſame *Lord, faith, hope, ſacraments,* &c.

Wherefore, to determine the caſe between theſe two, we muſt obſerve, that to the latter of theſe (that is, to the Catholic ſociety of true believers and faithful ſervants of Chriſt, diffuſed through all ages, diſperſed through all countries, whereof part doth ſojourn on earth, part doth reſide in heaven, part is not yet extant; but all whereof is deſcribed in the regiſter of divine pre-ordination, and ſhall be re-collected at the reſurrection of the juſt; that, I ſay, to this Church) eſpecially all the glorious titles and excellent privileges attributed to the Church in holy Scripture do agree. Eph. i. 10.

This is *the body of Chriſt,* whereof he is *the head,* and Saviour. Col. i. 18, 20.

This is the ſpouſe, and wife of Chriſt; whereof he is the bridegroom and huſband. Eph. v. 25, 32. Rev. xix. 7.

This is *the houſe of God;* whereof our Lord is the Matt. xxii. 2. xxv. 1.

maſter; [g] which is *built upon a rock, ſo that the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.*

This is [h] *the city of God; the new, the holy, the heavenly Jeruſalem, the mother of us all.*

Pſ. cxxxii. 13. This is the *Sion, which the Lord hath choſen, which he hath deſired for his habitation,* where he hath reſolved to *place his reſt and reſidence for ever.*

Iſ. ii. 22. Mic. iv. 1. This is *the mountain of the Lord, ſeated above all mountains, unto which all nations ſhall flow.*

1 Pet. ii. 9. This is *the elect generation, royal prieſthood, holy nation, peculiar people.*

Heb. xii. 23. This is *the general aſſembly, and Church of the firſtborn, who are enrolled in heaven.*

Acts xx. 28. Eph. v. 25—27. This is *the Church which God hath purchaſed with his own blood;* and, *for which Chriſt hath delivered himſelf, that he might ſanctify it, and cleanſe it, with the waſhing of water by the word, that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church, not having ſpot, or wrinkle, nor any ſuch thing; but that it might be holy and unblemiſhed.*

To this Church, as thoſe high elogies moſt properly do appertain, ſo that unity which is often attributed to the Church doth peculiarly belong thereto.

1 Cor. xii. 13. Rom. xii. 5. Eph. iv. 16. Col. ii. 19. 1 Cor. xii. 26. This is that *one body, into which we are all baptized by one Spirit;* which is *knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid, and ſupply to its nouriſhment and increaſe;* the members whereof do hold a mutual ſympathy and complacence; which is joined to one Head, deriving ſenſe and motion from it; which is enlivened and moved by *one Spirit.*

1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Eph. ii. 20. This is that *one ſpiritual houſe,* reared *upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt being the chief corner-ſtone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.*

Heb. iii. 6. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Matt. x. 25. This is that *one family of God,* whereof Chriſt is the οἰκοδεσπότης, whence good Chriſtians are οἰκεῖοι Θεοῦ.

[g] Matt. xxi. 13. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Heb. iii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Eph. ii. 21. Mat. xvi. 18.

[h] Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2, 10. Gal. iv. 26. Heb. xii. 22.

This is that one city, or corporation, endued with an ample charter and noble privileges, in regard to which St. Paul ſaith we are συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων, (fellow-citizens of the ſaints,) and that our πολίτευμα (our civil ſtate and capacity) *is in heaven*, or that we are citizens thereof. Heb. xii. 22 Rev. iii. 12 xxi. 2, 10. Eph. ii. 19. Phil. iii. 20

That one holy nation, and peculiar people, (the ſpiritual Iſrael,) ſubject to the ſame government and law, (that which is called the kingdom of heaven;) enjoying the ſame franchiſes and privileges; following the ſame cuſtoms and faſhions; uſing the ſame converſation and language; whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord and King. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

This is the * *one flock, under one ſhepherd.* *John x. 16. Ezek. xxxvii. 24. xxiv. 23.

This is the ſociety of thoſe for whom Chriſt did pray, that they might † *be all one.* †John xvii. 20.

It is true, that divers of theſe characters are expreſſed to relate to the Church after Chriſt; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithful ſervants of God before, who in effect were Chriſtians, being ſaved upon the ſame account; and therefore did belong to the ſame body [i].

To this Church in a more ſpecial and eminent manner all thoſe titles, and particularly that of *unity*, are aſcribed; but the ſame alſo in ſome order and meaſure do belong and are attributed to the univerſal Church ſojourning upon earth.

For becauſe this viſible Church doth enfold the other, (as one maſs doth contain the good ore and baſe alloy [k]; as one floor the corn and the chaff; as one field the wheat and the tares; as one net the choice fiſh and the refuſe; as one fold the ſheep and the goats; as one tree the living and the dry branches:) becauſe this ſociety is deſigned Mat. iii. 12. xiii. 38, 47. xxv. 32. John xv. 2.

[i] Ex quo vocantur ſancti, eſt Eccleſia in terra. *Aug. in Pſal.* 128.

Since men are called ſaints, there is a Church upon earth.

Sancti ante legem, ſancti ſub lege, ſancti ſub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris ſunt Eccleſiæ conſtituti. *Greg. Mag.* Epiſt. 24.

Saints before the Law, ſaints under the Law, ſaints under the Goſpel, all theſe make up the body of Chriſt, and are reckoned among the members of the Church.

[k] One great houſe hath veſſels of honour and diſhonour. 2 *Tim.* ii. 20. (Rom. ix. 21.)

to be in reality what the other is in appearance, the ſame with the other: becauſe therefore preſumptively every member of this doth paſs for a member of the other, (the time of diſtinction and ſeparation not being yet come:) becauſe this in its profeſſion of truth, in its ſacrifices of devotion, in its practice of ſervice and duty to God doth communicate with that: therefore commonly the titles and attributes of the one are imparted to the other.

Matt. xiii. 30.

Rom. ix. 6. ii. 28. John i. 18. *All*, ſaith St. Paul, *are not Iſrael who are of Iſrael*; nor *is he a Jew, that is one outwardly*; yet in regard to the conjunction of the reſt with *the faithful Iſraelites*, becauſe of external conſent in the ſame profeſſion, and conſpiring in the ſame ſervices, all the congregation of Iſrael is ſtyled *a holy nation* and *peculiar people* [k].

So likewiſe do the Apoſtles ſpeak to all members of the Church as to elect and holy perſons, unto whom all the privileges of Chriſtianity do belong; although really hypocrites and bad men *do not belong to the Church*, nor are *concerned in its unity*, as St. Auſtin doth often teach [l].

[k] Sicut lilium in medio ſpinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum——. Unde filias appellat, niſi propter communionem ſacramentorum? *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 13.

As the lily among thorns, ſo is my love among the daughters——. Why doth he call them daughters, but for the communion and agreement in ſacraments?

[l] Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores, fœneratores. Videntur eſſe in Eccleſia, non ſunt. *Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don.* iv. 1. vi. 3.

Eccleſiam veram intelligere non audeo niſi in ſanctis et juſtis. *Ibid.* v. 27.

I dare not underſtand the true Church to be but among holy and righteous men.

Pax autem hujus unitatis in ſolis bonis eſt—ſicut autem iſti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur, quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem et illam glorioſam Eccleſiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejuſmodi non pertineant. *Idem de Bapt.* iii. 18.

Nec regenerati ſpiritualiter in corpus et membra Chriſti cœdificentur niſi boni, &c. *Aug. de Unit.* 18.

Multi tales ſunt in ſacramentorum communione cum Eccleſia, et tamen jam non ſunt in Eccleſia. *Idem de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20.

There are many ſuch who communicate in ſacraments with the Church, and yet they are not in the Church.

Omnes mali ſpiritualiter a bonis ſejuncti ſunt. *De Bapt.* vi. 4.

All evil men are ſpiritually ſevered from the good.

The places therefore of Scripture which do repreſent the Church one, as unqueſtionably they belong (in their principal notion and intent) to the true univerſal Church, (called the Church myſtical and inviſible;) ſo may they by analogy and participation be underſtood to concern the viſible Church Catholic here in earth; which profeſſeth faith in Chriſt, and obedience to his laws [m].

And of this Church (under due reference to the other) the queſtion is, Wherein the unity of it doth conſiſt, or upon what grounds it is called one; being that it compriſeth in itſelf ſo many perſons, ſocieties, and nations?

For reſolution of which queſtion, we may conſider, that a community of men may be termed one upon ſeveral accounts and grounds; as,

For ſpecifical unity of nature, or as *unum genus;* ſo are all men one by participation of common rationality; τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, *humanum genus.*

For cognation of blood; as, *gens una*; ſo are all Jews, however living diſperſedly over the world, reckoned one nation, or people; ſo all kinſmen do conſtitute one family: and thus alſo all men, as made of one blood, are one people.

For commerce of language; ſo Italians, and Germans, are eſteemed one people, although living under different laws and governments.

For conſent in opinion, or conformity in manners and practices; as, men of the ſame ſect in religion or philoſophy, of the ſame profeſſion, faculty, trade: ſo Jews, Mahometans, Arians; ſo orators, grammarians, logicians; ſo divines, lawyers, phyſicians, merchants, artiſans, ruſtics, &c.

For affection of mind, or compacts of good-will; or for links of peace and amicable correſpondence; in order to mutual intereſt and aid; as, friends and confederates.

For being ranged in order under one law and rule; as, thoſe who live under one monarchy, or in one common-

[m] Ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. *Clem. Alex. Str.* p. 514. I call the Church the congregation of the elect.

wealth; as the people in England, Spain, France; in Venice, Genoa, Holland, &c.

Upon ſuch grounds of unity, or union, a ſociety of men is denominated one; and, upon divers ſuch accounts, it is plain that the Catholic Church may be ſaid to be one. For,

My ſheep hear my voice. John x. 27, 16.

I. It is evident, that the Church is one by conſent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of doctrine, eſpecially in thoſe which have conſiderable influence upon the practice of piety toward God, righteouſneſs toward men, and ſobriety of converſation; to *teach us which the grace of God did appear.* Tit. ii. 12.

Regula fidei ſola immobilis et irreformabilis—. *Tert. de Virg. vel.* 1.

As he that ſhould in any principal doctrine differ from Plato, (denying the *immortality of the ſoul*, the *providence of God*, the *natural difference of good and evil*) would not be a Platoniſt; ſo he that diſſenteth from any doctrine of importance, manifeſtly taught by Chriſt, doth renounce Chriſtianity.

Rom. vi. 17. Col. ii. 7. Heb. iii. 6. xiii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 58. Eph. iv. 14. * Phil. i. 27. † Jude 3. ‡ 2 Tim. i. 13. § Heb. ii. 3, 4.

All Chriſtians are *delivered into one form of doctrine*; to which they muſt ſtiffly and ſtedfaſtly adhere, *keeping the depoſitum committed to them:* they muſt * *ſtrive together for the faith of the Goſpel; and,* † *earneſtly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the ſaints:* they muſt ‡ *hold faſt the form of ſound words—in faith and love which is in Chriſt Jeſus;* that § *great ſalvation, which at firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers, God alſo bearing them witneſs with ſigns and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, according to his own will.*

Τὸ ἓν ϕρονεῖν. Phil. ii. 2. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. Phil. i. 27. Phil. iii. 16. 1 Cor. i. 10. Rom. xv. 6.

They are bound *to mind*, or think, *one and the ſame thing; to ſtand faſt in one ſpirit with one mind; to walk by the ſame rule; to be joined together in the ſame mind and in the ſame judgment; with one mind and mouth to glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Ἀφίστασθαι. 1 Tim. vi. 5, 3. 2 Theſſ. iii. 6.

They are obliged to diſclaim conſortſhip with the gainſayers of this doctrine; *to ſtand off from thoſe who do* ἑτεροδοξεῖν, or who *do not conſent to the wholeſome words—of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the doctrine which is accord-*

ing to godlineſs: to *mark thoſe who make diviſions and ſcandals beſide the doctrine which Chriſtians had learned, and to decline from them:* to *reject heretics:* to *beware of falſe prophets, of ſeducers; of thoſe who ſpeak perverſe things to draw diſciples after them:* to *pronounce anathema upon whoever ſhall preach any other doctrine.* Rom. xvi. 17. Tit. iii. 10. Matt. vii. 15. xxiv. 11. Acts xx. 29, 30. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Eph. iv. 14. Gal. i. 8.

Thus are all Chriſtians **one in Chriſt Jeſus:* thus are they (as Tertullian ſpeaketh) [n] *confederated in the ſociety of a ſacrament,* or of one profeſſion. * Gal. iii. 28, (26.)

[o] *This preaching and this faith the Church having received, though diſperſed over the world, doth carefully hold, as inhabiting one houſe; and alike believeth theſe things, as if it had one ſoul, and the ſame heart, and conſonantly doth preach, and teach, and deliver theſe things, as if it had but one mouth.*

[p] *As for kings, though their kingdoms be divided, yet he equally expects from every one of them one diſpenſation, and one and the ſame ſacrifice of a true confeſſion and praiſe. So that, though there may ſeem to be a diverſity of temporal ordinances, yet an unity and agreement in the right faith may be held and maintained among them.*

In regard to this union in faith peculiarly the body of Chriſtians, adhering to it, was called the Catholic Church, from which all thoſe were eſteemed *ipſo facto* to be cut off and ſeparated who in any point deſerted that faith; *ſuch a one,* (ſaith St. Paul,) ἐξέστραπται, *is turned aſide,* or hath left the Chriſtian way of life. He in reality is no Chriſtian, nor is to be avowed or treated as ſuch, but is to be diſclaimed, rejected, and ſhunned. Ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος. Tit. iii. 11. Rom. xvi. 17. 2 John 10.

[n] De ſocietate ſacramenti confœderantur. *Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

[o] Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ Ἐκκλησία καί περ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσι, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. *Iren.* i. 3. (*apud Epiph. Hær.* 31.)

[p] Reges——quorum etſi diviſa ſunt regna, æqualiter tamen de ſingulis diſpenſationem exigit, unamque de eis veræ de ſe confeſſionis hoſtiam laudis exſpectat—ut etſi diſpoſitionum temporalium videatur eſſe diverſitas, circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis conſonantia teneatur. (*P. Leo II.* Epiſt. 5, *ad Ervigium R. Hiſp.*)

[q] *He,* ſaith St. Cyprian, *cannot ſeem a Chriſtian, who doth not perſiſt in the unity of Chriſt's Goſpel and faith.*

[r] *If,* ſaith Tertullian, *a man be a heretic, he cannot be a Chriſtian.*

Whence Hegeſippus ſaith of the old heretics, that they did [s] *divide the unity of the Church by pernicious ſpeeches againſt God, and his Chriſt.*

[t] *The virtue* (ſaith the Paſtor Hermes, cited by Clemens Alex.) *which doth keep the Church together, is faith.*

So the Fathers of the Sixth Council tell the Emperor, that [u] *they were members one of another, and did conſtitute the one body of Chriſt, by conſent in opinion with him and one another; and by faith.*

[x] *We ought in all things to hold the unity of the Catholic Church; and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of faith and truth.*

[y] *In each part of the world this faith is one, becauſe this is the Chriſtian faith.*

[z] *He denies Chriſt, who confeſſes not all things that are Chriſt's.*

Hence in common practice, whoever did appear to differ from the common faith, was rejected as an apoſtate from Chriſtianity, and unworthy the communion of other Chriſtians.

There are points of leſs moment, more obſcurely delivered——in which Chriſtians without breach of unity may

[q] Nec Chriſtianus videri poteſt, qui non permanet in Evangelii ejus et fidei veritate. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.*

[r] Si hæretici ſunt, Chriſtiani eſſe non poſſunt. *Tert. de Præſcr.* cap. 37.

[s] Οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φθορικοῖς λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. *Euſ. Hiſt.* iv. 22.

[t] Ἡ συνέχουσα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀρετὴ, ἡ πίστις ἐστί. *Herm. apud Clem. Strom.* ii. p. 281.

[u] Μελῶν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστώντων Χριστῷ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀλλήλας ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως. *Conc. VI.* Act. xviii. p. 271.

[x] Per omnia debemus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hoſtibus cedere. *Cypr.* Ep. 71. (*ad Quint. de Steph. P.*)

[y] Utriuſque partis terrarum fides iſta una eſt, quia et fides iſta Chriſtiana eſt. *Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2. (p. 203, 2.)

[z] Negat Chriſtum, qui non omnia quæ Chriſti ſunt confitetur. *Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9. p. 90. (Vid. p. 85.)

diſſent, about which they may diſpute, in which they may err — without breach of unity, or prejudice to charity [a].

The faith of Chriſtians did at firſt conſiſt in few points, thoſe which were profeſſed in baptiſm, whereof we have divers ſummaries in the ancients—by analogy whereto all other propoſitions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto ſound doctrines were diſtinguiſhed from falſe: ſo that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them—. Iren. i. 2.

[b] *So he that holds that immovable rule of truth which he received at his baptiſm, will know the words and ſayings and parables which are taken out of the Scriptures,* &c.

II. It is evident, that all Chriſtians are united by the bands of mutual charity and good-will.

They are all bound to wiſh one another well, to have a complacence in the good, and a compaſſion of the evils incident to each other, to diſcharge all offices of kindneſs, ſuccour, conſolation to each other.

This is the command of Chriſt to all; (*This is my commandment*, ſaith he, *That ye love one another*;) this is the common badge by which his diſciples are diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed, *Hereby*, ſaith he, *ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye love one another*: they muſt have *the ſame love*: they muſt *love as brethren, be compaſſionate, pitiful, courteous each to other*: they muſt *bear one another's burdens*; and, *eſpecially, as they have opportunity, do good to the houſehold of faith. If one member ſuffer, all the members muſt ſuffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members muſt rejoice. The multitude of them who believe muſt be* (like that in the John xv. 12. 1 John iii. 11. 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. John xiii. 35. Phil. ii. 2. 1 Pet. iii. 8. Gal. vi. 2, 10. 1 Cor. xii. 26. Acts iv. 32

[a] Alia ſunt in quibus inter ſe aliquando etiam doctiſſimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defenſores, ſalva fidei compage non conſonant, &c. *Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2. p. 205.

Totum hoc genus liberas habet obſervationes. *Aug. ad Jan.* Ep. 118. 86. (*ad Caſal.*)

[b] Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud ſe habet quam per baptiſmum accepit, hæc quidem quæ ſunt ex Scripturis nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoſcet, &c. *Iren.* i. 1. Vid. Gr. (p. 4.)

Eph. v. 2. 1 Cor. xvi. 14.

Acts) *of one heart and of one ſoul.* They muſt *walk in love,* and *do all things in love.*

Whoever therefore doth highly offend againſt charity, maligning or miſchieving his brethren, doth thereby ſeparate himſelf from Chriſt's body, and ceaſe to be a Chriſtian.

[c] *They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the Church, or ſeem to be within, they are Pſeudo-Chriſtians and Anti-Chriſts.—When they ſeem to be within the Church, they are ſeparated from that inviſible conjunction of charity; whence St. John, They went out from us, but were not of us. He ſaith not, that by their going out they were made aliens, but becauſe they were aliens, therefore he declareth that they went out.*

Wherefore the moſt notorious violations of charity being the cauſing of diſſenſions and factions in the Church, the cauſeleſs ſeparation from any church, the unjuſt condemnation of churches——whoever was guilty of any ſuch unchriſtian behaviour was rejected by the fathers, and held to be no Chriſtian. Such were the Novatians, the Donatiſts, the Meletians, the Luciferians,—and other ſchiſmatics.

[d] *For what can be more acceptable and pleaſant, than to ſee thoſe who are ſevered and ſcattered into ſo many places, yet knit and joined together in the bond and union of charity, as harmonious members of the body of Chriſt.*

[e] *In old time—when the Church of God flouriſhed, being*

[c] Hujuş autem fraternæ charitatis inimici ſive aperte foris ſint, ſive intus eſſe videantur, Pſeudo-Chriſtiani ſunt et Antichriſti. *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 19.—Cum intus videntur, ab illa inviſibili charitatis compage ſeparati ſunt; unde Johannes, (1 John ii. 19.) Ex nobis exierunt, ſed non erant ex nobis.— Non ait quod exeundo alieni facti ſunt, ſed quod alieni erant, propter hoc eos exiſſe declaravit. *Ibid.*

[d] Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο χαριέστερον, ἢ τὰς τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν τόπων διηρημένας τῇ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθορᾶν εἰς μίαν μελῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι Χριστῷ δεδέσθαι. *Baſ.* Ep. 220.

[e] Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καιρῶν —— ἡνίκα ἤνθουν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐρριζώμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μιᾶς συμπνοίας διαφόρων μελῶν ὑπαρχούσης. *Baſ.* Ep. 338.

rooted in the ſame faith, united in love: there being, as it were, one conſpiracy or league of different members in one body.

[f] *For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite men's minds; which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection.*

[g] *They therefore who by the bond of charity are incorporated into the building ſettled upon the rock.*

[h] *But the members of Chriſt are joined together by the charity of union, and by the ſame cleave cloſe to their head, which is Chriſt.*

III. All Chriſtians are united by ſpiritual cognation and alliance; as being all *regenerated by the ſame incorruptible ſeed,* being alike *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God;* whence, as *the ſons of God,* and *brethren of Chriſt,* they become brethren one to another; ſo that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Chriſtians, *the brethren* ſignifying all Chriſtian people; and *a brother* being the ſame with a Chriſtian profeſſor.

1 Pet. i. 23. Jam. i. 18. John i. 13. Gal. iii. 26. John i. 12. Heb. ii. 10, 11. 1 Cor. vii. 15. v. 11. Rom. xiv. 10, &c.

IV. The whole Chriſtian Church is one by its incorporation into the myſtical body of Chriſt; or as fellow-ſubjects of that ſpiritual, heavenly kingdom, whereof Chriſt is the ſovereign head and governor; whence they are governed by the ſame laws, are obliged by the ſame inſtitutions and ſanctions; they partake of the ſame privileges, and are entitled to the ſame promiſes, and encouraged by the ſame rewards; (*being called in one hope of their calling.*)

They are under a covenant of allegiance. Eph. iv. 4.

So they make up one ſpiritual corporation or republic, whereof Chriſt is the ſovereign Lord.

Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων. Rom. x. 12.

[f] Ἡ κατὰ Πνεῦμα συνάφεια ἡμᾶς πείθει τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν πιστεύομεν. *Baſ.* Epiſt. 182.

[g] Qui ergo compage charitatis incorporati ſunt ædificio ſuper petram conſtituto, &c. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 18.

[h] Membra vero Chriſti per unitatis charitatem ſibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti ſuo cohærent, quod eſt Chriſtus. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 2.

Omnes ſancti ſibi charitate cohærent——. *Aug. de Bapt.* vi. 3.

[i] *Though the place diſjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord,* &c.

Hence an habit of diſobedience doth ſever a man from this body; for, *Not every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven,* or continue therein. Every ſuch perſon who *denieth God in works* is a rebel, an outlaw, renouncing his allegiance, forfeiting his title to God's protection and favour.

Mat. vii. 21. Tit. i. 16.

[k] He is not *a ſheep* of Chriſt, becauſe he doth not *hear his voice.*

John x. 27.

He is ſeparated from the body, by not *holding the head.*

Col. ii. 9.

[l] *It is a lie, to call one's ſelf a Chriſtian, and not to do the works of Chriſt.*

[m] *He that does not the work of a Chriſtian name, ſeems not to be a Chriſtian.*

[n] *When inſtead of the works themſelves he begins to oppoſe even the moſt apparent truth, whereby he is reproved, then he is cut off (from the body, or the Church.)*

Hence St. Auſtin often denieth wicked perſons to be in the Church, or to appertain unto its unity.

Vid. ſupra.

[o] *For when there is one and the ſame Lord, that dwelleth in us, he every where joins and couples thoſe that are his with the bond of unity.*

V. All Chriſtians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; ſo that they are bound to live in good correſpondence; to communicate in works of piety

[i] Εἰ δὲ ὁ τόπος χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτὰς συνάπτει πανὸς ὢν, &c. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor. Orat.* 1. Vid.

[k] Qui eum non ſequitur, quomodo ſe ovem ejus dicere audebit? *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

[l] Mendacium eſt, Chriſtianum ſe dicere, et opera Chriſti non facere. *Ambr.*

[m] Qui Chriſtiani nominis opus non agit, Chriſtianus non eſſe videtur. *Salv. de Gub. D.* 4.

[n] —— Cum pro ipſis operibus etiam veritati apertiſſimæ, qua redarguitur, reſiſtere cœperit, tunc præciditur. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20.

[o] Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem ſit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique et copulat ſuos vinculo unitatis. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

and devotion; to defend and promote the common intereſt of their profeſſion.

Upon the entrance of the Goſpel by our Lord's incarnation, it was by a celeſtial herald proclaimed, *Peace on earth, and good-will among men.* It was our Lord's office *to preach peace.* It was a principal end and effect of his death *to reconcile all men, and to deſtroy enmity.* He ſpecially charged his diſciples εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *to maintain peace one with another.* It was his will at parting with them, *Peace I leave with you.* Luke ii. 14. Acts x. 36. Eph. ii. 17. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14. Mark ix. 50. John xiv. 27.

The Apoſtles frequently do enjoin to *purſue peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure heart;* to follow the things *which make for peace and edification mutual;* to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.* 2 Tim. ii. 22. Rom. xiv. 19. Eph. iv. 3.

It was in the prophecies concerning the evangelical ſtate declared, that under it, *The wolf ſhould dwell with the lamb, and the leopard ſhould lie down with the kid, and the ſucking child ſhould play on the hole of the aſp;* that is, that men of all tempers and conditions, by virtue of this inſtitution, ſhould be diſpoſed to live innocently, quietly, and lovingly together; ſo that they ſhould *not hurt or deſtroy in all God's holy mountain;* for that would be a duty incumbent on the diſciples of this inſtitution, which all good Chriſtians would obſerve. Iſa. xi. 6. lxv. 25. ii. 4. lxvi. 12. ii. 4. They ſhall learn war no more.

The evangelical covenant, as it doth ally us to God, ſo it doth confederate us together: the ſacraments of this covenant are alſo ſymbols of peace and amity between thoſe who undertake it. Of Baptiſm it is ſaid, *that ſo many of you as have been baptized into Chriſt have put on Chriſt;* and thence, *Ye are all one in Chriſt Jeſus. All in one ſpirit have been baptized into one body.* And in the Euchariſt, by partaking of one individual food, they are tranſmuted into one body and ſubſtance; *We,* ſaith St. Paul, *being many are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.* Gal. iii. 27, 28. 1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Cor. x. 7.

[b] *By which ſacraments alſo our people appear to be*

[p] Quo et ipſo ſacramento populus noſter adunatus oſtenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, et commolita, et commixta, panem

united: for, as many grains collected, and ground, and mingled together, make one bread; ſo in Chriſt, who is the bread of heaven, we may know ourſelves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together.

[p] *With us there is both one Church, and one mind, and undivided concord.*

[r] *Let us hold the peace of the Catholic Church in the unity of concord.*

[s] *The bond of concord remaining, and the individual ſacrament of the Catholic Church continuing,* &c.

[t] *He therefore that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit, nor the conjunction of peace, and ſeparates himſelf from the bond of the Church, and the college (or ſociety) of prieſts, can have neither the power of a biſhop, nor the honour.*

Thus in general. But particularly, all Chriſtians ſhould aſſiſt one another in the common defence of truth, piety, and peace, when they are aſſaulted, in the propagation of the faith, and enlargement of the Church, which is *συναθλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, to contend together for the faith of the Goſpel; to be good ſoldiers of Chriſt; warring the good warfare;—ſtriving for the faith once delivered to the ſaints.*

Phil. i. 27. 1 Tim. i. 18. vi. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 7. Jude 3.

Hence if any where any hereſy or bad doctrine ſhould ariſe, all Chriſtians ſhould be ready to declare againſt it; that it may not infect, or ſpread a doubt ariſing, as in the caſe of celebrating Eaſter; [u] *They all, with one conſent, declared by letters the decree of the Church to all everywhere.*

unum faciunt; ſic in Chriſto, qui eſt panis cœleſtis, unum ſciamus eſſe corpus, cui conjunctus ſit noſter numerus et adunatus. *Cypr.* Ep. 63.

[q] Nobis et Eccleſia una, et mens juncta, et individua concordia. *Cypr.* Ep. 57.

[r] Catholicæ Eccleſiæ pacem concordiæ unitate teneamus. *Ep.* 45.

[s] Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perſeverante Catholicæ Eccleſiæ individuo ſacramento, &c. *Ep.* 52. (*ad Anton.* p. 96.)

[t] Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis obſervat, et ſe ab Eccleſiæ vinculo, atque a ſacerdotum collegio ſeparat, epiſcopi nec poteſtatem poteſt habere, nec honorem, &c. *Ibid.* p. 97.

[u] Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσι διετυπώσαντο. *Euſeb.* v. 23.

Eſpecially the paſtors of the churches are obliged with consent to oppoſe it. Cypr. Ep. 67.

[x] *While we laboured here, and withſtood the force of envy with the whole ſtrength of our faith, your ſpeech aſſiſted us very much.*

Thus did the biſhops of ſeveral churches meet to ſuppreſs the hereſy of P. Samoſatenus.

This was the ground of moſt ſynods.

[y] *So they who afterward in all places and ſeveral ways were gathered together againſt the innovations of heretics, gave their common opinion in behalf of the faith, as being of one mind: what they had approved among themſelves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to thoſe who were abſent: and they who at the Council of Sardis had earneſtly contended againſt the remainders of Arius, ſent their judgment to thoſe of the eaſtern churches: and they who had then diſcovered the infection of Apolinarius, made their opinions known to the weſtern.*

If any diſſenſion or faction doth ariſe in any church, other churches, upon notice thereof, ſhould yield their aid to quench and ſuppreſs it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and diſavowing the factious.

Thus did St. Cyprian help to diſcountenance and quaſh the Novatian ſchiſm. Vid. Ep. 42. (ad Cornel.) p. 77.

Thus when the oriental churches did labour under the Arian faction, and diſſenſions between the Catholics, St. Baſil (with other orthodox biſhops conforting with him) did write to the weſtern biſhops (of Italy and France) to yield their ſuccour.

[z] *For this, my brother, we muſt earneſtly endeavour, and*

[x] Laborantes hic nos et contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus reſiſtentes, multum ſermo veſter adjuvit, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 23.

[y] Οὕτως οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα πανταχῆ ποικίλως ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐφευσθέντες καινίσμασι κοινὴν ὡς σύμψυχοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ψῆφον ἔπηξε· ἀδελφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἐβεβαίωσαν, ταῦτα τρανῶς τοῖς ἀπῶσι διεσαφήνισαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σαρδικῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμψαν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖδε τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον. *Syn. Chalced. ad Imper. Conc. Chal.* pars iii. p. 78.

[z] Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, laboramus, et laborare debemus, ut uni-

ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the Apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors we are; and what lies in us, &c.

All Chriſtians ſhould be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of
Ep. 398. piety and charity; in prayer, in communion of the Euchariſt, in brotherly converſation, and pious conference for edification or advice.

[a] *So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know, that ſuch a man breaks himſelf off from the whole Church.*

St. Chryſoſtom doth complain of Epiphanius;

[b] *Then when he came to the great and holy city Conſtantinople, he came not out into the congregation according to cuſtom and the ancient manner, he joined not himſelf with us, nor communicated with us in the word, and prayer, and the holy communion,* &c.

So Polycarp, being at Rome, did communicate with P. Anicetus [c].

Cod. Afr. Can. 101. If diſſenſion ariſe between divers churches, another may interpoſe to reconcile them; as did the church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria.

Cod. Afr. Can. 123. If any biſhop were exceedingly negligent in the diſcharge of his office, (to the common damage of truth and piety,) his neighbour biſhops might admoniſh him thereto; and, if he ſhould not reform, might deprive him of communion.

All Chriſtians ſhould hold friendly correſpondence, as occaſion doth ſerve, and as it is uſeful, to ſignify conſent

tatem a Domino, et per Apoſtolos nobis ſucceſſoribus traditam, quantum poſſumus, obtinere curemus; et quod in nobis eſt, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. xlii. p. 78.

[a] Ὅτι ὁ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρίστην φάσης ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρήγνυς. *Baſ.* Ep. 75.

[b] Εἶτα τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θεοφιλοῦς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιβὰς οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐξῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς, καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν κρατήσαντα θεσμὸν οὐκ ἡμῖν συνεγένετο, ὁ λόγῳ μετέδωκεν, οὐκ εὐχῆς, ὁ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἀποβὰς τοῦ πλοίου, &c. *Chryſ. ad Innoc. P.* (Ep. 122.)

[c] Ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι. *Euſeb.* v. 24.

in faith, to recommend perſons, to foſter charity, to convey ſuccour and advice, to perform all good offices of amity and peace.

[c] *Siricius, who is our companion and fellow-labourer, with whom the whole world by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory letters agree together with us in one common ſociety.*

[d] *The Catholic Church being one body, it is conſequent thereto, that we write and ſignify one to another,* &c.

In caſes of doubt or difficulty one church ſhould have recourſe to others for advice; and any church ſhould yield it.

[e] *Both common charity and reaſon requires, moſt dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of thoſe things which are done among us, that ſo there may be common advice taken by us concerning the moſt uſeful way of ordering eccleſiaſtical affairs.*

One church ſhould acquaint others of any extraordinary tranſaction concerning the common faith or diſcipline; requeſting their approbation and countenance [f].

Thus did the eaſtern churches give account to all other churches of their proceedings againſt P. Samoſatenus. Euſeb. vii. 30.

[g] *Which letters are ſent all the world over, and brought to the notice of all the churches, and of all the brethren.*

When any church, or any paſtor, was oppreſſed or injured, he might have recourſe to other churches for their aſſiſtance, in order to relief.

[c] Damaſo Siricius hodie, qui noſter eſt ſocius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis ſocietate concordant. *Opt.* lib. ii. p. 40.

[d] Ἓνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις, &c. *Alex. Alexandrin. Socr.* i. 6. *Theod.*

[e] Et dilectio communis et ratio expoſcit, fratres chariſſimi, nihil conſcientiæ veſtræ ſubtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut ſit nobis circa utilitatem eccleſiaſticæ adminiſtrationis commune conſilium. *Cyp.* Ep. 29. (*ad Cler. Rom.*)

[f] The practice of this we ſee frequently in St. Cyprian's Epiſtles; particularly in Epiſt. 4, 15, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48. (*P. Corn.*)

[g] Quæ literæ per totum mundum miſſæ ſunt, et in notitiam eccleſiis omnibus et univerſis fratribus perlatæ ſunt. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.* p. 92.)

Scripſimus ad Cornelium collegam noſtrum, &c. *Ibid.*

[h] ***Let him who is caſt out have power to apply himſelf to the neighbouring biſhops, that his cauſe may be carefully heard and diſcuſſed.***

Thus did Athanaſius (being overborne and expelled from his ſee by the Arian faction) go for refuge to the church of Rome.

St. Chryſoſtom had recourſe to the biſhop of Rome, and to thoſe of the weſt, as alſo to the biſhop of Antioch.

VI. Now, becauſe in the tranſacting of theſe things, the paſtors have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the churches which they inſpect, therefore is the Church united alſo by their conſent in doctrine, their agreement in peace, their maintaining intercourſe, their concurrence to preſerve truth and charity.

[i] ***We ought all to be vigilant and careful for the body of the whole Church, where members are diſperſed through many ſeveral provinces.***

[k] ***Seeing the Church, which is one and Catholic, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together by the bond of prieſts united one to another.***

[l] *This agrees with the modeſty and diſcipline and the very life of all, that many of the biſhops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice.*

[m] *That, ſince it having pleaſed God to grant us peace,*

[h] Habeat poteſtatem is qui abjectus eſt, ut epiſcopos finitimos interpellet, et cauſa ejus audiatur ac diligenter tractetur, &c. *Conc. Sard.* Can. 17. Vid. Cod. Afr. Can. 125.

[i] Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſque provincias membra digeſta ſunt, excubare. *Cypr.* Ep. 30. (*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. P.*)

Quod ſervis Dei, et maxime ſacerdotibus. *Cypr.* Ep. 42. (*ad Cornel.*)

Idcirco copioſum corpus eſt ſacerdotum, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. (p. 161.)

[k] Quando Eccleſia, quæ Catholica una eſt, ſciſſa non ſit, neque diviſa, ſed ſit utique connexa, et cohærentium ſibi invicem ſacerdotum glutino copulata. *Cypr.* Ep. 69.

[l] Hoc verecundiæ et diſciplinæ et vitæ ipſi omnium convenit—ut epiſcopi plures in unum convenientes — diſponere omnia conſilii communis religione poſſimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 14. (*Clero ſuo.*)

[m] Ut cum pace a Domino nobis data plures præpoſiti convenire in unum

we begin to have greater meetings of biſhops, we may alſo by your advice order and reform every thing.

[n] *Which that, with the reſt of our colleagues, we may ſteadfaſtly and firmly adminiſter; and that we may keep the peace of the Church, in the unanimity of concord, the divine favour will vouchſafe to accompliſh.*

[o] *A great number of biſhops—we met together.*

Biſhops being choſen did acquaint other biſhops with it; [p] *It was ſufficient,* ſaith St. Cyprian to Cornelius, *that you ſhould by your letters acquaint us that you were made a biſhop.*

[q] *Declare plainly to us who is ſubſtituted at Arles in the room of Marcian, that we may know to whom we ſhould direct our brethren, and to whom we ſhould write.*

All churches were to ratify the elections of biſhops duly made by others, and to communicate with thoſe. And likewiſe to comply with all reaſonable acts for communion. Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 52. (pag. 93.) Theod. v. 9. Euſeb. de P. Samoſ.

To preſerve this peace and correſpondence, it was a law and cuſtom, that no church ſhould admit to communion thoſe which were excommunicated by another; or who did ſchiſmatically divide.

[r] *We are all believed to have done the ſame thing, whereby we are found to be all of us aſſociated and joined together by the ſame agreement in cenſure and diſcipline.*

coeperimus, communicato etiam vobiſcum conſilio diſponere ſingula et reformare poſſimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 15. (*Clero Rom.*)

[n] Quod ut ſimul cum cæteris collegis noſtris ſtabiliter ac firmiter adminiſtremus, atque ut Catholicæ Eccleſiæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio. *Cypr.* Ep. 45. (*ad Cornel.*)

[o] Copioſus epiſcoporum numerus—in unum convenimus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

[p] Satis erat, ut tu te epiſcopum factum literis nunciares. *Cyprian. ad Cornel.* (Epiſt. 42.)

[q] Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit ſubſtitutus, ut ſciamus ad quem fratres noſtros dirigere, et cui ſcribere debeamus. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. *P. ad Steph.*

[r] Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes cenſuræ, et diſciplinæ conſenſione ſociati. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Epiſt. 31.

The decrees of biſhops were ſent to be ſubſcribed [r].

VII. All Chriſtian churches are one by a ſpecifical unity of diſcipline, reſembling one another in eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations, which are regulated by the indiſpenſable ſanctions and inſtitutions of their ſovereign.

They are all bound to uſe the ſame ſacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any ſubſtantial alteration.

They muſt uphold that ſort of order, government, and miniſtry in all its ſubſtantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the Church, or *give thereto*, as St. Paul expreſſeth it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in thoſe matters which our Lord had a ſpecial care to order and ſettle.

1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. Rom. xii. 7. Acts xx. 28.

[s] *Nor can they continue in the Church that have not retained divine and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, neither in good converſation, nor peaceable life.*

In leſſer matters of ceremony or diſcipline (inſtituted by human prudence) churches may differ, and it is expedient they ſhould do ſo, in regard to the various circumſtances of things, and qualities of perſons to which diſcipline ſhould be accommodated; but no power ought to *abrogate*, deſtroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of diſcipline, conſtituted by divine appointment.

Ep. Firmil. (pag. 198.) Aug. Ep. 118. et 86. ſupra.

Hence, when ſome confeſſors had abetted Novatianus, againſt Cornelius, thereby (againſt a fundamental rule of the Church, neceſſary for preſerving of peace and order therein, that but one biſhop ſhould be in one church) St. [t] Cyprian doth thus complain of their proceeding—.

(To act any thing) [u] *againſt the ſacrament of divine or-*

[r] Vid. Conc. Sard. P. Leonis II. Ep. 2. (ad Hiſp. Epiſc.) N. B. p. 385. (tom. v.) P. Bened. II. Ep. 16. (p. 404.)

[s] Nec remanere in Eccleſia poſſunt qui deificam et eccleſiaſticam diſciplinam nec actus ſui converſatione, nec morum pace tenuerunt. *P. Cornel. apud Cyprian.* Ep. 48. Vid. Ep. 73. (*ad Jub.*)

[t] Gravat enim me, atque contriſtat, &c. *Ep.* 44. (*ad Confeſſ. Rom.*)

[u] Contra ſacramentum ſemel traditum divinæ diſpoſitionis et Catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra Eccleſiam facit. *Cyprian.* Epiſt. 42. (*ad Cornel.*)

dination and Catholic unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the Church.

[x] —— *Forsaking the Lord's priests contrary to the evangelical discipline; a new tradition of a sacrilegious institution starts up.*

[y] *There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one see founded upon Peter by the word of the Lord; besides one altar and one priesthood, another altar cannot be erected, nor a new priesthood ordained.*

Hence were the Meletians rejected by the Church, for introducing ordinations——.

Hence was Aërius accounted a heretic, for meaning to innovate in so grand a point of discipline, as the subordination of bishops and presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all churches should conform to each other in great matters of prudential discipline, although not instituted or prescribed by God: for this is a means of preserving peace, and is a beauty or harmony. For difference of practice doth alienate affections, especially in common people.

So the Synod of Nice:

[z] *That all things may be alike ordered in every diocese, it hath seemed good to the holy synod, that men should put up their prayers to God standing,* (viz. between Easter and Whitsuntide, and upon the Lord's day.)

The Church is like the world; for as the world doth consist of men, all naturally subject to one King, Almighty God; all obliged to observe his laws, declared by natural light; all *made of one blood,* and so brethren; all endow-

[x] —— Relictis Domini sacerdotibus contra evangelicam disciplinam nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exsurgat. *Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi suæ.*)

[y] Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et Ecclesia una, et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium non potest. *Ibid.*

[z] Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως τάττεσθαι, ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ Συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ. *Can.* 20.

Πρὸς τούτοις κἀκεῖνο πάρεστι συνορᾶν, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ θρησκείας ἑορτῇ διαφωνίαν ἄρχειν ἐστὶν ἀθέμιτον. *Const. M. in Epist. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vita Constantini.* iii. 18.

ed with common reaſon; all bound to exerciſe good offices of juſtice and humanity toward each other; to maintain peace and amity together; to further each other in the proſecution or attainment of thoſe good things which conduce to the welfare and ſecurity of this preſent life: even ſo doth the Church conſiſt of perſons ſpiritually allied, profeſſing the ſame faith, ſubject to the ſame law and government of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom; bound to exerciſe charity, and to maintain peace toward each other, and to promote each other's good in order to the future happineſs in heaven.

All thoſe kinds of unity do plainly agree to the univerſal Church of Chriſt; but the queſtion is, Whether the Church is alſo neceſſarily, by the deſign and appointment of God, to be in way of external policy under one ſingular government or juriſdiction of any kind; ſo as a kingdom or commonwealth are united under the command of one monarch or one ſenate?

That the Church is capable of ſuch an union, is not the controverſy; that it is poſſible it ſhould be ſo united, (ſuppoſing it may happen that all Chriſtians may be reduced to one nation, or one civil regiment; or that ſeveral nations ſpontaneouſly may confederate and combine themſelves into one eccleſiaſtical commonwealth, adminiſtered by the ſame ſpiritual rulers and judges according to the ſame laws,) I do not queſtion; that when in a manner all Chriſtendom did conſiſt of ſubjects to the Roman empire, the Church then did arrive near ſuch an unity, I do not at preſent conteſt; but that ſuch an union of all Chriſtians is neceſſary, or that it was ever inſtituted by Chriſt, I cannot grant; and, for my refuſal of that opinion, I ſhall aſſign divers reaſons.

1. This being a point of great conſideration, and trenching upon practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occaſions to declare it; yet the holy Scripture doth no where expreſs or intimate ſuch a kind of unity; which is a ſufficient proof that it hath no firm ground. We may ſay of it, as St. Auſtin

ſaith of the Church itſelf, [a] *I will not that the holy Church be demonſtrated from human reaſonings, but the Divine Oracles.*

St. Paul particularly, in divers Epiſtles, deſignedly treating about the unity of the Church, (together with other points of doctrine neighbouring thereon,) and amply deſcribing it, doth not yet imply any ſuch unity then extant, or deſigned to be. Eph. iv. 1 Cor. xii. Rom. xii. Gal. iii. 28

He doth mention and urge the unity of ſpirit, of faith, of charity, of peace, of relation to our Lord, of communion in devotions and offices of piety; but concerning any union under one ſingular viſible government or polity he is ſilent: he ſaith, *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm; one God and Father of all:* not one monarch, or one ſenate, or one ſanhedrin — which is a pregnant ſign that none ſuch was then inſtituted; otherwiſe he could not have ſlipped over a point ſo very material and pertinent to his diſcourſe.

2. By the apoſtolical hiſtory it may appear, that the Apoſtles, in the propagation of Chriſtianity, and founding of Chriſtian ſocieties, had no meaning, did take no care, to eſtabliſh any ſuch polity.

They did reſort to ſeveral places, (whither divine inſtinct or reaſonable occaſion did carry them,) where, by their preaching having convinced and converted a *competent number* of perſons to the embracing Chriſtian doctrine, they did appoint paſtors to inſtruct and edify them, to adminiſter God's worſhip and ſervice among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correſpondence of charity and peace with all good Chriſtians otherwhere: this is all we can ſee done by them. Ὄχλον ἱκανὸν. Acts xi 26. Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiv. 23

3. The Fathers, in their ſet treatiſes, and in their incidental diſcourſes about the unity of the Church, (which was *de facto*, which ſhould be *de jure* in the Church,) do make it to conſiſt only in thoſe unions of faith, charity,

[a] Nolo humanis documentis, ſed Divinis Oraculis ſanctam Eccleſiam demonſtrari. *Aug. de Unit.* cap. 3.

peace, which we have described, not in this political union.

The Roman church gave this reason why they could not admit Marcion into their communion, they would not do it without his father's consent, between whom and them [b] *there was one faith and one agreement of mind.*

Tertullian, in his Apologetick, describing the unity of the church in his time, saith, [c] *We are one body by our agreement in religion, our unity of discipline, and our being in the same covenant of hope.*

And more exactly and largely in his Prescriptions against Heretics, the breakers of unity. [d] *Therefore such and so many churches are but the same with the first apostolical one, from which all are derived: thus they become all first, all apostolical; whilst they maintain the same unity; whilst there are a communion of peace, names of brotherhood, and contributions of hospitality among them; the rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the same mystery.*

[e] *They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptism; in a word, we are but one church.*

And Constantine the Great in his Epistle to the churches:

(Our Saviour) [f] *would have his Catholic Church to be one: the members of which, though they be divided into*

[b] —— *μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια.* *Epiph. Hær.* 42.

[c] Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere. *Apol.* 39.

[d] Itaque tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes; sic omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ; dum unam omnes probant unitatem; communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenta una traditio. *Tertul. Præscript.* cap. 20.

[e] Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una Ecclesia sumus. *Tert. de Virg. vel.* 2.

[f] *Καὶ μίαν εἶναι τὴν Καθολικὴν αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν βεβούληται· ἧς εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους τὰ μέρη διῄρηται, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἑνὶ Πνεύματι, τυτέστι τῷ Θείῳ βουλήματι θάλπεται.* *Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vit. Const.* iii. 18.

many and different places, are yet cheriſhed by one ſpirit, that is, by the will of God.

And Gregory the Great:

g *Our head, which is Chriſt, would therefore have us be his members, that by the joints of charity and faith he might make us one body in himſelf.*

Clemens Alexandrinus defineth the Church;

h *A people gathered together out of Jews and Gentiles into one faith, by the giving of the teſtaments fitted into unity of faith.*

i *This one Church therefore partakes of the nature of unity, which hereſies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and Catholic Church, whether we reſpect its conſtitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one; which into the belief of that one creed which is agreeable to its own peculiar teſtaments, or rather to that one and the ſame teſtament, in times however different, by the will of one and the ſame God, through one and the ſame Lord, doth unite and combine together all thoſe who are before ordained, whom God hath predeſtinated, as knowing that they would be juſt perſons, before the foundation of the world.*

Many paſſages in the Fathers, applicable to this point, we have alleged in the foregoing diſcourſes k.

g Caput noſtrum, quod Chriſtus eſt, ad hoc ſua eſſe membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in ſe corpus efficeret. *Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111.

h Ὁ ἐκ νόμου καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν πίστιν συναγόμενος λαός. *Strom.* vi. *init.*

Τῇ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας δόσει σκευαζόμενον εἰς ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως. *Ibid.* vii. (p. 516.)

i Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται Ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατέμνων βιάζονται αἱρέσεις· κατά τι ὂν ὑπόστασιν, κατά τι ἐπίνοιαν, κατά τι ἀρχήν, (principium,) κατά τι ἐξοχήν, μόνην εἶναί φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἑνότητα πίστεως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόρους τοῖς χρόνοις, ἑνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλήματι δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τὰς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, ὃς προώρισεν, δικαίους ἰσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. *Strom.* vii. (p. 549.)

k Catholicam facit ſimplex et verus intellectus, intelligere ſingulare, ac veriſſimum ſacramentum, et unitas animorum. *Opt. I.* (p. 14.)

Eccleſia non parietibus conſiſtit, ſed in dogmatum veritate, &c. *Hier. Pſ.* 133.

4. The conſtitution of ſuch an unity doth involve the veſting ſome perſon or ſome number of perſons with a ſovereign authority, (ſubordinate to our Lord,) to be managed in a certain manner; either abſolutely, according to pleaſure; or limitedly, according to certain rules preſcribed to it.

But that there was ever any ſuch authority conſtituted, or any rules preſcribed to it by our Lord, or his Apoſtles, doth not appear; and there are divers reaſonable preſumptions againſt it.

It is reaſonable, that whoever claimeth ſuch authority, ſhould for aſſuring his title ſhew patents of his commiſſion, manifeſtly expreſſing it; how otherwiſe can he juſtly demand obedience, or any with ſatisfaction yield thereto?

It was juſt that the inſtitution of ſo great authority ſhould be fortified with an undoubted charter, that its right might be apparent, and the duty of ſubjection might be certain.

If any ſuch authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in Scripture; it being a matter of high importance among the eſtabliſhments of Chriſtianity, conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty. Eſpecially conſidering that

There is in Scripture frequent occaſion of mentioning it; in way of hiſtory, touching the uſe of it, (the acts of ſovereign power affording chief matter to the hiſtory of any ſociety) in way of direction to thoſe governors how to manage it; in way of exhortation to inferiors how to behave themſelves in regard to it; in way of commending the advantages which attend it: it is therefore ſtrange that its mention is ſo balked.

The Apoſtles do often ſpeak concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs of all natures, concerning the decent adminiſtration of things, concerning preſervation of order and peace, concerning the furtherance of edification, concerning the prevention and removal of hereſies, ſchiſms, factions, diſorders: upon any of which occaſions it is marvellous that they ſhould not touch that conſtitution which was the

proper means appointed for maintenance of truth, order, peace, decency, edification, and all ſuch purpoſes, for remedy of all contrary miſchiefs.

There are mentioned divers ſchiſms and diſſenſions, the which the Apoſtles did ſtrive by inſtruction and perſuaſion to remove; in which caſes, ſuppoſing ſuch an authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the parties diſſenting of having recourſe thereto for deciſion of their cauſes, that they do not exhort them to a ſubmiſſion thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining ſuch a remedy.

It is alſo ſtrange, that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the diſſenting parties to the judgment of ſuch authority.

Indeed, if ſuch an authority had then been avowed by the Chriſtian churches, it is hardly conceivable that any ſchiſms could ſubſiſt, there being ſo powerful a remedy againſt them; then notably viſible and moſt effectual, becauſe of its freſh inſtitution, before it was darkened or weakened by age.

Whereas the apoſtolical writings do inculcate our ſubjection to one Lord in heaven, it is much they ſhould never conſider his vicegerent, or vicegerents, upon earth; notifying and preſſing the duties of obedience and reverence toward them.

There are indeed exhortations to honour the elders, and to obey the guides of particular churches; but the honour and obedience due to thoſe paramount authorities, or univerſal governors, is paſſed over in dead ſilence, as if no ſuch thing had been thought of.

They do expreſsly avow the ſecular preeminence, and preſs ſubmiſſion to the Emperor as ſupreme; why do they not likewiſe mention this no leſs conſiderable eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, or enjoin obedience thereto? why *honour the king*, and be *ſubject to principalities* ſo often, but honour the ſpiritual prince or ſenate doth never occur?

Rom. xii 1. Tit. iii. 1 1 Pet. ii. 1 17. 1 Tim. i.

If there had been any ſuch authority, there would probably have been ſome intimation concerning the perſons in whom it was ſettled, concerning the place of their reſi-

dence, concerning the manner of its being conveyed, (by election, ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe.)

Probably the perſons would have ſome proper name, title, or character to diſtinguiſh them from inferior governors; that to the place ſome mark of preeminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely, that ſomewhere ſome rules or directions would have been preſcribed for the management of ſo high a truſt, for preventing miſcarriages and abuſes to which it is notoriouſly liable.

It would have been declared abſolute, or the limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enſlaving God's heritage.

But of theſe things in the apoſtolical writings, or in any near thoſe times, there doth not appear any footſtep or pregnant intimation.

There hath never to this day been any place but one, (namely Rome) which hath pretended to be the ſeat of ſuch an authority; the plea whereof we largely have examined.

At preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that before the Roman church was founded, there were churches otherwhere; there was a great church at [l] Jeruſalem, (which indeed was [m] *the mother of all churches*, and was by the Fathers ſo ſtyled, however Rome now arrogates to herſelf that title.) There were iſſuing from that mother a fair offſpring of churches (thoſe of Judæa, of Galilæa, of Samaria, of Syria and Cilicia, of divers other places) before there was any church at Rome, or that St. Peter did come thither; which was at leaſt divers years after our Lord's aſcenſion. St. Paul was converted——after five years he went to Jeruſalem, then St. Peter was there; after fourteen years thence he went to Jeruſalem again, and then St. Peter was there; after that, he met with St. Peter at Antioch. Where then was this authority ſeated?

Acts ii. 41, 47. iv. 4. vi. 1. viii. 1.

Acts ix. 31. xv. 41. xi. 19. viii. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. Rom. xvi. 4. Valeſ. in Euſeb. ii. 16. Gal. i. 18, 19. ii. 1, 9, 11.

[l] Ἐπληθύνετο ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Acts vi. 7.

[m] Μήτηρ ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. *Conc. Conſt. in Synod. Ep. Theod.* v. 9.

How then did the political unity of the Church ſubſiſt? Was the ſeat of the ſovereign authority firſt reſident at Jeruſalem, when St. Peter preached there? Did it walk thence to Antiochia, fixing itſelf there for ſeven years? Was it thence tranſlated to Rome, and ſettled there ever ſince? Did this roving and inconſtancy become it?

5. The primitive ſtate of the Church did not well comport with ſuch an unity.

For Chriſtian churches were founded in diſtant places, as the Apoſtles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore could not, without extreme inconvenience, have reſort or reference to one authority, any where fixed.

Each church therefore ſeparately did order its own affairs, without recourſe to others, except for charitable advice or relief in caſes of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each church was endowed with a perfect liberty, and a full authority, without dependence or ſubordination to others, to govern its own members, to manage its own affairs, to decide controverſies and cauſes incident among themſelves, without allowing appeals, or rendering accounts to others.

This appeareth by the apoſtolical writings of St. Paul and St. John to ſingle churches; wherein they are ſuppoſed able to exerciſe ſpiritual power for eſtabliſhing decency, removing diſorders, correcting offences, deciding cauſes, &c. Rev. ii. iii. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 1 Theſſ. v. 14. 1 Cor. v. 12. vi. 1.

6. This *αὐτονομία*, and liberty of churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumſtances of place and time.

It is true, that if any church did notoriouſly forſake the truth, or commit diſorder in any kind, other churches did ſometime take upon them (as the caſe did move) to warn, adviſe, reprove it, and to declare againſt its proceedings, as prejudicial, not only to the welfare of that church, but to the common intereſts of truth and peace; but this was not in way of commanding authority, but of fraternal ſo-

licitude; or of that liberty which equity and prudence do allow to equals in regard to common good: ſo did the Roman church interpoſe in reclaiming the church of Corinth from its diſorders and ſeditions: ſo did St. Cyprian and St. Denys of Alexandria meddle in the affairs of the Roman church, exhorting Novatian and his adherents to return to the peace of their church.

Iren. iii. cap. 2.

It is alſo true, that the biſhops of ſeveral adjacent churches did uſe to meet upon emergencies, (concerning the maintenance of truth, order, and peace; concerning ſettlement and approbation of paſtors, &c.) to conſult and conclude upon expedients for attaining ſuch ends; this probably they did at firſt in a free way, without rule, according to occaſion, as prudence ſuggeſted; but afterwards, by confederation and conſent, thoſe conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain orders eſtabliſhed by conſent, whence did ariſe an eccleſiaſtical unity of government within certain precincts, much like that of the United States in the Netherlands; the which courſe was very prudential, and uſeful for preſerving the truth of religion and unity of faith againſt heretical devices ſpringing up in that free age; for maintaining concord and good correſpondence among Chriſtians, together with an harmony in manners and diſcipline; for that otherwiſe Chriſtendom would have been ſhattered and crumbled into numberleſs parties, diſcordant in opinion and practice; and conſequently alienated in affection, which inevitably among moſt men doth follow difference of opinion and manners; ſo that in ſhort time it would not have appeared what Chriſtianity was, and conſequently the religion, being overgrown with differences and diſcords, muſt have periſhed.

Thus in the caſe, about admitting the Lapſi to communion, St. Cyprian relates, [n] *when the perſecution* [of De-

[n] Perſecutione ſopita, cum data eſſet facultas in unum conveniendi, copioſus epiſcoporum numerus, quos integros et incolumes fide ſua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, et ſcripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum ſalubri moderatione libravimus, &c. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Antonian.*)

cius] *ceaſed, ſo that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a conſiderable number of biſhops whom their own faith and God's protection had preſerved ſound and entire,* [from the late apoſtaſy and perſecution] *being aſſembled, we deliberated of the compoſition of the matter with wholeſome moderation,* &c.

o *Which thing alſo Agrippinus of bleſſed memory with his other fellow-biſhops who then governed the Church of Chriſt in the African province, and in Numidia, did eſtabliſh; and by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together confirmed it.*

Thus it was the cuſtom in the churches of Aſia, as Firmilian telleth us in thoſe words:

p *Upon which occaſion it neceſſarily happens, that every year we the elders and rulers do come together to regulate thoſe things which are committed to our care; that if there ſhould be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined.*—

Yet while things went thus, in order to common truth and peace; every church in more private matters, touching its own particular ſtate, did retain its liberty and authority, without being ſubject or accountable to any but the common Lord; in ſuch caſes even ſynods of biſhops did not think it proper or juſt for them to interpoſe, to the prejudice of that liberty and power which derived from a higher ſource q.

Theſe things are very apparent, as by the courſe of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, ſo particularly in that moſt precious monument of antiquity, St. Cyprian's Epiſtles; by which

o Quod quidem et Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir eum cæteris coepiſcopis ſuis qui illo tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia Eccleſiam Domini gubernabant, ſtatuit et librato conſilii communis examine firmavit. *Cypr. Epiſt.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

p Qua ex cauſa neceſſario apud nos fit, ut per ſingulos annos ſeniores et præpoſiti in unum conveniamus, ad diſponenda ea quæ curæ noſtræ commiſſa ſunt; ut ſi qua graviora ſunt communi conſilio dirigantur ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 75.

q Supereſt ut de hac ipſa re ſinguli quid ſentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes aut a jure communionis aliquem ſi diverſum ſenſerit amoventes,— &c. Vid. *Cont. Carthag. apud Cypr.* p. 899. Vid. Syn. Ant. Can. 9.

it is moſt evident, that in thoſe times every biſhop or paſtor was conceived to have a double relation or capacity; one toward his own flock, another toward the whole flock:

Vide Epiſt. xxviii. 39. xiv. 18.

One toward his own flock; by virtue of which, he taking advice of his preſbyters, together with [r] *the conſcience of his people aſſiſting*, did order all things tending to particular edification, order, peace, reformation, cenſure, &c. without fear of being troubled by appeals, or being liable to give any account, but to his own lord, whoſe vicegerent he was [s].

Another toward the whole Church, in behalf of his people; upon account whereof he did (according to occaſion or order) apply himſelf to confer with other biſhops for preſervation of the common truth and peace, when they could not otherwiſe be well upheld, than by the joint conſpiring of the paſtors of divers churches.

So that the caſe of biſhops was like to that of princes; each of whom hath a free ſuperintendance in his own territory, but for to uphold juſtice and peace in the world, or between adjacent nations, the intercourſe of ſeveral princes is needful.

The peace of the Church was preſerved by communion

r Sub populi aſſiſtentis conſcientia. *Cypr.* Epiſt. 78.

s —— Actum ſuum diſponit, et dirigit unuſquiſque epiſcopus, rationem propoſiti ſui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

Every biſhop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpoſe to the Lord.

Cum ſtatutum ſit omnibus nobis ac æquum ſit pariter ac juſtum, ut uniuſcujuſque cauſa illic audiatur, ubi eſt crimen admiſſum; et ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis ſit adſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque præpoſitus rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. *ad* ——.

Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewiſe juſt and equal that every man's cauſe ſhould be there judged where the crime is committed, and to each paſtor a portion of the flock is aſſigned, which is to rule and govern, being to give an account of his act to the Lord.

Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cum habeat in eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ liberum arbitrium unuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.* Ep. 72. *ad Steph. P.* Vide Ep. lxxiii. p. 186. Ep. lxxvi. p. 212.

In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man, or preſcribe any law, ſince every biſhop hath in the government of his church the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord.

of all parts together, not by the ſubjection of the reſt to one part.

7. This political unity doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical diſpenſation.

Our Saviour affirmed, that *his kingdom is not of this world;* and St. Paul telleth us, that it conſiſteth in a ſpiritual influence upon the ſouls of men; producing in them virtue, ſpiritual joy, and peace. John xviii. 36. Rom. xiv. 17.

It diſavoweth and diſcountenanceth *the elements of the world,* by which worldly deſigns are carried on, and worldly frames ſuſtained. Gal. iv. 3, 9. Col. ii. 20.

It requireth not to be managed by politic artifices or *fleſhly wiſdom,* but by ſimplicity, ſincerity, plain-dealing: as every ſubject of it muſt lay aſide all *guile and diſſimulation,* ſo eſpecially the officers of it muſt do ſo, in conformity to the Apoſtles, who *had their converſation in the world* (and proſecuted their deſign) *in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God;* not *walking in craftineſs,* or *handling the word of God deceitfully,* &c. 1 Pet. ii. 1. 2 Cor. i. 12. iv. 2. ii. 17. 1 Theſſ. ii. 3, 5.

It needeth not to be ſupported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by compulſive force and violence; for *God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and baſe, deſpicable things,* &c. *that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence.* 1 Cor. i. 27, 28. James ii. 5.

And, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God,* &c. 2 Cor. x. 4.

It diſcountenanceth the impoſition of new laws and precepts, beſide thoſe which God hath enjoined, or which are neceſſary for order and edification; derogating from the liberty of Chriſtians and from the ſimplicity of our religion. Matt. xv. 9. Coloſ. ii. 8, 20, 21. Gal. iv. 10.

The government of the Chriſtian ſtate is repreſented purely ſpiritual; adminiſtered by meek perſuaſion, not by imperious awe; as an humble miniſtry, not as ſtately domination; for the Apoſtles themſelves did not *lord it over men's faith,* but *did cooperate to their joy;* they did 2 Cor. i. 24.

2 Cor. iv. 5. *not preach themſelves, but Chriſt Jeſus to be the Lord; and themſelves their ſervants for Jeſus.*

1 Pet. v. 3. Matt. xx. 25, 26. It is expreſsly forbidden to them, *to domineer over God's people.*

2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Tim. iii. 3. Tit. ii. 2. They are to be qualified with gentleneſs and patience; they are forbidden *to ſtrive*, and enjoined to be * *gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.*

* 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

Chryſ. Iſid.

2 Tim. iv. 2. They are *to convince, to rebuke, to exhort with all long-ſuffering and doctrine* [t].

Eph. vi. 17. They are furniſhed with no arms beſide the [u] *divine panoply;* they bear no *ſword*, but that *of the Spirit; which is the word of God*,——they may teach, reprove,——they cannot compel——

2 Tim. ii. 4. They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life [x].

Ἐστιόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ ἄρχοντες. *Ariſt. Pol. IV.* 15.

But ſuppoſing the Church was deſigned to be one in this manner of political regiment, it muſt be quite another thing, nearly reſembling a worldly ſtate, yea, in effect ſoon reſolving itſelf into ſuch an one; ſuppoſing, as is now pretended, that its management is committed to an eccleſiaſtical monarch, it muſt become a worldly kingdom; for ſuch a polity could not be upheld without applying the ſame means and engines, without practiſing the ſame methods and arts, whereby ſecular governments are maintained.

Its majeſty muſt be ſupported by conſpicuous pomp and phantaſtry.

Its dignity and power muſt be ſupported by wealth; which it muſt corrade and accumulate by large incomes, by exaction of tributes and taxes.

It muſt exert authority in enacting of laws for keeping its ſtate in order, and ſecuring its intereſts, backed with rewards and pains; eſpecially conſidering, its title being ſo

[t] Epiſcopus præeſt volentibus, non nolentibus. *Hier.* Ep. 3. (*ad Nepot.*)

[u] Ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν Θεοῦ. Eph. vi. 13.

[x] Μάλιστα γὰρ ἁπάντων Χριστιανοῖς ἐκ ἰφεῖται πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων παίσματα ——. *Chryſ. de Sacerd.* 2.

Ἐνταῦθα ὲ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πιθόντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω τὸν ταυτον. *Ibid.*

dark, and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will conteſt it.

It muſt apply conſtraint and force, for procuring obedience, and correcting tranſgreſſion.

It muſt have guards to preſerve its ſafety and authority.

It muſt be engaged in wars, to defend itſelf and make good its intereſts.

It muſt uſe ſubtilty and artifice, for promoting its intereſts, and countermine the policies of adverſaries.

It muſt erect judicatories, and muſt decide cauſes with formality of legal proceſs; whence tedious ſuits, crafty pleadings, quirks of law and pettifoggeries, fees and charges, extortion and barretry, &c. will neceſſarily creep in [y].

All which things do much diſagree from the original conſtitution and deſign of the Chriſtian Church, which is averſe from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth, or force, to maintain it; but did at firſt, and may ſubſiſt without any ſuch means.

Omnis pulchritudo filiæ regis intrinſecus. *Aug.* Ep. 68.

I do not ſay, that an eccleſiaſtical ſociety may not lawfully, for its ſupport, uſe power, policy, wealth, in ſome meaſure to uphold or defend itſelf; but that a conſtitution needing ſuch things is not divine; or that ſo far as it doth uſe them, it is no more than human.

Thus in effect we ſee that it hath ſucceeded, from the pretence of this unity; the which hath indeed transformed the Church into a mere worldly ſtate; wherein the monarch beareth the garb of an emperor, in external ſplendour ſurpaſſing all worldly princes; crowned with a triple crown [z].

He aſſumeth the moſt haughty titles of, *Our moſt holy*

[y] Is modus qui frequentatur execrabilis plane, et qui non dico Eccleſiam, ſed nec forum deceret, &c. *Bern. de Conſid.* i. 9.

Attendens itaque S. Synodus, quod ſpiritualia ſine carnalibus ſuſtineri nequeant. *Syn. Baſſ.* Seſſ. xlii. p. 108.

[z] One crown doth ſerve an emperor, but he muſt have a triple: to kiſs the hands of a king is a ſufficient reſpect, but you cannot ſalute him without kiſſing *his bleſſed feet.*

Lord, the *Vicar general of Chriſt*, &c. and he ſuffereth men to call him the *Monarch of Kings*, &c.

He hath reſpects paid him, like to which no potentate doth aſſume, (having his feet kiſſed, riding upon the backs of men, letting princes hold his ſtirrup and lead his horſe [a].)

Cardin. vid. Uff. p. 109. He hath a court, and is attended with a train of courtiers ſurpaſſing in ſtate and claiming precedence to the peers of any kingdom.

He is encompaſſed with armed guards: *Switzers*.

He hath a vaſt revenue, ſupplied by tributes and impoſts, ſore and grievous; the exaction of which hath made divers nations of Chriſtendom to groan moſt lamentably.

He hath raiſed numberleſs wars and commotions for the promotion and advancement of his intereſts.

He adminiſtereth things with all depth of policy, to advance his deſigns.

He hath enacted volumes of laws and decrees, to which obedience is exacted with rigour and forcible conſtraint [b].

He draweth grift from all parts to his courts of judgment, wherein all formalities of ſuſpenſe, all the tricks of ſqueezing money, &c. are practiſed, to the great trouble and charge of parties concerned.

Briefly, it is plain, that he doth exerciſe the proudeſt, mightieſt, ſubtleſt domination that ever was over Chriſtians [c].

8. The union of the whole Church in one body, under one government or ſovereign authority, would be inconvenient and hurtful; prejudicial to the main deſigns of Chriſtianity; deſtructive to the welfare and peace of mankind in many reſpects.

This we have ſhewed particularly concerning the pretence of the papacy; and thoſe diſcourſes being applica-

[a] That which Seneca did take for a piece of enormous pride in Caligula. *De Benef.* ii. 12.

[b] Sub mortali. He impoſes rigorous oaths of fealty and obedience.

[c] Exaltatio, et inflatio, et arrogans ac ſuperba jactatio, non de Chriſti magiſterio, qui humilitatem docet, ſed de Antichriſti ſpiritu naſcitur. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad P. Cornel.*)

ble to any like univerſal authority, (perhaps with more advantage, monarchy being leſs ſubject to abuſe than other ways of government,) I ſhall forbear to ſay more.

9. Such an union is of no need, would be of ſmall uſe, or would do little good, in balance to the great miſchiefs and inconveniences which it would produce.

This point alſo we have declared, in regard to the papacy; and we might ſay the ſame concerning any other like authority ſubſtituted thereto.

10. Such a connection of churches is not anywiſe needful or expedient to the deſign of Chriſtianity; which is to reduce mankind to the knowledge, love, and reverence of God; to a juſt and loving converſation together; to the practice of ſobriety, temperance, purity, meekneſs, and all other virtues; all which things may be compaſſed without forming men into ſuch a policy. Tit. ii. 12.

It is expedient there ſhould be particular ſocieties, in which men may concur in worſhipping God, and promoting that deſign by inſtructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent, and orderly way.

It is convenient that the ſubjects of each temporal ſovereignty ſhould live, as in a civil, ſo in a ſpiritual uniformity, in order to the preſervation of good-will and peace among them, (for that neighbours differing in opinion and faſhions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to diſaffect one another,) for the beauty and pleaſant harmony of agreement in divine things, for the more commodious ſuccour and defence of truth and piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the world ſhould be ſo joined is needleſs; and will be apt to produce more miſchief than benefit.

11. The Church, in the Scripture ſenſe, hath ever continued one; and will ever continue ſo; notwithſtanding that it hath not had this political unity.

12. It is in fact apparent, that churches have not been thus united, which yet have continued Catholic and Chriſtian.

It were great, no leſs folly than uncharitableneſs to ſay, that the Greek church hath been none.

There is no church that hath in effect leſs reaſon than that of Rome to preſcribe to others.

13. The reaſons alleged in proof of ſuch an unity are inſufficient and inconcluding; the which (with great diligence, although not with like perſpicuity) advanced by a late divine of great repute, and collected out of his writings with ſome care, are thoſe which briefly propoſed do follow; together with anſwers declaring their invalidity.

Epil. p. 38. Lat. p. 114. *Arg.* I. The name *Church* is attributed to the whole body of Chriſtians; which implieth unity.

Anſw. This indeed doth imply an unity of the Church, but determineth not the kind or ground thereof: there being ſeveral kinds of unity; one of thoſe which we have touched, or ſeveral, or all of them may ſuffice to ground that comprehenſive appellation.

Epil. Lat. 144. *Arg.* II. Our creeds do import the belief of ſuch an unity; for in the Apoſtolical we profeſs to believe *the holy Catholic Church*; in the Conſtantinopolitan, *the holy Catholic* and *Apoſtolic Church*.

Anſw. 1. The moſt ancient ſummaries of Chriſtian faith, extant in the firſt Fathers, (Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c.) do not contain this point.

Iren. Tert. Cypr. Conc. Nic.

The word *Catholic* was not originally in the Apoſtolical (or Roman) Creed, but was added after Ruffin and St. Auſtin's time.

This article was inſerted into the creeds upon the riſe of hereſies and ſchiſms, to diſcountenance and diſengage from them.

Anſw. 2. We do avow a Catholic Church in many reſpects one; wherefore not the unity of the Church, but the kind and manner of unity being in queſtion, the creed doth not oppoſe what we ſay, nor can with reaſon be alleged for the ſpecial kind of unity which is pretended.

Anſw. 3. That the unity mentioned in the Conſtantinopolitan Creed is ſuch as our adverſaries contend for, of

external policy, is precariouſly aſſumed, and relieth only upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Anſw. 4. The genuine meaning of that article may reaſonably be deemed this; That we profeſs our adhering to the body of Chriſtians, which diffuſed over the world doth retain the faith taught, the diſcipline ſettled, the practices appointed by our Lord and his Apoſtles; that we maintain general charity toward all good Chriſtians, that we are ready to entertain communion in holy offices with all ſuch; that we are willing to obſerve the laws and orders eſtabliſhed by authority or conſent of the churches, for maintenance of truth, order, and peace; that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all diſorderly practices, all conſpiracy with any factious combinations of people. Παρασυναγωγαί.

Anſw. 5. That this is the meaning of the article, may ſufficiently appear from the reaſon and occaſion of introducing it; which was to ſecure the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, the authority of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the common peace of the Church; according to the diſcourſes and arguments of the Fathers, (Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Auſtin, Vincentius Lirinenſis,) the which do plainly countenance our interpretation.

Anſw. 6. It is not reaſonable to interpret the article ſo as will not conſiſt with the ſtate of the Church in the apoſtolical and moſt primitive ages, when evidently there was no ſuch a political conjunction of Chriſtians.

Arg. III. The Apoſtles delivered one rule of faith to all churches, the embracing and profeſſing whereof, celebrated in baptiſm, was a neceſſary condition to the admiſſion into the Church, and to continuance therein; therefore Chriſtians are combined together in one political body. Ep. p. 40. Lat. p. 144, 151.

Anſw. 1. The conſequence is very weak; for from the antecedent it can only be inferred, that (according to the ſentiment of the ancients) all Chriſtians ſhould conſent in one faith; which unity we avow; and who denieth?

Anſw. 2. By like reaſon all mankind muſt be united in

one political body; becauſe all men are bound to agree in what the light of nature diſcovereth to be true and good; or becauſe the principles of natural religion, juſtice, and humanity are common to all.

Epil. p. 37, 49. Lat. p. 153. 118. Leges ferre. Lat. p. 171. *Arg.* IV. God hath granted to the Church certain powers and rights, as *jura majeſtatis;* namely, the power of the keys, (to admit into, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven;) a power to enact laws, (for maintenance of its order and peace, for its edification and welfare;) a power to correct and excommunicate offenders; a power to hold Lat. p. 54. aſſemblies for God's ſervice; a power to ordain governors and paſtors.

Anſw. 1. Theſe powers are granted to the Church, becauſe granted to each particular church, or diſtinct ſociety of Chriſtians; not to the whole, as ſuch, or as diſtinct from the parts.

Anſw. 2. It is evident, that by virtue of ſuch grants particular churches do exerciſe thoſe powers; and it is impoſſible to infer more from them than a juſtification of their practice.

Anſw. 3. St. Cyprian often from that common grant doth infer the right of exerciſing diſcipline in each particular church; which inference would not be good, but upon our ſuppoſition; nor indeed otherwiſe would any particular church have ground for its authority.

Anſw. 4. God hath granted the like rights to all princes and ſtates; but doth it thence follow, that all kingdoms and ſtates muſt be united in one ſingle regiment? The conſequence is juſt the ſame as in our caſe.

Ep.p.42,49. Lat. p. 151, 219. 1 Cor.xi.16. *Arg.* V. All churches were tied to obſerve the ſame laws or rules of practice, the ſame orders of diſcipline and cuſtoms; therefore all do make one corporation.

Anſw. 1. That all churches are bound to obſerve the ſame divine inſtitutions, doth argue only an unity of relation to the ſame heavenly king, or a ſpecifical unity and ſimilitude of policy, the which we do avow.

Anſw. 2. We do alſo acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all churches in principal obſervances, intro-

duced by human prudence, ſhould agree ſo near as may be; an uniformity in ſuch things repreſenting and preſerving unity of faith, of charity, of peace.

Whence the governors of the primitive Church did endeavour ſuch an uniformity; [c] as the Fathers of Nice profeſs in the canon forbidding of genuflexion on Lord's days, and in the days of Pentecoſt.

Anſw. 3. Yet doth not ſuch an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a political unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general tradition, were tied to offer ſacrifices and oblations to God, that conſideration might argue all men to have been under the ſame government; or no more than the uſual agreement of neighbour nations in divers faſhions doth conclude ſuch an unity.

Anſw. 4. In divers cuſtoms and obſervances ſeveral churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of polity, than agreement in other obſervances doth argue an unity thereof [d].

Anſw. 5. St. Cyprian doth affirm, that in ſuch matters every biſhop had a power to uſe his own diſcretion, without being obliged to comply with others. Cypr. Ep. 73.

Arg. VI. The Jewiſh Church was one corporation; and in correſpondence thereto the Chriſtian Church ſhould be ſuch. Ep. p. 39. Lat. p. 159.

Anſw. 1. As the Chriſtian Church doth in ſome things

[c] Τοῖς τῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ἁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. *Conc. Nic.* Can. 20. Vide de Paſchate.

[d] Vide Aug. Epiſt. lxxxvi. (ad Caſul.) Ep. cxviii. ad Jan. Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 198. Iren. apud Euſeb. v. 24. Socr. v. 22. vii. 19.

Cætera jam diſciplinæ et converſationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, hac lege manente, &c. *Tert. de Virg. vel. Thorn. Lat.* p. 219. *P. Greg. I.*

In una fide nihil officit ſanctæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudo diverſa. *P. Greg. I.* Epiſt. i. 41. *P. Leo IX.* Epiſt. i. cap. 29.

Nil obſunt ſaluti credentium diverſæ pro loco et tempore conſuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ poteſt uni Deo commendat omnes. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 6.

De conſuetudinibus quidem, quem nobis opponere viſi eſtis, ſcribentes per diverſas Eccleſias diverſas eſſe conſuetudines, ſi illis canonica non reſiſtit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis reſiſtimus, &c.

correſpond to that of the Jews, ſo it differeth in others, being deſigned to excel it: wherefore this argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our opinion as againſt it.

Anſw. 2. In like manner it may be argued, that all Chriſtians ſhould annually meet in one place; that all Chriſtians ſhould have one archprieſt on earth; that we ſhould all be ſubject to one temporal juriſdiction; that we ſhould all ſpeak one language, &c.

Anſw. 3. There is a great difference in the caſe; for the Iſraelites were one ſmall nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Chriſtian Church ſhould conſiſt of all nations, which rendereth correſpondence in this particular unpracticable, at leaſt without great inconvenience.

Euſ. Hiſt. i. 4. Baron. App. 2.

Anſw. 4. Before the Law, Chriſtian religion, and conſequently a Chriſtian Church, did in ſubſtance ſubſiſt; but what unity of government was there then?

Anſw. 5. The temporal union of the Jews might only figure the ſpiritual unity of Chriſtians in faith, charity, and peace.

Ep. p. 51—55. Lat. p. 157.

Arg. VII. All eccleſiaſtical power was derived from the ſame fountains, by ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles; therefore the Church was one political body.

Iren. iii. 3. Tert. Præſcr. 31, 32.

Anſw. 1. Thence we may rather infer, that churches are not ſo united, becauſe the founders of them were ſeveral perſons endowed with coordinate and equal power.

Anſw. 2. The Apoſtles did in ſeveral churches conſtitute biſhops, independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by ſucceſſion from thoſe, or by the conſtitutions of human prudence, according to emergencies of occaſion, and circumſtances of things.

Anſw. 3. Divers churches were αὐτόνομοι· and all were ſo according to St. Cyprian.

Anſw. 4. All temporal power is derived from Adam, and the patriarchs, ancient fathers of families: doth it thence follow, that all the world muſt be under one ſecular government?

Arg. VIII. All churches did exerciſe a power of ex-

communication, or of excluding heretics, ſchiſmatics, diſ- Ep. p. 59, 125. Lat. p. 185
orderly and ſcandalous people. 195.

Anſw. 1. Each church was veſted with this power: this doth therefore only infer a reſemblance of ſeveral churches in diſcipline; which we avow.

Anſw. 2. This argueth that all churches took themſelves to be obliged to preſerve the ſame faith, to exerciſe charity and peace, to maintain the like holineſs of converſation: what then? do we deny this?

Anſw. 3. All kingdoms and ſtates do puniſh offenders againſt reaſon and juſtice, do baniſh ſeditious and diſorderly perſons, do uphold the principles and practice of common honeſty and morality: doth it thence follow that all nations muſt come under one civil government [e]?

Arg. IX. All churches did maintain intercourſe and Ep. p. 69. Lat. p. 22
commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, ſynodical epiſtles [f].

Anſw. 1. This doth ſignify, that the churches did by admonition, advice, &c. help one another in maintenance of the common faith; did endeavour to preſerve charity,

[e] Excommunication of other churches is only a declaration againſt the deviation from Chriſtian truth, or piety, or charity.

Communio ſuſpenſa reſtituitur demonſtranti cauſas, quibus id acciderat, jam eſſe deterſas, et profitenti conditiones pacis impletas. *P. Inn. I.* Ep. 16. (*de Attico Conſtant. Ep.*)

[f] Literæ formatæ. *Optat.* 2. *Conc. Milev.* Can. 20.

Communicatoriæ. *Aug.* Ep. 162, 163.

Καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κανονικά. *Euſeb.* vii. 30. *Cypr.* Ep. 55, 67.

Γράμματα συστατικά. *Apoſt.* Can. 12.

Εἰρηνικαί. *Conc. Chald.* Can. 11.

Συνοδικαί. *Soz.* vii. 11. Conc. VI. Act. 11. (p. 158, 198, 223.) Greg. M. (Ep. ——) P. Zach. Baron. ann. 743. ſect. 29.

Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit ſubſtitutus, ut ſciamus ad quem fratres noſtros dirigere, et cui ſcribere debeamus ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 42, 67. *ad P. Steph.* (p. 161.) Ep. 55. (N. B. p. 113.)

Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐντολῆς τε ὕσης ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τηρεῖν σύνδεσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις γινόμενα, &c. *Alexandri Epiſt. Socr.* i. 6.

The Catholic Church being one body, there being moreover a command in the holy Scriptures, to preſerve the bond of peace and concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to write, and ſignify to each other.

friendſhip, and peace: this is all which thence may be concluded.

Anſw. 2. Secular princes are wont to ſend ambaſſadors and envoys with letters and inſtructions for ſettlement of correſpondence and preſerving peace; they ſometimes do recommend their ſubjects to other princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their ſubjects travelling or trading any where in the world; common reaſon doth require ſuch things; but may common unity of polity from hence be inferred?

Ep. pag. 64. Lat. p. 221. *Arg.* X. The effectual preſervation of unity in the primitive Church is alleged as a ſtrong argument of its being united in one government.

Anſw. 1. That unity of faith and charity and diſcipline, which we admit, was indeed preſerved, not by influence of any one ſovereign authority, (whereof there is no mention,) but by the concurrent vigilance of biſhops, declaring and diſputing againſt any novelty in doctrine or practice which did ſtart up; by their adherence to the doctrine aſſerted in Scripture, and confirmed by tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as confederates againſt errors and diſorders creeping in.

Anſw. 2. The many differences which aroſe concerning the obſervation of Eaſter, the re-baptization of heretics, the reconciliation of revolters and ſcandalous criminals; concerning the deciſion of cauſes and controverſies, &c. do more clearly ſhew that there was no ſtanding common juriſdiction in the Church: for had there been ſuch an one, recourſe would have been had thereto; and ſuch differences by its authority would eaſily have been quaſhed.

Ep. p. 119. Lat. p. 209. *Arg.* XI. Another argument is grounded on the relief which one church did yield to another, which ſuppoſeth all churches under one government, impoſing ſuch tribute.

Anſw. 1. This is a ſtrange fetch: as if all who were under obligation to relieve one another in need, were to be under one government. Then all mankind muſt be ſo.

Anſw. 2. It appeareth by St. Paul, that theſe ſuccours

were of free charity, favour, and liberality; and not by conſtraint [g].

Arg. XII. The uſe of councils is alſo alleged as an argument of this unity. Ep. pag. 51. Lat. p. 409.

Anſw. 1. General Councils (in caſe truth is diſowned, that peace is diſturbed, that diſcipline is looſed or perverted) are *wholeſome* expedients to clear truth and heal breaches: but the holding them is no more an argument of political unity in the Church, than the treaty of Munſter was a ſign of all Europe being under one civil government. Aug.

Anſw. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of reſtoring truth, peace, order, diſcipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary ſtate of the Church.

Anſw. 3. For during a long time the Church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely; [h] *For the firſt three hundred years,* ſaith Bellarmine, *there was no general aſſembly; afterwards ſcarce one in a hundred years.*

And ſince the breach between the oriental and weſtern churches, for many centenaries, there hath been none.

Yet was the Church from the beginning one, till Conſtantine, and long afterwards.

Anſw. 4. The firſt General Councils (indeed all that have been with any probable ſhew capable of that denomination) were congregated by emperors, to cure the diſſenſions of biſhops: what therefore can be argued from them, but that the emperors did find it good to ſettle peace and truth; and took this for a good mean thereto?

Alb. Pighius ſaid, that General Councils were an invention of Conſtantine; and who can confute him? Bell. de Conc. i. 13.

Anſw. 5. They do ſhew rather the unity of the empire than of the Church; or of the Church as national under

[g] 2 Cor. viii. 3. Αὐθαίρετοι. Ver. 8. Οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 2 Cor. ix. 7. Ἕκαστος καθὼς προαιρεῖται. Rom. xv. 26. Εὐδόκησαν. Acts xi. 29. xxiv. 17. Ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων.

[h] Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; poſteà verò vix centeſimo anno. *De Rom. P.* i. 8.

one empire, than as Catholic; for it was the ſtate which did call and moderate them to its purpoſes.

Anſw. 6. It is manifeſt that the congregation of them dependeth on the permiſſion and pleaſure of ſecular powers; and in all equity ſhould do ſo, (as otherwhere is ſhewed.) [i]

Anſw. 7. It is not expedient that there ſhould be any of them, now that Chriſtendom ſtandeth divided under divers temporal ſovereignties; for their reſolutions may intrench on the intereſts of ſome princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the civil laws and cuſtoms of every ſtate.

Whence we ſee that France will not admit the decrees of their Tridentine Synod.

Anſw. 8. There was no ſuch inconvenience in them while Chriſtendom was in a manner confined within one empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the Emperor's leave, or to his prejudice.

Hiſt. Trid. p. 67. A free council. P. Leo I. Ep.

Anſw. 9. Yea, (as things now ſtand,) it is impoſſible there ſhould be a free council; moſt of the biſhops being ſworn vaſſals and clients to the Pope; and by their own intereſts concerned to maintain his exorbitant grandeur and domination.

Anſw. 10. In the opinion of St. Athanaſius, [k] there was no reaſonable cauſe of ſynods, except in caſe of new hereſies ſpringing up, which may be confuted by the joint conſent of biſhops.

Anſw. 11. As for particular ſynods, they do only ſignify, that it was uſeful for neighbour biſhops to conſpire in promoting truth, order, and peace, as we have otherwhere ſhewed [l].

[i] The validity of ſynodical decrees (as ſpiritual) doth proceed from the obligation to each ſingular biſhop; as if princes in confederacy do make any ſanction, the ſubjects of each are bound to obſerve them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but becauſe of their obligation to their own prince conſenting.

[k] Αἱ δὲ νῦν κινούμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν σύνοδοι ποίαν ἴσχυσιν εἰλόγου αἰτίαν, &c. *Athan. de Syn.* p. 873.

[l] Subrependi enim occaſiones non pretermittit ambitio, et quoties ob in-

Councils have often been convened for bad deſigns, and been made engines to oppreſs truth, and enſlave Chriſtendom.

That of Antioch againſt Athanaſius: of Ariminum for Arianiſm. The ſecond Epheſine, to reſtore Eutyches, and reject Flavianus. The ſecond of Nice, to impoſe the worſhip of babies. The Synod of Ariminum, to countenance Arian. So the Fourth Synod of Lateran, (*ſub Inn. III.*) to ſettle the prodigious doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked doctrine of papal authority over princes. The Firſt Synod of Lyons, to practiſe that helliſh doctrine of depoſing kings. The Synod of Conſtance, to eſtabliſh the maim of the Euchariſt; againſt the Caliſtines of Bohemia. The Lateran (under Leo X.) was called (as the Archbiſhop of Patras affirmed) *for the exaltation of the apoſtolical ſee.* The Synod of Trent, to ſettle a raff of errors and ſuperſtitions.

Pro apoſtolicæ ſedis exaltatione. *Lat. Syn.* Seſſ. x. p. 129.

Obj. II. It may farther be objected, that this doctrine doth favour the conceits of the Independents, concerning eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

I anſwer, No. For,

1. We do aſſert, that every church is bound to obſerve the inſtitutions of Chriſt, and that ſort of government which the Apoſtles did ordain, conſiſting of biſhops, prieſts, and people.

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive churches, and in order to the maintenance of truth, order, peace) for ſeveral particular churches or pariſhes to be combined in political corporations; as ſhall be found convenient by thoſe who have juſt authority to frame ſuch corporations: for that otherwiſe Chriſtianity, being ſhattered into numberleſs ſhreds, could hardly ſubſiſt; and that great confuſions muſt ariſe.

3. We affirm, that, ſuch bodies having been eſtabliſhed and being maintained by juſt authority, every man is

tercurrentes cauſas generalis congregatio facta fuerit ſacerdotum, difficile eſt ut cupiditas improborum non aliquid ſupra menſuram ſuam non moliatur appetere. *Leo M.* Ep. 62. (*ad Maximum Ant. Ep.*——)

bound to endeavour the upholding of them by obedience, by peaceable and compliant demeanour.

Jude xix. Οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες.

4. [m] We acknowledge it a great crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needleſs ſeparation from them, to diſturb them, to divide them, to diſſolve or ſubvert them.

5. [n] We conceive it fit that every people under one prince (or at leaſt of one nation, uſing the ſame language, civil law, and faſhions) ſhould be united in the bands of eccleſiaſtical polity: for that ſuch a unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of Church and State; to the furtherance of God's worſhip and ſervice; to the edification of people in charity and piety; by the encouragement of ſecular powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of eccleſiaſtical paſtors; by many advantages hence ariſing.

6. We ſuppoſe all churches obliged to obſerve friendly communion; and, when occaſion doth invite, to aid each other by aſſiſtance and advice, in ſynods of biſhops, or otherwiſe.

7. We do affirm, that all churches are obliged to comply with lawful decrees and orders, appointed in ſynods with conſent of their biſhops, and allowed by the civil authorities, under which they live: as if the biſhops of Spain and France aſſembling ſhould agree upon conſtitutions of diſcipline which the kings of both thoſe countries ſhould approve; and which ſhould not thwart God's laws; both thoſe churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in obſervance of them.

From the premiſes divers corollaries may be deduced.

[m] We allow the Apoſt. Can. 31. *Εἴ τις καταφρονήσας τῦ ἰδίυ ἐπισκόπυ χωρὶς συναγάγῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ, μηδὲν κατεγνωκὼς τῦ ἐπισκόπυ ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ ᾗ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος*, &c.

If any perſon, deſpiſing his own biſhop, ſhall ſet up a ſeparate meeting, and build another altar, having nothing to condemn in his biſhop, either for his piety or uprightneſs, let him be depoſed as one that ambitiouſly affects to be a governor, &c.

[n] *Δίκαιον ἦν ἐφ᾽ πάντας τὰς ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλυς τῦ νόμυ αὐτὰ περὶ τῦ νόμυ φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόροις διδασκαλίαις τὴν πίστιν μιαίνειν. Syn. Rom. apud Theod.* ii. 22.

1. Hence it appeareth, that all thoſe clamours of the pretended Catholics againſt other churches, for not ſubmitting to the Roman chair, are groundleſs; they depending on the ſuppoſition, that all churches muſt neceſſarily be united under one government.

2. The injuſtice of the adherents to that ſee; in claiming an empire (or juriſdiction) over all, which never was deſigned by our Lord; heavily cenſuring and fiercely perſecuting thoſe who will not acknowledge it.

3. All churches, which have a fair ſettlement in ſeveral countries, are coordinate; neither can one challenge a juriſdiction over the other.

4. The nature of ſchiſm is hence declared; viz. that it conſiſteth in diſturbing the order and peace of any ſingle church; in withdrawing from it obedience and compliance with it; in obſtructing good correſpondence, charity, peace, between ſeveral churches; in condemning or cenſuring other churches without juſt cauſe, or beyond due meaſure.

In refuſing to maintain communion with other churches, without reaſonable cauſe; whence Firmilian did challenge Pope Stephanus with ſchiſm [o].

5. Hence the right way of reconciling diſſenſions among Chriſtians is not affecting to ſet up a political union of ſeveral churches, or ſubordination of all to one power; not for one church to enterpriſe upon the liberty of others, or to bring others under it, (as is the practice of the Roman Church and its abettors,) but for each church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations; only declaring againſt apparently hurtful errors and factions; ſhewing good-will, yielding ſuccour, advice, comfort, upon needful occaſion; according to that excellent advice of the Conſtantinopolitan Fathers to the Pope and weſtern biſhops——(after having acquainted them with their proceedings) towards the concluſion they thus exhort them.

[o] Excidiſti enim teipſum; noli te fallere; ſiquidem ille eſt vere ſchiſmaticus, qui ſe a communione eccleſiaſticæ unitatis apoſtatam fecerit. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

p *We, having in a legal and canonical way determined theſe controverſies, do beſeech your Reverence to congratulate with us, your charity ſpiritually interceding, the fear of the Lord alſo compreſſing all human affection, ſo as to make us to prefer the edification of the churches to all private reſpect and favour toward each other; for by this means the word of faith being conſonant among us, and Chriſtian charity bearing ſway over us, we ſhall ceaſe from ſpeaking after that manner which the Apoſtle condemns,* I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, but I am of Cephas; *for if we all do appear to be of Chriſt, who is not divided amongſt us, we ſhall then through God's grace preſerve the body of the Church from ſchiſm, and preſent ourſelves before the throne of Chriſt with boldneſs.*

6. All that withdraw their communion or obeiſance from particular churches fairly eſtabliſhed, (unto which they do belong, or where they reſide,) do incur the guilt of ſchiſm: q for ſuch perſons being *de jure* ſubject to thoſe particular churches, and excommunicating themſelves, do conſequentially ſever themſelves from the Catholic Church; they commit great wrong toward that particular church, and toward the whole Church of Chriſt.

7. Neither doth their pretence of joining themſelves to the Roman Church excuſe them from ſchiſm: for the Roman Church hath no reaſon or right to admit or to avow them; it hath no power to exempt or excuſe them from their duty; it thereby abetteth their crime, and involveth

Syn. Sard. Can. 13. Gr.

p Οἷς εὐθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πάσαν μὲν καταστέλλοντος (compreſſing) ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν, τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴν προτιμοτέραν ποιοῦντος τῆς πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἕνα συμπαθείας ἢ χάριτος· ἵνα γὰρ τοῦτι τῆς πίστεως συμφωνηθέντος λόγου, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυρωθείσης ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπης παυσόμεθα λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατεγνωσμένον, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· πάντες δὲ Χριστῷ φανέντες, ὃς ἐν ἡμῖν ἠμερίσται ἄσχιστον τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τηρήσομεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ παῤῥησίας παρασησόμεθα. *Theod.* v. 9.

q Aug. contra Jul. Ep. 2. Te certe occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis regeneravit Eccleſia: quid ei quæris inferre quod in ea non invenifti, quando in ejus membra venifti? imo quid, &c.

itself therein; it wrongeth other churches. As no man is freed from his allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another prince; neither can another prince justly receive such disloyal revolters into his patronage.

It is a rule grounded upon apparent equity, and frequently declared by ecclesiastical canons, that no church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another church, or who do withdraw themselves from it: [r] (for self-excommunication, or spiritual felony *de se*, doth involve the church's excommunication, deserving it, and preventing it.) Thornd. Lat. p. 22 Αὐτοκατάκριτος. Tit. iii. 11

Which canon, as the African Fathers do allege and expound it, doth prohibit the *Pope himself* from receiving persons rejected by any other church [s].

So when Marcion, having been excommunicated by his own father, coming to Rome, did sue to be received by that church into communion, they refused, telling him that, [t] *they could not do it without the consent of his reverend father, between whom and them there being one faith and one agreement of mind, they could not do it in opposi-*

[r] Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος, ἤτοι ἄδεκτος ἀπελθὼν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. *Apost. Can.* 12.

Κρατείτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι. *Conc. Nic.* Can. 5.

If any clerk, or laick, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet readmitted, (by his own church,) shall depart thence, and be received in another city without letters commendatory, both he who doth receive him, and he that is received, let them be excommunicated.

Let the sentence be ratified which is according to that canon which commands others not to admit those whom others have ejected.

[s] Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ θέλητε δέξασθαι, ἐπειδὰν τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ ὁρισθὲν εὐχερῶς εὕροι ἡ σὴ σεβασμιότης. *Syn. Afr. Epist. ad P. Celest. I.*

Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δεχθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθείη τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ——. *Conc. Ant.* Can. 6. *Idem in Concil. Sard.* Can. 13, 14. (*Græc.*)

[t] Ἔλεγε, τί μὴ ἐθελήσατέ με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιήσαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σῷ. *Epiph. Hær.* 42.

tion to their worthy fellow-labourer, who was also his father.

Ep. lv. p. 113. St. Cyprian refused to admit Maximus (sent from the Novatian party) to communion.

Ep. lv. init. (abs te rejectum. Vid.) Vid. Rig. p. 79. So did Pope Cornelius reject Felicissimus, condemned by St. Cyprian, without farther inquiry.

It was charged upon Dioscorus as a heinous misdemeanour, that [u] *he had, against the holy canons, by his proper authority, received into communion persons excommunicated by others.*

The African Synod (at the suggestion of St. Austin) decreed, that [x] *if it happened that any for their evil deeds were deservedly expelled out of the Church, and taken again into communion by any bishop or priest whosoever, that he also who received him should incur the same penalty of excommunication.*

The same is by latter papal synods decreed [y].

The words of Synesius are remarkable: he, having excommunicated some cruel oppressors, doth thus recommend the case to all Christians [z].

[u] —— quosdam a diversis conciliis rite damnatos, in communionem, propria auctoritate, suscepit, sanctis regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem alios non debere suscipere. *Epist. Syn. Chalced. ad Imper.* Act. iv. pag. 286.

—— καθαιρεθέντα κανονικῶς παρὰ τῦ ἰδίυ ἐπισκόπυ αὐθεντήσας ἀκανονίστως εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο. *Evagr.* ii. 4.

[x] Augustinus episcopus, legatus provinciæ Numidiæ dixit; Hoc statuere dignamini, ut si qui forte merito facinorum suorum ab Ecclesia pulsi sunt, et sive ab aliquo episcopo vel presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pari cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius ——. *Cod. Afr.* Can. 9.

[y] Sanctorum quippe canonum sanxit auctoritas, et ea passim Ecclesiæ consuetudo servat, ut a quolibet juste excommunicatum episcopo, alius absolvere non præsumat. *P. Urb. II. Epist.* 20. (*apud Bin.*)

A suis episcopis excommunicatos, ab aliis episcopis, abbatibus et clericis in communionem recipi proculdubio prohibemus. *Conc. Lat. I.* (*sub P. Calixto II.*) cap. 9.

—— Qui vero excommunicato antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ teneatur obnoxius. *Conc. Lat. II.* (*sub Innoc. II.*) Can. 3.

[z] Ἐπὶ τύτοις ἡ Πτολεμάϊδος Ἐκκλησία τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἁπανταχῦ γῆς ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάττεται ——. Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολῖτιν ἀποσκυβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ϗ δέξεται τὺς ἀποκηρύκτυς αὐτῆς (proscribed by it) ὡς ὐκ ἀνάγκῃ τῇ πένηται πεί-

Upon which grounds I do not ſcruple to affirm the recuſants in England to be no leſs ſchiſmatics than any other ſeparatiſts. They are indeed ſomewhat worſe; for moſt others do only forbear communion, theſe do rudely condemn the Church, to which they owe obedience; yea, ſtrive to deſtroy it: they are moſt deſperate rebels againſt it. P. Leo. Ep lxxxiv. cap 9.

8. It is the duty and intereſt of all churches to diſclaim the pretences of the Roman court; maintaining their liberties and rights againſt its uſurpations: for compliance therewith, as it doth greatly prejudice truth and piety; (leaving them to be corrupted by the ambitious, covetous, and voluptuous deſigns of thoſe men;) ſo it doth remove the genuine unity of the Church, and peace of Chriſtians; unleſs to be tied by compulſory chains (as ſlaves) be deemed unity or peace.

9. Yet thoſe churches, which, by the voluntary conſent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman church, we are not, merely upon that ſcore, to condemn or reject from communion of charity or peace; (for in that they do but uſe their liberty.)

10. But if ſuch churches do maintain impious errors; if they do preſcribe naughty practices; if they do reject communion and peace upon reaſonable terms; if they vent unjuſt and uncharitable cenſures; if they are turbulent and violent, ſtriving by all means to ſubdue and enſlave other churches to their will or their dictates — if they damn and perſecute all who refuſe to be their ſubjects: in ſuch caſes we may reject ſuch churches as heretical or ſchiſmatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjuſt in their proceedings [c].

Θεσθαι, ἵνα σχίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βέλεται &c. *Epiſt.* 58. pag. 203. edit. Petav.

[a] Cuicunque hæreſi communicans merito judicatur a noſtra ſocietate removendus. *Gelaſ.* Ep. 1. *ad Euphem.*

An communicare, non eſt conſentire cum talibus? *P. Sym. I.* Ep. 7.

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THE END.

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